

TERMINVS

JOURNAL OF EARLY MODERN
LITERATURE AND CULTURE

Editorial Board

Grażyna Urban-Godziek (Editor-in-Chief)

Wojciech Ryczek (Assistant Editor)

Michał Czerenkiewicz

Lidia Grzybowska

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

Magdalena Komorowska

Scientific Committee

Bartosz B. Awianowicz, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń

Andrzej Borowski, prof. em., Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków

Giovanna Brogi, Università degli Studi di Milano, Italia

Francesco Cabras, Uniwersytet Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, Kraków

Grzegorz Franczak, Università degli Studi di Milano, Italia

Radosław Grześkowiak, Uniwersytet Gdański

Jakub Niedźwiedz, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków

Emiliano Ranocchi, Università degli Studi di Udine, Italia

Jörg Schulte, Universität zu Köln, Deutschland

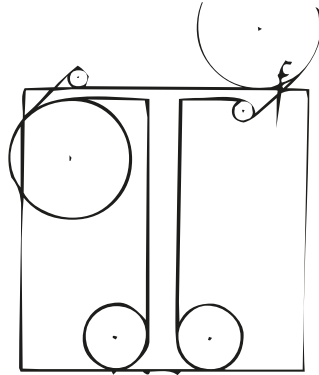
Aline Smeesters, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgique

Piotr Urbański, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań

Editorial Office address

Wydział Polonistyki, Uniwersytet Jagielloński

ul. Gołębia 16, pok. 54, 31-007 Kraków



TERMINVS

VOLUME 26 (2024)

ISSUE 3–4 (72–73)

READING AND STUDYING NEO-LATIN
AUTHORS BETWEEN CA. 1600–CA. 1950

EDITED BY
FLORIAN SCHAFFENRATH
ALEJANDRO COROLEU

Jagiellonian University Press

TERMINUS. Journal of the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University
Volume 26 (2024), Issue 3–4 (72–73) (quarterly)

Editorial Office

Wydział Polonistyki, Uniwersytet Jagielloński
ul. Gołębia 16, pok. 54, 31-007 Kraków

Editor-in-Chief

Grażyna Urban-Godziek

Issue Editors

Florian Schaffenrath and Alejandro Coroleu

Cover Design

Paweł Sepielak

© Copyright by the Jagiellonian University Press & Authors
First Edition, Kraków 2024

Articles are licensed under a CC BY 4.0 license

The publication of this volume was financed by the Jagiellonian University in
Kraków – Faculty of Polish Studies.

ISSN 2084-3844 (electronic version)
ISSN 2082-0984 (print version)
ISBN 978-83-233-5512-0

Print run: 200

The electronic version is the primary version of the journal *Terminus*
(ISSN 2084-3844) published on the Internet on the website
<https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus>.



JAGIELLONIAN
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

www.wuj.pl

Jagiellonian University Press
Editorial Offices: Michałowskiego 9/2, 31-126 Kraków
Phone: +48 12 663 23 80
Distribution: Phone: +48 12 631 01 97
Cell Phone: +48 506 006 674, e-mail: sprzedaz@wuj.pl
Bank: PEKAO SA, IBAN PL 80 1240 4722 1111 0000 4856 3325

Table of Contents

Editors' Note	VII
---------------------	-----

ARTICLES

Marta Vaculínová

Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein: A Poet between Nations and Denominations	255
--	-----

Piroska Balogh

The Interpretation and Research of Neo-Latin Literature in the Hungarian <i>historia litteraria</i> Tradition between 1711 and 2010	271
---	-----

Alfonso Lombana Sánchez

Sámuel Teleki and Janus Pannonius	295
---	-----

Margherita Sciancalepore

Aragonesi e Borboni a lezione da Giovanni Pontano	311
---	-----

Claudia Corfiati

Mario Santoro, Tristano Caracciolo, la filologia, i giovani	325
---	-----

Joaquín Pascual Barea

Profesión, vocación e imagen de Antonio de Lebrija hasta 1950: De <i>grammaticus</i> a padre de la lingüística española	341
---	-----

Alejandro Coroleu

Neo-Latin Studies in Catalonia (ca. 1830–ca. 1960)	363
--	-----

External Reviewers in 2024	381
---	-----

Editors' Note

These essays have their origin in a conference held at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Barcelona) on 19–20 October 2023. This two-day conference took scholarly and erudite responses to, and study of, Neo-Latin literature in all its forms between 1600 and 1950 as its central subject of enquiry. The gathering was organized by Alejandro Coroleu (Societat Catalana d'Estudis Clàssics) and William M. Barton, Valerio Sanzotta, and Florian Schaffenrath (Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Neulateinische Studien, Innsbruck).

The studies brought together in this special issue of *Terminus* foreground the importance of reading and studying Neo-Latin authors before the establishment of Neo-Latin studies as an independent field of research, a phenomenon commonly dated to the late 1950s and early 1970s, as the work of G. Billanovich and J. IJsewijn along with their colleagues and students in Milan and Leuven began to bear fruit.

The collection opens with three essays concerned with Central and Eastern Europe. The focus of Marta Vaculínová's contribution ("Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein: A Poet between Nations and Denominations") is the Bohemian nobleman and outstanding Latin poet Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein (ca. 1461–1510), whose reputation has undergone a series of fluctuations that reflect the attitudes of successive periods in Czech, and eventually European, theological and social thought. Basing her meticulous survey on a review of nearly fifteen literary history manuals and five literary lexicons, Piroska Balogh, "The Interpretation and Research of Neo-Latin Literature in the Hungarian *historia litteraria* Tradition between 1711 and 2010", traces Neo-Latin studies in Hungary since the early eighteenth century. In her paper Balogh argues that the

development of Hungarian Neo-Latin studies may be considered a paradigmatic example not only for Hungary but also for other territories in Central and Eastern Europe. In his own piece (“Sámuel Teleki and Janus Pannonius”) Alfonso Lombana Sánchez explores scholarly responses from Count Sámuel Teleki (1739–1822) to the Hungarian Neo-Latin writer Janus Pannonius, in particular Teleki’s own annotated edition of Pannonius, which was published in Utrecht in 1784. These three essays are followed by two further articles which attend to the development of Neo-Latin studies in (southern) Italy, from the late eighteenth century to the 1950s. In “Aragonesi e Borboni a lezione da Giovanni Pontano” Margherita Sciancalepore demonstrates how Pontano’s *De principe* and *De fortitudine* were read, interpreted, and re-proposed by Michelangelo Grisolia for the education of members of the royal family in late eighteenth-century Naples. For her part, Claudia Corfiati (“Mario Santoro, Tristano Caracciolo, la filologia, i giovani”) focuses on the 1950s as a period which witnessed an important impulse to the birth of medieval and humanistic philology and in general to Neo-Latin studies. The aim of Corfiati’s essay is to propose a critical reflection on the first monograph dedicated to the Neapolitan humanist Tristano Caracciolo (1437–1522) by Mario Santoro in 1957, and on the method with which this scholar approached the reading of Caracciolo’s works. The last two papers turn to Spain. In his contribution “Profesión, vocación e imagen de Antonio de Lebrija hasta 1950: *De grammaticus* a padre de la lingüística española” Joaquín Pascual Barea examines the Spanish reputation of Antonio de Lebrija in the over five hundred years since his death. Pascual Barea relates changing interpretations of Lebrija to the historical contexts and experiences of those who wrote about him. He explores the influences in turn of the Enlightenment, Romanticism, the emergence of Liberalism and the period under Franco on interpretations of Lebrija. Finally, Alejandro Coroleu, “Neo-Latin Studies in Catalonia (ca. 1830–ca. 1960)”, relates interest in, and translation of, Neo-Latin literature, foreign and local, during those one hundred and thirty years to the construction of cultural identity in modern Catalonia.

We are very grateful to Professor Grażyna Urban-Godziek for agreeing to publish the texts in *Terminus*.

Florian Schaffnerath
Universität Innsbruck

Alejandro Coroleu
ICREA-Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Marta Vaculínová 

Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein

A Poet between Nations and Denominations

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 255–269

<https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus>

Abstract

Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein (ca. 1461–1510), a Bohemian nobleman and outstanding Latin poet, is remarkable for the rich and contradictory ways in which his personality was interpreted up to the twentieth century. Although a fervent Catholic, in the sixteenth century he became a model for Czech non-Catholic humanists of Wittenberg training, for whom he represented a hero who liberated his country from barbarism. The Catholics did not “take him back” until long after the defeat of the non-Catholic Estates, and in the second half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits presented a legend of him as a poet laureate of the Pope himself. In parallel, his legacy lived on in the German Lutheran lands, where his first brief monograph was written and reprints of his works were published. The Enlightenment provided a less polarizing view of Hassenstein, though paradoxically it was a Jesuit, Ignatius Cornova, who has written the most comprehensive monograph on Hassenstein to date. Although Cornova tried to take a balanced view, even he could not avoid using psychologizing conclusions to describe Hassenstein in a way that suited his pedagogical purposes, even if in so doing he had to suppress or distort some facts. After the Enlightenment, the confessional aspect lost its urgency, and another conflicting issue arose in the presentation of Hassenstein—his belonging to a certain nation. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars argued over whether he was Czech or German. These debates faithfully mirrored contemporary political developments, and only ended after World War II, when modern editions of Hassenstein’s works and the scholarly studies by their editors, Dana Martínková and Jan Martínek, provided an objective view of Hassenstein as a humanist writer and historical figure.

Keywords

Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein, reception of Neo-Latin literature, Bohemia, nationalism, confessionalism

Introduction

Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein lived in a difficult period and the reception of his work is also complicated. Over the centuries, his intellectual legacy has been claimed by both, Utraquists and Lutherans, he was later presented as an exemplary Catholic scholar by the Jesuits, and he was fought over by the Czechs and the Germans. Yet this highly respected author, famous in his time for his library, was almost forgotten for many decades after his death. This was partly because almost none of his works was published. The revival of interest in Hassenstein's personality and work is associated with the second generation of humanist poets in the Czech lands in the second half of the sixteenth century and he is still considered the most important author of his time in Bohemia. This importance explains the claims of various denominations and national entities to appropriate his legacy.

First, Hassenstein's life, attitudes, and opinions should be discussed, as he presented them in his poems and letters, in order to better understand the later peripeties of the publication and interpretation of his work and the presentation and stylisation of his personality.¹ He was born into a noble Catholic family, the Lobkowicz of Hassenstein. Probably destined for an ecclesiastical career from an early age, he studied law in Bologna and Ferrara, where he obtained a doctorate in canon law in 1482. He also studied ancient Greek, astronomy, and poetry. On his return to Prague, he became a royal secretary, and his excellent education won him the admiration of Czech intellectuals, among whom I should mention Victorin Cornelius of Všehrdy (1460–1520), whom we shall encounter later. When the royal chancellery was moved to Buda in 1490, he embarked upon a journey to the Holy Land, which earned him the nickname “the Czech Odysseus”. He travelled through Greece, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In his own words, he wanted to see places associated with ancient history and literature.

He returned to Bohemia earlier than planned because the Olomouc chapter elected him bishop in 1490. This election was not confirmed by the Pope. The same thing happened again a short later, when Pope Alexander VI, despite numerous interventions, again refused to recognize the chapter's choice. Later, Hassenstein applied for the position of coadjutor to the Bishop of Wrocław—again without success. The main reasons for his failure were probably his unwillingness to pay for the position and his exceedingly radical attitude towards non-Catholics in the Kingdom of Bohemia. These career setbacks reinforced Hassenstein's critical attitude towards papal politics, although he remained loyal to the Catholic faith. After his brief (and frustrating) attempt at a courtly career as a royal poet at the court in

¹ Recently, on Hassenstein, *Companion to Central and East European Humanism*, vol. 2: *The Czech Lands*, ed. L. Storchová, Berlin and Boston 2020, Part 1, pp. 688–701; Antonín Truhlář, Karel Hrdina, Josef Hejnic, and Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě – Enchiridion re natae poesis in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, vol. 3: *K–M*, Prague 1969, pp. 170–203 (further *RHB*). A research overview is given in both works.

Buda, he retired to his castle at Hassenstein, where he devoted himself to managing the estate, running a private school and expanding his library, but never ceased to follow domestic and world news.

There are few authors from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries whom we know so much about as Hassenstein. We have almost two hundred of his Latin letters, over five hundred poems and several prose treatises, all in modern editions.² Even his famous private library, also recently monographically compiled, has survived to the present day with only minor losses.³ During his lifetime, his poems and letters were copied and collected, but these manuscripts were intended only for “friendly eyes” and not for the printing press. Although Hassenstein obviously styles himself in them, they nevertheless possess a certain sincerity and authenticity with which the author expresses his opinions on a whole range of issues. Let us outline a few basic themes which appear in Hassenstein’s letters and poems and that have been used in various ways in the later reception of his work:

- Criticism of Popes Alexander VI (1431–1503) and Julius II (1443–1513), criticism of the clergy
- Criticism of the weak government of Władysław II Jagiellończyk (1456–1516)
- Criticism of the Hussites and the Unity of Brethren
- Criticism of the power of the Jews
- Criticism of all classes of Bohemian society—accusing the most prominent men of lacking love for their country (*Ad S. Wenceslaum satira*⁴ and other poems)
- Celebration of the invention of the printing press and gunpowder (*De propriis Germanorum inventis*⁵)
- Invective against the translator of his poems into Czech (*De interprete suorum carminum*⁶)
- Letter about Prague and its inhabitants (*De Praga et incolentium moribus*⁷)
- “Ego me certe Germanum esse et profiteor et glorior” (I confidently claim to be German and I am proud of it) in a letter to Bernhard Adelman (1459–1523) of 28 September 1507⁸
- Poems to Johannes Sturnus with obscene and erotic content
- Love poems to Charlotte (Lat. *Carlota*)

² Bohuslaus Hassensteinus baro a Lobkowicz. *Scripta moralia*, ed. B. Ryba, Leipzig 1937; *Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz epistulae*, vol. 1: *Epistulae de re publica scriptae*, ed. J. Martinek and D. Martínková, Leipzig 1969 (further *Epistulae*, vol. 1); *Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz epistulae*, vol. 2: *Epistulae ad familiares*, ed. J. Martinek and D. Martínková, Leipzig 1980 (further *Epistulae*, vol. 2); *Bohuslaus Hassensteinus a Lobkowicz, Opera poetica*, ed. M. Vaculínová, Munich and Leipzig 2006 (further *Opera poetica*).

³ Kamil Boldan and Emma Urbánková, *Rekonstrukce knihovny Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic* [Reconstruction of the library of Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein], Prague 2009.

⁴ *Opera poetica*, no. 24.

⁵ *Opera poetica*, no. 12.

⁶ *Opera poetica*, no. 48.

⁷ *Epistulae*, vol. 1, no. 1.

⁸ *Epistulae*, vol. 2, no. 137.

Between non-Catholics and Catholics: Hassenstein in the Renaissance and Baroque periods

The first phase of the reflection on Hassenstein's work concerns his publications in print. His descendants on the estate of Hassenstein became Lutherans and maintained contacts with the University of Wittenberg. It is therefore no coincidence that the editing of Hassenstein's works was carried out by humanists, who were intellectually linked to the Wittenberg school.⁹ Their long-term efforts to publish Bohuslaus' complete works resulted in the editions of 1562–1573.¹⁰ The main editor, Tomáš Mitis, added a number of paratexts to the editions, including Philip Melancthon's statements about the Bohemian humanists and letters from important protagonists of the Protestant culture of the time. To poets of the second generation, Hassenstein symbolised salvation from barbarism, and was stylised as a luminary who brought the light of Renaissance culture to the Czech lands. His contemporary, Augustin of Olomouc (1467–1513), was also perceived in a similar way, as recently discussed by Lucie Storchová.¹¹

The non-Catholic editors appreciated Hassenstein's critical attitude towards the Popes and the prelates and partly agreed with his criticism of Bohemian society. It is no coincidence that the marginalia Mitis added to the texts draw attention to these aspects. However, Hassenstein's criticism of Hussitism and non-Catholics in general and his intensely critical view of the conditions in Bohemia were problematic. This was probably the reason why Mitis did not include in his edition a letter to Kristián Pedík about Prague, in which Hassenstein criticises the excesses of the Hussites and Jan Žižka (ca. 1360–1424). Minor changes were also made to the text of the letter to King Vladislaus, where Mitis softened or omitted some critical statements about contemporary Bohemia. A number of controversial texts, including a letter about the Prague burghers' negotiations for reconciliation with the Catholic Church, in which Hassenstein vehemently expresses his Catholic faith, were left in their original form by Mitis.¹²

The individual volumes of the edition were published (probably not coincidentally) after the accession of the Habsburg Maximilian II (1527–1576) to the Bohemian throne in 1562. The 1570 edition of Hassenstein's poems is also dedicated to him. Maximilian was known for his tolerance towards non-Catholic denominations, and

⁹ For the reception of Hassenstein in Bohemia in the sixteenth century see Lucie Storchová, "Musarum et patriae fulgida stella suae. Inscenace Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic a sebeidentifikační praktiky českých humanistů poloviny 16. století" [Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein and the self-identification practices of Czech humanists of the mid-sixteenth century], *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia litterarum* 52 (2007), no. 1–4, pp. 9–18; Storchová, *Creating a Nation through an Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry: Bohemians as a Community of Honour in the mid-16th Century*, esp. Chapter 6: "The Culmination of the Competition for Honour in the 1560s: Editions of Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein" [forthcoming].

¹⁰ For the detailed description of prints see *RHB*, vol. 3, pp. 178–181.

¹¹ Lucie Storchová, "The 'Apostle' of Renaissance Humanism in Moravia? Re-Figuring Augustinus Olomucensis in Modern Czech Historiography", in: *Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis*, ed. P. Ekler and F. G. Kiss, Budapest 2015, pp. 149–156.

¹² Jan Martínek, "Quo modo Bohuslaus Hassensteinus in patriam animatus fuerit", *Listy filologické* 93 (1970), pp. 37–43.

a certain compromise is evident in the dedications of the editions by Mitis—besides the descendant of the Hassenstein line, Christopher, they are also dedicated to two members of other lines of the family who professed Catholicism and held high positions in the kingdom's administration. However, the publication of Hassenstein's poems can be seen as his appropriation by Czech non-Catholics—his work had no resonance in Catholic circles at the time, for obvious reasons.

The situation changed after the defeat of the Protestant Estates at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. For the non-Catholic intellectuals, who for the most part chose to live in exile, Hassenstein's work, with its critical aspect, did not represent the necessary consolation and strength of opinion in their difficult situation; rather, prints were produced and published that responded to the current situation and works that returned to the past of the Czech lands before White Mountain, idealising and proclaiming the continuity of the non-Catholic intellectual community. The victorious Catholic party, only after a delay of several decades, found a way to accept Hassenstein's personality.

After 1620, the Utraquist University was entrusted to the Jesuit Order, and in 1654 the original Charles University and the Jesuit Academy were united. Later, that union was manifested in the illustrated propaganda book *Gloria universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandaeae*, celebrating the final victory of Catholicism in the Czech lands in the field of education.¹³ In this publication, the victorious party first claims the legacy of Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein through an eulogy in which he is praised as the poet laureate and leading intellectual of the then-Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. The eulogy is illustrated with a copperplate of a fictitious portrait of him with a laurel wreath on his head, which became the model for the so-called Lobkowitz portrait, which is still reproduced today. The legend of Hassenstein as a poet laureate is completed by the story of a competition announced by the Pope for an elegiac couplet with the longest words, which he is said to have won.¹⁴

The eminent Jesuit historian Bohuslaus Balbín (1621–1688) wrote a brief treatment of Hassenstein's life and work at the same time. However, it was published in print in 1777, long after Balbín's death, in his *Bohemia docta*.¹⁵ It should be remembered that Balbín, for whom his namesake was “the phoenix of the learned”, here completely omitted Hassenstein's contacts with non-Catholic humanists such as Victorin Cornelius of Všebrdy. His selection of Hassenstein's poems was also remarkable: the comparison of Bohemia and Hungary, the power of the Jews, the praise of

¹³ [Georg Weis], *Gloria universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandaeae Pragensis triginta tribus encomiis divulgata*, Prague 1672. See Ivana Čornejová, “Gloria Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandaeae Pragensis – oslava pražské univerzity v barokních Čechách”, in: *Baroko v Itálii – baroko v Čechách*, ed. J. Pánek and V. Herold, Prague 2003, pp. 90–100.

¹⁴ Neither the claims of winning nor the narrative of the competition are based on truth. The only poem quoted from Hassenstein's work here is the curious pun with which he was supposed to have won the papal competition: “Conturbabantur Constantinopolitani / innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus” (Constantinopolitans were troubled with innumerable anxieties, *Opera poetica*, no. 260).

¹⁵ This work was not published in print until the 1770s.

Karlovy Vary and the Emperor Charles IV. He quotes a passage from the Satire to St. Wenceslaus, which contains criticism of leading nobles.¹⁶

The non-Catholic tradition continued, with some delay, in the German Protestant countries. Here it follows the tradition of the Mitis editions, guided by interest in the personality of Hassenstein as an important literary figure who criticised the Catholic Church in his works. His treatise on human misery was published twice in the seventeenth century, as was his poetic exhortation against the Turks, and two Latin settings of Hassenstein's life and works were published in the early eighteenth century.¹⁷

Science and objectivity: the reception of Hassenstein's work in the Enlightenment

A new wave of interest in Hassenstein and other Bohemian humanists came with the onset of the Enlightenment, which brought religious tolerance and an increase in the importance of secular power at the expense of ecclesiastical power. As a result of educational reforms, the importance of Latin gradually declined and German, the official language of higher education in the Habsburg Monarchy, took its place in literature. Nevertheless, every Bohemian literary historian of the Enlightenment wrote about Hassenstein, and in their treatises he became the subject of real scholarly interest, culminating in a monograph by Ignaz Cornova in 1808.¹⁸ The Enlightenment writers, including Cornova, took up the theme of the sixteenth-century humanists, for whom Hassenstein was the star or phoenix of his homeland, and exaggeratedly referred to him as a light that illuminated not only the Czech lands, but also Germany and Hungary.¹⁹

Ignác Cornova (1740–1822), although a member of the Jesuit order, which was abolished in 1773, was a thoroughly modern writer who had an excellent command of classical languages, but his main inspiration was contemporary literature in living tongues. His biography of Hassenstein was modelled on contemporary biographies of prominent humanists such as Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten. This type of biography relied on knowing famous men directly from their writings, which were widely quoted. In particular, the letters of eminent persons and other ego-documents were then intended to contribute to the understanding of specific authors and to create a profile of their personality. Cornova's biography of Hassenstein was also a

¹⁶ *Bohuslai Balbini ... Bohemia docta*, ed. P. Candidus a s. Theresia, Prague 1777, p. 60.

¹⁷ About this, in detail, Marta Vaculínová, "Němečtí životopisci Bohuslava Hasištejského z Lobkovic a jejich vztahy k Čechám" [German biographers of Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein and their relations to Bohemia], *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia litterarum* 52 (2007), no. 1–4, pp. 39–44.

¹⁸ Ignaz Cornova, *Der große Böhme Bohuslaw von Lobkowitz und zu Hassenstein nach seinen eigenen Schriften geschildert*, Prague 1808.

¹⁹ For more, see Marta Vaculínová, "Ignác Cornova a jeho biografie Bohuslava Hasištejského z Lobkovic" [Ignaz Cornova and his biography of Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein], *Cornova* 11 (2022), no. 2, pp. 27–50.

combination of scholarly and fictional approaches. The use of German, into which he also translated parts of Hassenstein's works, significantly broadened the readership of the work, including women, who were often the recipients of Cornova's dedications.

After centuries in which the personality and work of Hassenstein were interpreted to suit the needs of particular denominations, we finally find in Cornova's biography a more objective view of Hassenstein. A number of his conclusions on problematic issues, even those often raised later, are still valid today. He acknowledges Hassenstein as a devout Catholic, but criticizes his intolerance of the Utraquists, especially Victorin Cornelius of Všeřdy, and of the Unity of the Brethren, represented in Hassenstein's work on Marta of Boskovice who was, moreover, a woman.²⁰ Cornova has no difficulty in reproducing mocking epigrams about the Pope; after all, as a true follower of Joseph II (1741–1790), he rejected papal dogmatism and opposed the expansion of papal power at the expense of the secular state. He was the first to publish Hassenstein's letter about Prague and, by way of juxtaposition, did not include the letter to Petr IV of Rožmberk (1462–1523), known only in Czech translation.

Further, he included neither the critical poems against the Jews, nor the epigrams to Johann Sturnus, which contained some obscene allusions and did not correspond to Josephinian ideas about the moral and educational mission of literature. For the sake of completeness, however, he mentioned them in remarking that we cannot infer from them that Hassenstein was ill-mannered. He also states that he does not wish to dwell on Hassenstein's relationship with Charlotte or other women, and the few love poems do not yet prove that such relationships existed. (He probably assumed that Hassenstein had some kind of priestly ordination and therefore never married.)

However, not even Cornova was entirely objective—he subordinated the biography to moral and educational goals and wanted to provide his readers with a model of an educated nobleman, a humanist of good character and supporter of the arts and sciences. He deliberately suppressed or excused some of the unpleasant features of Hassenstein's character to emphasize his positive qualities, even if only manifested in literature.

For the nation or against it: the reception of Hassenstein's work in the Czech National Revival

We can observe a weakening since the Enlightenment of the confessional perspective in the reception of Hassenstein's work, its place having been taken by the perspective of the nation and the national language. The Czech language and Czech literature, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century were almost marginalised, gradually emancipated themselves and underwent a radical development, which by the end of

²⁰ Cornova, *Der große Böhme*, pp. 168–169.

the century had brought Czech up to a par with German. The original territorial patriotism, as we know it from Cornova and Dobrovský, which included the inhabitants of the Czech kingdom regardless of their mother tongue—in German, *Böhme*—was replaced by a patriotism conditioned by the use of a specific language. Czech literature was understood by the new generation, represented by Josef Jungmann, as Czech-language literature, which meant that authors writing in other languages lost importance. The representatives of the so-called “national humanism”, the scholars writing in Czech, represented by Victorin Cornelius of Všebrdy, became more important at that time.

There was also less interest in Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein, who had written exclusively in Latin, but his importance did not allow him to be completely excluded from the newly conceptualised Czech literature. This is well illustrated by the sight of Josef Jungmann in his *History of Czech Literature* (1825), who says of Hassenstein: “... the most excellent mind the Czech country has ever produced, if only he had written in Czech!”²¹ It should likewise be remembered that the German Bohemians did not doubt the excellence of Hassenstein, regarding him as a forerunner of Erasmus in Central Europe.

In order to prevent Hassenstein being lost under the new approach to Czech literature, an initiative was launched to prove that he also wrote in Czech. This was to be done by means of his letter to Petr of Rožmberk on the administration of the state, which has survived only in a Czech translation. Josef Dobrovský had already assumed that it was a translation of the Latin original, which he attributed to Řehoř Hrubý of Jelení (ca. 1460–1513)²²; Cornova did not publish this letter, although he probably knew about it.

The Catholic priest and writer Karel Vinařický, also known for translating Virgil’s *Aeneid* into Czech, took on the role of advocate for Hassenstein as a Czech language writer. In 1831 he published a dialogue in the *Časopis českého museum* (*Journal of the Czech Museum*), written according to the humanist models of the genre.²³ In a conversation between the two protagonists, called “Mr Doubter” and “I”, he explains why the letter to Petr of Rožmberk is an original work written in Czech. Mr Doubter, for his part, concludes the dialogue with the conviction that he will search for the Latin original “until cholera seizes me”, but it looked like Vinařický’s intent was fulfilled, because in the following decades there was no speculation that the Czech version might not be Hassenstein’s original work. However, the Latin original was not found by Mr Doubter, but by Paul Oskar Kristeller in 1959 at the Royal Library in Stockholm.²⁴

²¹ Josef Jungmann, *Historie literatury české* [History of the Czech Literature], Prague 1825, p. 72. My translation.

²² Josef Dobrovský, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur*, Prague 1818, p. 361.

²³ Karel Vinařický, “Rozmluva o českém listu p. Bohuslava Hasisteinského z Lobkowic ku p. Petrowi z Rožmberka: Psán-li původně česky, neboli latinsky?” [Dialogue about the Czech letter of Lord Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein to Lord Petr of Rožmberk: was it originally written in Czech, or in Latin?], *Časopis českého museum* 5 (1831), no. 4, pp. 421–434. Dialogue as a genre was popular at the time; Josef Jungmann, for instance, wrote his programmatic work *Dvojí rozmlouvání o jazyce českém* [Double dialogue about the Czech language] (1806) in this form.

²⁴ Dana Martínková, “Nález spisu Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkowic o správě státu” [The discovery of the writings of Bohuslaus Hassensteinus of Lobkowicz on the administration of the state], *Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů* 3 (1961), pp. 121–126; for the edition of the letter see *Epistulae*, vol. 1, pp. 1–12.

Five years after the dialogue, Karel Vinařický published an entire book on Hassenstein in which, not unlike Cornova, he combined a biography of the author with translations of his works.²⁵ Again, the nationalists symbolically appropriated Hassenstein's work and incorporated it into Czech literature. Censorship interfered with the translation before publication, as evidenced by the omitted sentence in the letter from the Moravian nobility.²⁶ However, Hassenstein was not entirely accepted, owing to his critical views on Bohemia. His dislike for the Czech nation and language had already been criticised by Josef Kajetán Tyl before the publication of Vinařický's monograph and was criticised again in the 1880s by Josef Truhlář and Jan Herben.²⁷

In the 1860s, the political situation in the Habsburg monarchy became easier and with it came greater freedom of the press. At the same time, the gap widened between the supporters of the emancipation of the Czech language and the German Bohemians, who had been on the defensive up to that point; eventually they too moved from their original territorial patriotism to a concept determined by language, and gradually German Bohemians (*Deutschböhmen*) became Sudeten Germans (*Sudetendeutsche*),²⁸ as we shall see below. In 1861 the Society for the History of Germans in Bohemia was founded, which published its journal *Mitteilungen*. Its first editor-in-chief was Anton Schmalfuß, who in 1863 published the article "Der 'große Böhme' Bohuslaw von Hassenstein ein Deutscher."²⁹ He argued, firstly, that Johann Trithemius (1462–1516) had referred to Hassenstein as "Germanus,"³⁰ and secondly, with a sentence taken from Hassenstein's aforementioned letter to Bernhard Adelman: "Ego me certe Germanum esse et profiteor et glorior" (I confidently claim to be German and I am proud of it).

²⁵ Karel Vinařický, *Pána Bohuslawa Hasišteynského z Lobkowicz věk a spisy vybrané* [The times and selected writings of Lord Bohuslaus Hassensteinus of Lobkowicz], Prague 1836.

²⁶ This censorship intervention was later mentioned by Vinařický in his article "Bohuslav z Lobkowicz na Hasištejně Čech anebo Němec?" [Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein—Czech or German?] in the *Národ* magazine of 24 April 1864, [p. 3]. The sentence in which Bohuslaus doubts the suitability of the Cardinal of Montreal for the office of Bishop of Olomouc, a man who does not know the local language and customs, has been deleted (*Epistulae*, vol. 2, no. 41: "illene mores formabit et linguae et consuetudinum nostrarum prorsus ignarus?").

²⁷ Josef Kajetán Tyl, "Pohled na literaturu nejnovější" [A view of more recent literature], *Květy* 3 (1836), annex XV, příl. 57–59, annex XVI, pp. 61–64; Josef Truhlář, "Kterak se zachovali nejstarší humanisté k národu českému" [How the earliest humanists treated the Czech nation], *Časopis Musea království Českého* 54 (1880), pp. 476–489 (on this, see Jan Malura, "Josef Truhlář a bádání nad humanismem v českých zemích", in: *Viator Pilsnensis neboli Plzeňský poutník. Literárnímu vědci Viktoru Viktorovi k sedmdesátinám*, ed. V. Bok and H. Chýlová, Plzeň 2012, p. 70); Jan Herben, "Z černé knihy národa českého. Bohuslav z Lobkowicz a na Hasištejně" [From the black book of the Czech nation: Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein], *Ruch* 4 (1882), pp. 279–281.

²⁸ See Nina Lohmann, "Wilhelm Wostry und die 'sudetendeutsche' Geschichtsschreibung bis 1938", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 44 (2004), no. 1–2, pp. 45–146.

²⁹ Anton Schmalfuß, "Der 'große Böhme' Bohuslaw von Hassenstein ein Deutscher", *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 2 (1864), no. 5, pp. 155–156.

³⁰ Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel 1494, fol. 138r: "Bouslaus de hassenstein: natione Germanus, vir nobilis".

At this point I would like to include a short digression. In early modern Europe, Czechs (*Bohemi*) were commonly referred to as Germans (*Germani*, members of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation); for example, the verses of Czech poets are included in the anthology *Deliciae poetarum Germanorum* (1612). The term *Bohemus* was used by foreign scholars from countries bordering on Bohemia or who had contacts with Bohemian scholars. The term *Germani* was, however, resisted by Czech humanists as early as the sixteenth century, when, for example, they demanded a correction to the new edition of Conrad Gesner's bibliography.³¹ Although Tomáš Mitis quotes Trithemius in his edition of Hassenstein's writings, he edits the entry as follows: "Bohuslaus de Hassensteyn, natione Boëmus (impressum erat Germanus)" (Bohuslaus of Hassenstein, by the nation of Bohemia, it was printed German).³² In the dedicatory paratexts to members of the Habsburg dynasty, however, we find references to Bohemia and the Empire: "Idem Germanae celebrans inventa Minervae / propria ... princeps, non dedignare Boemas Camenas..." (The same celebrated the inventions of the German Minerva ... Ruler, do not despise the Czech Muses).³³ The later often purposeful use of the quotation "Ego me Germanum" must be explained in the context of the content of the letter in which it is used. Here, Hassenstein speaks of the possibility of transferring the Roman empire to France and defines himself as a member of the German Empire who opposes this. The fact that Hassenstein saw himself as an inhabitant of the Bohemian state (*Bohemus*) and the Roman Empire (*Germanus*) has been convincingly explained by Jan Martínek.³⁴

On the Czech side, Schmalfuß' short article in *Mitteilungen* aroused great indignation. The journals edited by Czech and Moravian politicians (*Národ*, *Moravská orlice*, and *Politik*) immediately reported on the attempt to attribute Hassenstein to the Germans. Karel Vinařický, who was already advanced in age, once again took part in the debate, as the best expert on Hassenstein's life and work.³⁵ His arguments, based on thorough knowledge, were correct—a hundred years later, Jan Martínek repeated them in a very similar way—except for one thing, the claim regarding the originally Czech letter to Petr of Rožmberk. This argument was not used by Josef Truhlář six years later when he listed the reasons against Hassenstein's Germanness, but he added another very convincing one, namely the fact that Hassenstein's older brother Jan of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein (1450–1517) became famous as an author of Czech-language works, written in his mother tongue.³⁶

³¹ See Josef Hejnic and Václav Bok, *Gesners europäische Bibliographie und ihre Beziehung zum Späthumanismus in Böhmen und Mähren*, Prague 1988, p. 16; Ferdinand Menčík, *Dopisy M. Matouše Kollína z Chotěřiny a jeho přítel ke Kašparovi z Nydbrucka*, Prague and Leipzig 1914, p. 76, no. 35.

³² *Viri incomparabilis ... Bohuslai Hassensteynii Lucubrationes oratoriae*, ed. T. Mitis, Prague 1563, fol. A2a.

³³ *Generosi baronis ... Bohuslai Hasistenii a Lobkowicz ... Appendix poematum*, ed. T. Mitis, Prague 1570, fol. Q3a.

³⁴ Martínek, "Quo modo Bohuslaus Hassensteinus in patriam animatus fuerit".

³⁵ Karel Vinařický, "Bohuslav z Lobkovic na Hassensteině Čech anebo Němec?", *Národ*, 24–28 April 1864.

³⁶ Josef Truhlář, "Humanismus v Čechách" [Humanism in Bohemia], *Časopis Musea království českého* 44 (1870), no. 4, p. 387. For more on Jan of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein see *Companion*, pp. 701–705.

I did not find any immediate reaction to the Vinařický article on the part of the *Verein* or the German-writing intellectuals. In the absence of a truly scholarly debate, however, the view that Hassenstein was German persisted in German Bohemian circles and has been encountered in scholarly works ever since.³⁷ Classical philologists from the German-speaking areas of Bohemia were reticent on the question of Hassenstein's alleged Germanness, and the editions of Hassenstein's letters by Josef Truhlář and his prose by Bohumil Ryba received positive, accurate reviews in *Mitteilungen*, without any consideration of Hassenstein's nationality.

Between science and propaganda: Hassenstein in the twentieth century

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, the gap between the Czech- and German-speaking populations of the new state widened further, which is also reflected in the fact that the editing of Hassenstein's work was carried out independently in both language communities. Although Bohumil Ryba announced the planned publication of the letters and poems in a prose edition, the edition of the letters was prepared independently by Augustin Potuček, the former headmaster of the German *Gymnasium* in Žatec, this edition being printed posthumously in 1946 in Budapest by the Hungarian philologist, László Juhász.³⁸ At the same time, translations of Hassenstein's poems into Czech and German were produced as a supplement to grammar school texts. The history of the Czech literature written during the First Republic became more objective after the achievement of the independent state and depicts Latin literature as part of Czech culture, although it is still not given the same importance as Czech-language literature.

With the rise of fascism in Germany, the rhetoric of German Bohemians intensified, supported by Nazi propaganda. Hassenstein was no longer presented as a Bohemian or German Bohemian, but he became part of German culture in the broadest sense, and in the propaganda literature he was placed alongside Goethe, Schiller, and Adalbert Stifter.³⁹ With few exceptions, however, scholars have stayed away from this

³⁷ E.g., *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 15, Vienna 1866, pp. 314–317, on p. 317 the author directly condemns Vinařický's 1864 article as unconvincing; Adalbert Horawitz, "Lobkowitz von Hassenstein, Bohuslaw", in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 19, Leipzig 1884, pp. 47–50; Rudolf Wolkan, *Böhmens Antheil an der deutschen Litteratur im XVI. Jahrhunderte*, Part 3, Prague 1894, p. 110 starts with the phrase: "Bohuslaus Lobkowitz von Hassenstein hat sich selbst als Deutschen bekannt. Ego certe me Germanum esse et profiteor et glorior ... Und damit sind alle Bestrebungen der Tschechen, ihn zu einem der ihrigen zu machen, wohl genügend zurückgewiesen."

³⁸ *Bohuslai Hassensteinii baronis a Lobkowitz Epistolae*, ed. A. Potuček, Budapest 1946.

³⁹ Viktor Karell, *Deutsche Dichter in Karlsbad: Von Bohuslav Lobkowitz von Hassenstein bis Adalbert Stifter*, Karlsbad 1935.

line.⁴⁰ At a time when Czechoslovakia was effectively subject to Hitler's Germany, not only Czech but also some German Bohemian writers turned to the past and published or translated works of earlier Czech literature.⁴¹ For them, as for the Czech exiles in the period after 1620, Hassenstein, who was always critical, was unsuitable material.

The dramatic twists and turns in research on Hassenstein did not end with the period of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. In 1953, Professor Bohumil Ryba, a classical philologist, was arrested by the communist secret police. In a staged trial, in which he was accused, among other things, of having invented a cipher key for an anti-state conspiracy based on a Cambridge edition of the comedies of Plautus, he was sentenced to nineteen years in prison.⁴² His preparations for an edition of Hassenstein's letters and poems were destroyed. For a long time after, the concept of so-called "national humanism" dominated the approach to the Czech literature of the early modern period.

Conclusion

Each epoch interpreted the personality and work of Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein according to its own needs, choosing which texts to publish and which to emphasise. The first period, which ends before the Enlightenment, is characterised by the shifting of Hassenstein's legacy between denominations and its confessional reception. The Enlightenment represents an intermediate phase, characterised by a more objective approach, which was later followed by twentieth-century scholarship. In the Czech National Revival, Hassenstein's work became part of the debate on national literature and language. His reception ranged from scholarly treatises to popular and utilitarian articles and essays serving first Czech and then German nationalism. For reasons that I cannot explain, Hassenstein is still part of German literary history today without any argumentation, as evidenced by his personal mention in the German literature reference book published in 2008 and the inclusion of his poems in the 1966 anthology of Humanist German Poetry.⁴³

⁴⁰ Georg Ellinger, *Italien und der deutsche Humanismus*, Berlin and Leipzig 1929, p. 411: "Das Tschechentum trat freilich viel später in die Bewegung ein; aber die Deutschböhmen stellten ein hervorragendes Mitglied der Poetenzunft. Es war Bohuslaus von Lobkowitz und Hassenstein, deutscher Abkunft trotz seines halbtschechischen Namens."

⁴¹ E.g., anthologies of the texts on Prague, edited by Vincy Schwarz in collaboration with Pavel Eisner, see *Dějiny české literatury v protektorátu Čechy a Morava* [History of Czech literature in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia], ed. P. Janoušek et al., Prague 2022, p. 181.

⁴² Věra Dvořáčková, "Profesor Bohumil Ryba, mezi vědou a vězením" [Professor Bohumil Ryba, between science and prison], *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek* 7 (2009), pp. 227–274. Fragments of Ryba's estate are stored in the Literary Archive in Prague.

⁴³ Jan-Dirk Müller, "Bohuslav de Hassenstein", in: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. F. J. Worstbrock, Berlin 2008, pp. 1032–1048; *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, ed. H. C. Schnur, Stuttgart 1966 and later reprints.

If Hassenstein were a minor author, the complications described above would never have occurred. In examining the reasons for his popularity, one must also consider a purely practical one: the Lobkowicz family, from which Hassenstein came, has remained in the Czech lands to this day, albeit in a different lineage, and its members held important positions in the state in the past, making them suitable patrons of literary works. Many of them, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, were the recipients of editions or translations of Hassenstein's works. This continuity may be one of the reasons why Hassenstein's work has withstood the ravages of time, and it may also explain why his role as a patron of writers and intellectuals has been emphasized again and again, despite this being insignificant compared to the importance of his own work.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Bohuslai Balbini ... Bohemia docta*, ed. P. Candidus a s. Theresia, Prague 1777.
- Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz epistulae*, vol. 1: *Epistulae de re publica scriptae*, ed. J. Martínek and D. Martínková, Leipzig 1969.
- Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz epistulae*, vol. 2: *Epistulae ad familiares*, ed. J. Martínek and D. Martínková, Leipzig 1980.
- Bohuslai Hassensteinii baronis a Lobkowicz Epistolae*, ed. A. Potuček, Budapest 1946.
- Bohuslaus Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz, Opera poetica*, ed. M. Vaculínová, Munich and Leipzig 2006.
- Bohuslaus Hassensteinii baro a Lobkowicz. Scripta moralia*, ed. B. Ryba, Leipzig 1937.
- Generosi baronis ... Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz ... Appendix poematum*, ed. T. Mitis, Prague 1570.
- Karell, Viktor, *Deutsche Dichter in Karlsbad: Von Bohuslav Lobkovitz von Hassenstein bis Adalbert Stifter*, Karlsbad 1935.
- Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, ed. H. C. Schnur, Stuttgart 1966.
- Trithemius, Johannes, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel 1494.
- Viri incomparabilis ... Bohuslai Hassensteinii Lucubrationes oratoriae*, ed. T. Mitis, Prague 1563. [Weis, Georg], *Gloria universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis triginta tribus encomiis divulgata*, Prague 1672.

Secondary literature

- Boldan, Kamil and Emma Urbánková, *Rekonstrukce knihovny Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic* [Reconstruction of the library of Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein], Prague 2009.
- Companion to Central and East European Humanism*, vol. 2: *The Czech Lands*, ed. L. Storchová, Berlin and Boston 2020, Part 1.

- Cornova, Ignaz, *Der große Böhme Bohuslaw von Lobkowicz und zu Hassenstein nach seinen eigenen Schriften geschildert*, Prague 1808.
- Čornejová, Ivana, "Gloria Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandee Pragensis – oslava pražské univerzity v barokních Čechách", in: *Baroko v Itálii – baroko v Čechách*, ed. J. Pánek and V. Herold, Prague 2003, pp. 90–100.
- Dějiny české literatury v protektorátu Čechy a Morava* [History of Czech literature in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia], ed. P. Janoušek et al., Prague 2022.
- Dobrovský, Josef, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur*, Prague 1818.
- Dvořáčková, Věra, "Profesor Bohumil Ryba, mezi vědou a vězením" [Professor Bohumil Ryba, between science and prison], *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek* 7 (2009), pp. 227–274.
- Ellinger, Georg, *Italien und der deutsche Humanismus*, Berlin and Leipzig 1929.
- Hejnic, Josef, and Václav Bok, *Gesners europäische Bibliographie und ihre Beziehung zum Späthumanismus in Böhmen und Mähren*, Prague 1988.
- Herben, Jan, "Z černé knihy národa českého. Bohuslav z Lobkovic a na Hasištejně" [From the black book of the Czech nation: Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein], *Ruch* 4 (1882), pp. 279–281.
- Horowitz, Adalbert, "Lobkowitz von Hassenstein, Bohuslaw", in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 19, Leipzig 1884, pp. 47–50.
- Jungmann, Josef, *Historie literatury české* [History of the Czech Literature], Prague 1825.
- Lohmann, Nina, "Wilhelm Wostry und die 'sudetendeutsche' Geschichtsschreibung bis 1938", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 44 (2004), no. 1–2, pp. 45–146.
- Malura, Jan, "Josef Truhlář a bádání nad humanismem v českých zemích", in: *Viator Pilsnensis neboli Plzeňský poutník. Literárnímu vědci Viktoru Viktorovi k sedmdesátinám*, ed. V. Bok and H. Chýlová, Plzeň 2012, pp. 69–75.
- Martínek, Jan, "Quo modo Bohuslaus Hassensteinius in patriam animatus fuerit", *Listy filologické* 93 (1970), pp. 37–43.
- Martínková, Dana, "Nález spisu Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic o správě státu" [The discovery of the writings of Bohuslaus Hassensteinius of Lobkowicz on the administration of the state], *Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů* 3 (1961), pp. 121–126.
- Menčík, Ferdinand, *Dopisy M. Matouše Kollína z Chotěřiny a jeho přátel ke Kašparovi z Nymburcka*, Prague and Leipzig 1914.
- Müller, Jan-Dirk, "Bohuslav de Hassenstein", in: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. F. J. Worstbrock, Berlin 2008, pp. 1032–1048.
- Schmalfuß, Anton, "Der 'große Böhme' Bohuslaw von Hassenstein ein Deutscher", *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 2 (1864), no. 5, pp. 155–156.
- Storchová, Lucie, "The 'Apostle' of Renaissance Humanism in Moravia? Re-Figuring Augustinus Olomucensis in Modern Czech Historiography", in: *Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis*, ed. P. Ekler and F. G. Kiss, Budapest 2015, pp. 149–156.
- Storchová, Lucie, *Creating a Nation through an Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry: Bohemians as a Community of Honour in the mid-16th Century* [forthcoming].
- Storchová, Lucie, "Musarum et patriae fulgida stella suae. Inscenace Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic a sebeidentifikační praktiky českých humanistů poloviny 16. století" [Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz Hassenstein and the self-identification practices of Czech humanists of

- the mid-sixteenth century], *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia litterarum* 52 (2007), no. 1–4, pp. 9–18.
- Truhlář, Antonín, Karel Hrdina, Josef Hejnic, and Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě – Enchiridion renatae poesis in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, vol. 3: K–M, Prague 1969.
- Truhlář, Josef, “Humanismus v Čechách” [Humanism in Bohemia], *Časopis Musea království Českého* 44 (1870), no. 4, pp. 370–390.
- Truhlář, Josef, “Kterak se zachovali nejstarší humanisté k národu českému” [How the earliest humanists treated the Czech nation], *Časopis Musea království Českého* 54 (1880), pp. 476–489.
- Tyl, Josef Kajetán, “Pohled na literaturu nejnovější” [A view of more recent literature], *Květy* 3 (1836), annex XV, příl. 57–59, annex XVI, pp. 61–64.
- Vaculínová, Marta, “Ignác Cornova a jeho biografie Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic” [Ignaz Cornova and his biography of Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein], *Cornova* 11 (2022), no. 2, pp. 27–50.
- Vaculínová, Marta, “Němečtí životopisci Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic a jejich vztahy k Čechám” [German biographers of Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein and their relations to Bohemia], *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia litterarum* 52 (2007), no. 1–4, pp. 39–44.
- Vinařický, Karel, “Bohuslav z Lobkovic na Hasisteině Čech anebo Němec?” [Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein—Czech or German?], *Národ*, 24–28 April 1864.
- Vinařický, Karel, *Pána Bohuslawa Hasištejnského z Lobkowic věk a spisy vybrané* [The times and selected writings of Lord Bohuslaus Hassensteinius of Lobkowicz], Prague 1836.
- Vinařický, Karel, “Rozmluva o českém listu p. Bohuslava Hasistejnského z Lobkowic ku p. Petrowi z Rožmberka: Psán-li původně česky, neboli latinsky?” [Dialogue about the Czech letter of Lord Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein to Lord Petr of Rožmberk: was it originally written in Czech, or in Latin?], *Časopis českého museum* 5 (1831), no. 4, pp. 421–434.
- Wolkan, Rudolf, *Böhmens Antheil an der deutschen Litteratur im XVI. Jahrhunderte*, Part 3, Prague 1894.
- Wurbach, Constantin von, “Bohuslaus L.,” in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 15, Vienna 1866, pp. 314–317.

MARTA VACULÍNOVÁ

🏠 Centre for Classical Studies at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences

@ vaculinova[at]ics.cas.cz

🆕 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1454-8224>

Marta Vaculínová specializes in Neo-Latin literature in the Czech lands and the history of libraries and education in the early modern period. She works as a researcher in the Neo-Latin Department of the Centre for Classical Studies at the Institute of Philosophy of the CAS. List of publications: <https://www.ics.cas.cz/en/staff/41/marta-vaculinova/bibliography>

This study is an output of the project GA22-03419S “Forms of humanism in the literature of the Czech lands II” supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic and carried out at the Institute of Philosophy of the CAS, v. v. i., Prague.

Piroska Balogh 

The Interpretation and Research of Neo-Latin Literature in the Hungarian *historia litteraria* Tradition between 1711 and 2010

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 271–293

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

The culture of Hungary held Neo-Latin literature in a unique place, which was closely tied to the special status of the Latin language in the country. Latin was not only encouraged for cultural, scientific, or diplomatic purposes, but it also served as the language of public life until 1844. As a result, a significant part of Hungarian literature was written in Latin, even in the nineteenth century. The language of the first comprehensive works on the history of Hungarian literature—the manuals of the so-called *historia litteraria* tradition—was also Latin. In this paper, an exploration is made of how the Neo-Latin tradition appears in the handbooks on the history of Hungarian literature published since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is investigated whether authors reflect on the Latinity of a particular cultural segment in Hungary, whether they consider it as part of the national literature, and if so, in what framework and with what methodology they attempt to present and process it. The first handbook examined is the first (Latin) lexicon dedicated to Hungarian literature, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, published by Dávid Czvittinger in 1711. The latest compendium investigated is the *Magyar irodalom* (The Hungarian literature), edited by Tibor Gintli, published in 2010. Together with the volumes published in the intervening period, a three-hundred-year history of Hungarian Neo-Latin Studies is presented based on a review of nearly fifteen literary history manuals and five literary lexicons. The context of changes is reflected upon, such as the relationship with the development of academic disciplines, the relationship with the change in the concept of the nation, and the methodological context, including the interaction with positivist, and other research methodologies. In the view of the author, the historical overview of Hungarian Neo-Latin studies may be considered a paradigmatic example not only for Hungary but also for the Central and Eastern European region.

Keywords

Neo-Latin
literature
in Hungary—
historia litteraria

This paper explores the interpretation and research of Neo-Latin literature within the Hungarian literary history tradition. The analysis covers a span of almost three hundred years, starting from 1711 up until 2010. The goal is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of Neo-Latin literature within the Hungarian literary tradition and how it has contributed to the overall cultural heritage of the country. To explain this, first, an extensive overview is provided on why Neo-Latin literature played a significant role in Hungarian culture. Secondly, an analysis is carried out on how Neo-Latin culture is represented in the two main types of Hungarian literary history manuals. Lastly, a succinct summary is presented on the conclusions drawn from this analysis.

The significance of Neo-Latin literature in the history of Hungarian culture

It is an indisputable fact that Neo-Latin literature holds a unique and unparalleled place in Hungarian culture.¹ When during the tenth and eleventh centuries the leaders of the Hungarian people decided to align themselves with the alliance systems of Western Europe, they not only accepted the form of the kingdom and the Roman Church but also the introduction of Western ecclesiastical and secular culture, which was conveyed using the Latin language. Consequently, most of the first written cultural products of Hungary were formulated in Latin. During the sixteenth century, when the Reformation brought about a general revival of national languages in Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary lost its independence as a state. One part of it fell under the Ottoman Empire, and another part came under the Habsburg Empire, with only a single unit remaining independent as the Principality of Transylvania as an Ottoman vassal state. After the expulsion of the Ottomans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Kingdom of Hungary became entirely part of the Habsburg Empire.² During this period, the role of the Latin language became especially important and was a key symbol of the legal and historical framework of the once-independent Hungarian Kingdom. Latin-language laws and codified volumes established and guaranteed the privileges of the country's leading social class, the nobility. Beyond the Hungarian mother tongue (*lingua maternalis*) Latin was regarded as a "father tongue" (*lingua*

¹ There is no monographic work on the history of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary. The following studies and collections of studies covering different periods provide a more detailed orientation on the subject: *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. J. Axer and L. Szörényi, Warsaw 2013; László Havas, "La naissance de la littérature hongroise en latin (Entre la civilisation byzantine et la culture latine occidentale)", *Camoenae Hungaricae* 1 (2004), pp. 7–50; Henrik Hónich, "Which Language and which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790", in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 35–63.

² A case study illustrating the language policy of the Habsburg rulers: Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler, "Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy", in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 95–118.

paternalis) and functioned as the language of public life and the official language of the state until 1844. Furthermore, the ethnically diverse Kingdom of Hungary became even more divergent during the eighteenth century, with foreign settlements following the Ottoman expulsion: at the end of the century only about 40% of the population was native-speaking Hungarian, the remainder being native speakers of German, Romanian, Slovak, Croatian, Slovene, or Ruthenian.³ In this multilingual, multi-ethnic environment, Latin proved to be a useful and traditionally well-functioning lingua franca. Until 1844, Latin was also the language of education, which meant that knowledge of Latin was a prerequisite for admission to the world of science and culture.

Thanks to these three factors, the role of Latin in Hungarian culture has been exceptional, not only in terms of its intensity but also in terms of its longevity. There is ample evidence to support this claim. One example is the strong presence of Latin-language journalism in the Kingdom of Hungary during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The last significant Latin newspaper, *Ephemerides Posenienses*, was published weekly from 1804 until 1838.⁴ Complete works of poetry were still being written in Latin at this time, as the huge and acknowledged poetic oeuvre of Johann Chrysostom Hannulík, who was a member of several European literary societies, including the Arcadia in Rome.⁵ During the specialization of the sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all the textbooks of some new disciplines were published in Latin, as all major monographs of the first century of Hungarian aesthetics, for example.⁶

The encyclopaedic tradition of literary history handbooks

The first important Hungarian handbooks of the *historia litteraria* were published in the eighteenth century in Latin. This was done for two primary reasons: firstly,

³ About the ethnic groups and their national identities of the Hungarian Kingdom during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Robert John Weston Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford 2006, pp. 147–170.

⁴ On the context of the Latin press in Hungary see Piroska Balogh, “The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-century Hungary”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 166–189; Andrea Seidler, “The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 152–165. About *Ephemerides Posenienses* specifically see Piroska Balogh, “Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 9 (2024), no. 1, pp. 30–48.

⁵ About Hannulík and other Hungarian Neo-Latin Poets see László Szörényi, “Neulateinische lyrische Dichtung im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts und die antike Tradition”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. S. P. Revard, F. Radle, and M. A. Di Cesare, Binghamton and New York 1988, pp. 153–162.

⁶ On the crucial significance of the Latin language in the first hundred years of the history of aesthetics in Hungary see Piroska Balogh, “Aesthetics at the Royal University of Hungary (1774–1843)”, in: *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, ed. P. Balogh and G. Fórizs, Hannover 2018, pp. 133–152.

Latin was the language of scholarship at the time, and secondly, it made these works accessible to a broader audience beyond Hungary. The manuals belonged to two distinct traditions: the encyclopaedic and the narrative. The encyclopaedic tradition consisted of lexicon-type manuals that aimed to map and collect data on every Hungarian writer and their work. On the other hand, the narrative tradition consisted of chronologically arranged books that formed narratives summarizing the development of Hungarian literature from its beginnings to the time of their writing.⁷

Firstly, the major Hungarian writers' lexicons belonging to the encyclopaedic tradition will be introduced in chronological order:

- Dávid Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711
- Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudos embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe botosított írárok által esmeretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendőök alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athen or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766
- Elek Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, 3 vols., Vienna, 1775–1777
- József Szinnyi, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914
- Pál Gulyás, *Magyar írók élete és munkái – új sorozat* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers—new series], Budapest 1939–1944 (A–Dz) and 1990–2002 (E–Ö)
- *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [Hungarian Literary Lexicon], 3 vols., ed. M. Benedek, Budapest 1963–1965
- *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000

The earliest lexicon of Hungarian writers, Czvittinger's volume is decisive for the characteristics of the encyclopaedic tradition.⁸ Czvittinger's goal was to collect

⁷ About the Hungarian tradition of *historia litteraria* see Andor Tarnai, "Die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Mitteleuropa im 16.–18. Jahrhundert", *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1962), pp. 338–341; and Tarnai, *Tanulmányok a magyarországi historia litteraria történetéről* [Studies on the history of Hungarian *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Kecskeméti, Budapest 2004.

⁸ Dávid Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711. About Czvittinger see Andor Tarnai, "Egy magyarországi

and present the works of Hungarian scholars and writers. He considered anyone who was born or lived in the Kingdom of Hungary as Hungarian, regardless of their language. This territorially based identification was known as “Hungarus identity”⁹ and had been important in Hungary for centuries. On the other hand, Czvittinger wanted his collection to represent the totality of written culture, not just *belles lettres*. Thirdly, his collection was motivated by the desire to demonstrate that Hungarian written culture is very wide-ranging. He employs the apologetic topos of literary encyclopedias to refute German authors Jakob Friedrich Reinmann and Ferdinand Neuburg, who argued that there were only few educated Hungarians. However, many of the two hundred and fifty entries in Czvittinger’s lexicon do not give the titles of the books of the author in question, or sometimes refer only to their contents, without specifying the language of the book.¹⁰ For this reason, it is difficult to determine what percentage of the articles in Czvittinger’s lexicon relate to Neo-Latin literature. However, it is evident that for Czvittinger, both the Latin and Hungarian languages were an essential and organic part of Hungarian literature.

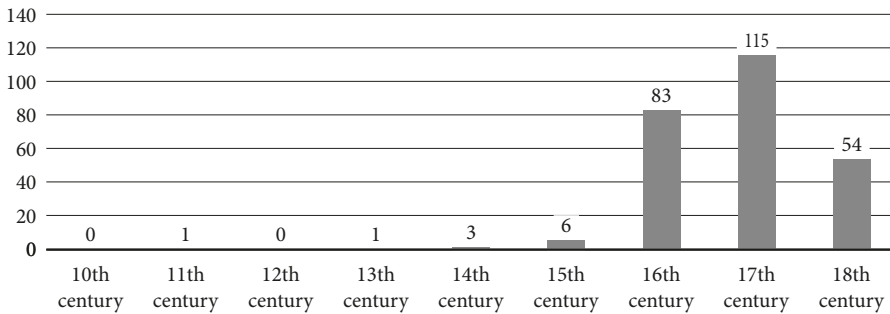
In order to determine the amount of references to Neo-Latin literature in other encyclopaedic handbooks, I selected three lexicons from different centuries that are suitable for research: the first Hungarian-language writers’ lexicon written by Péter Bod from the eighteenth century; the lexicon with the largest number of authors written by József Szinnyei at the end of the nineteenth century; and the most recent literary lexicon, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* published in 2000. My analysis aims to reveal the proportion of articles related to Neo-Latin literature in each lexicon. In articles that feature authors, an author is classified as being associated with Neo-Latin literature if they are linked to at least one Latin bibliographic item, whether it be a manuscript or a printed publication. On the other hand, in articles that discuss texts, the language of the text is the determining factor. The results of the classification are shown in the following diagrams.

tudós külföldön: Czvittinger és a Specimen” [A Hungarian scientist abroad: Czvittinger and Specimen], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993), pp. 16–38.

⁹ For the “Hungarus” intellectuals the Latin language was, among other things, a cultural context, by which they wished to represent the whole of Hungarian culture as a unity, see Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, “Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century”, in *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. I. Bartók, Budapest 2005, pp. 37–54; Ambrus Miskolczy, “‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism”, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, pp. 64–94.

¹⁰ For example: “Abstemijs Paulus, sive rectius juxta genium linguae Hungaricae, Bornemisza, quod nomen latine redditum, idem est ac Abstemijs, illudque ipsum hungaricum nomen genuinum ac proprium est, illustris pariter ac antiquissimae lateque diffusae in Hungaria Bornemiszianae prosapiae: Episcopus quondam fuit Transylvaniensis, atque Episcopatus Nitriensis Administrator, omnis eruditionis ac prudentiae laude cumulatissimus. Tandem vero ob quamplurima sua merita excellentia, ad Locumtenentis Regii, h. e. Pro-Palatini Regni Hung. munus splendidissimum. A. 1569 evectus est.” Czvittinger, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae*, p. 13.

The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the literary lexicon of Péter Bod (1766)



Peter Bod's literary lexicon, published in 1766,¹¹ contains a total of 590 entries, out of which 263 entries, i.e., 45% of the total entries, are related to Neo-Latin literature. According to Bod's methodology, almost half of the Hungarian writers wrote at least one Latin work. The distribution of these authors over time is also noteworthy. The number of Neo-Latin writers increased substantially with the introduction and expansion of book printing and the reduction of the temporal distance. However, after the most productive period of Neo-Latin literature during the humanist and late humanist period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the number of Neo-Latin writers is said to have decreased. As per the diagram, the number of Hungarian Neo-Latin authors rose significantly in the sixteenth century, and this upward trend continued in the following centuries as well. (For the eighteenth-century figure, it must be considered that Bod collected his data in the middle of the century.)

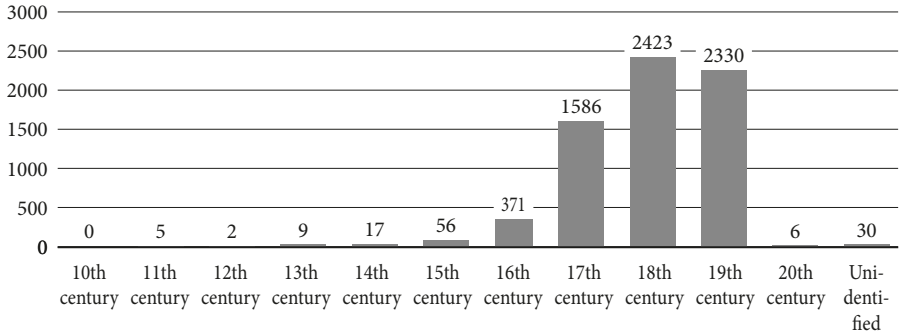
József Szinnyei's lexicon was compiled between 1891 and 1914.¹² It contains 29 553 headings for writers. Of this total, 23% (6,835 writers) have a Neo-Latin connection. This is a significant number, considering that since the Bod lexicon was published, the proportion of Neo-Latin writers has halved but still remained high. It is also surprising that eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors make up 70% of the total

¹¹ Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudos embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe bocsátott írások által esméretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendők alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athenas or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766. About Péter Bod's cultural researches see Bod Péter, *a historia litteraria művelője* [Péter Bod, a researcher of *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Tüskés, R. I. Csörsz, and B. Hegedűs, Budapest 2004.

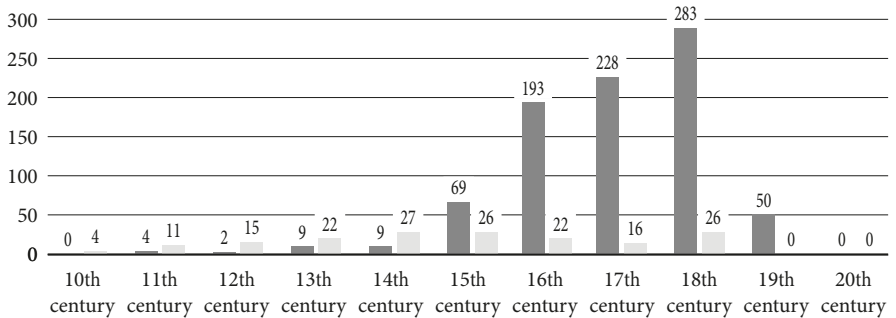
¹² József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914. About Szinnyei's bibliographic researches and volumes see Szinnyei József *halálának 100. évfordulójáról megemlékező centenáriumi emlékkönyv* [Centenary book commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of József Szinnyei], ed. É. Szőnyi, Budapest 2014.

corpus of authors related to Neo-Latin literature. The most unexpected result is the exceptionally high number of nineteenth-century Neo-Latin authors.

The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the literary lexicon of József Szinnyei (1891–1914)



The chronological distribution of Neo-Latin authors in the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* (2000)



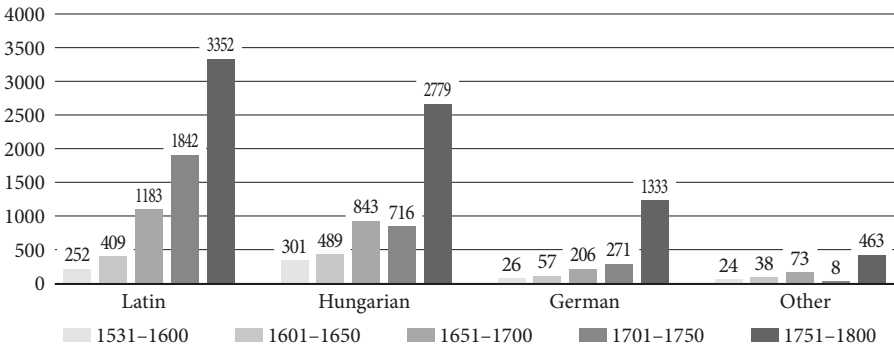
The latest Hungarian literary lexicon, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*,¹³ contains a total of 6555 articles. Out of these, 1131 articles are explanations of literary terms, which are not relevant for our study. The remaining 5424 articles describe either authors or texts such as journals. Among these, 166 texts are written in Latin, and 847 authors have written at least one Latin work. Therefore, a total of 1013 articles, which is 18% of the total, are related to Neo-Latin literature. The eighteenth century

¹³ *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000.

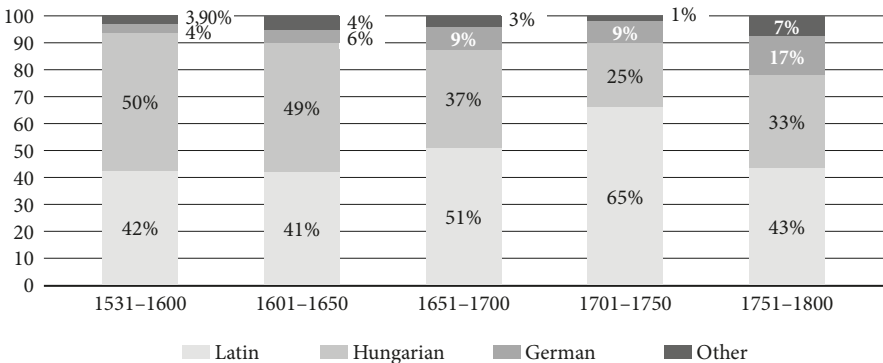
is the dominant period in these articles, but the proportion of nineteenth-century Neo-Latin references has decreased significantly compared to Szinnyei’s lexicon.

Csaba Csapodi’s research on the language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1531 and 1800¹⁴ offers an important aid and reference for the interpretation of these distribution. For his research Csapodi used the most important handbooks of Hungarian bibliography.¹⁵ The following diagrams are based on his data.

The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1531 and 1800 (based on data of Csaba Csapodi’s research)



Percentage distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom by language between 1531 and 1800 (based data of Csaba Csapodi’s research)

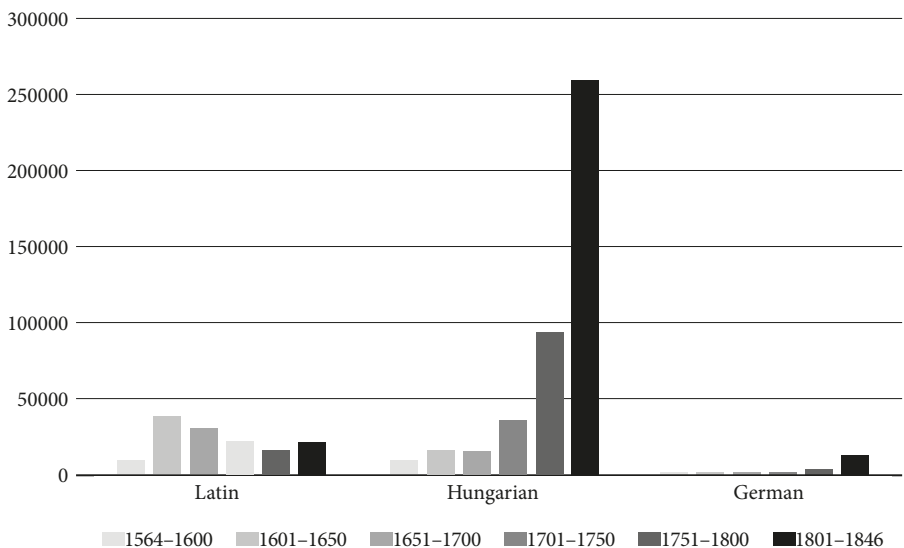


¹⁴ Csaba Csapodi, “A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig” [The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom until 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), pp. 98–104.
¹⁵ Károly Szabó, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* [The Old Hungarian Library], 2 vols., Budapest 1879–1885; Géza Petrik, *Magyarország bibliographiája 1712–1860* [Hungarian bibliography 1712–1860], 4 vols., Budapest 1888–1892 and their later supplements.

Both bibliographical diagrams are consistent with the proportions and changes indicated by the data on Neo-Latin literary oeuvres in the literary lexicons. Not only did the number of authors writing in Latin increase steadily from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, but the same steady increase (13-fold growth!) appears in a number of Latin-language publications. And the percentages show that the eighteenth-century Péter Bod was realistic in indicating that nearly 45% of the written culture in Hungary was related to Latin. The chronological distribution is also similar to that of the literary lexicons: the proportion of Latin-language printed works in the total corpus remained the same (around 42%) at the end of the eighteenth century as it was in the sixteenth century.

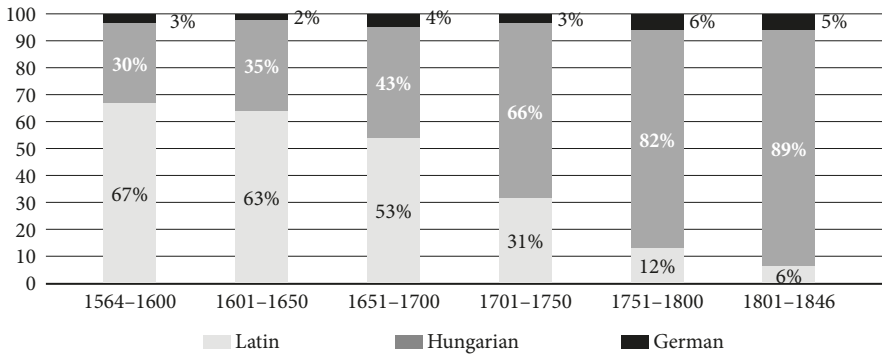
The extent to which these proportions and changes are special and different from those in Western Europe can be illustrated by Friedrich Paulsen's research.¹⁶ Paulsen, a researcher on the history of German education, examined the linguistic distribution of printed publications advertised in German fair catalogues (Messkataloge) between 1564 and 1846. The data from his research are visualised in the diagrams below.

**The language distribution of printed publications
from fair catalogues of the German book market
from 1564–1846 (based in data of
Friedrich Paulsen's research)**



¹⁶ Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, 3rd enl. ed., Berlin and Leipzig 1919, pp. 627–628.

**Percentage distribution of printed publications from fair catalogues of the German book market from 1564–1846
(based in data of Friedrich Paulsen’s research)**



According to the Paulsen diagrams, there was no significant increase in the number of Latin-language publications in the German-speaking area, and instead, there was a clear stagnation. The percentage of Latin printed publications in Germany declined sharply from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, falling to only a tenth of a percent during this period. This comparative perspective highlights, that the importance of Latinity in Hungary was very different from the trends in Western Europe, with a large and undiminished share of Latin in the written culture of Hungary. Its uniqueness was especially evident in the data from the eighteenth century.

It is equally important to understand the differences in the data of the three Hungarian literary lexicons. The lexicons written in three different centuries all show that the number of Neo-Latin texts and authors increased due to book printing from the sixteenth century. This trend continued, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were a large number of authors who also wrote in Latin. However, according to the Szinnyei’s lexicon, the nineteenth-century Neo-Latin references are surprisingly numerous, while the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* shows less of it. This difference can be explained by the changes in the three basic characteristics of the encyclopaedic tradition: the territorial definition of the community of Hungarian writers, the mapping of the entire written culture and the apologetic character. In the case of Szinnyei’s lexicon, the first two characteristics are preserved. Instead of apologetic intention, however, Szinnyei was motivated by the precision, accuracy and encyclopaedic completeness of the positivist academic approach.¹⁷ However,

¹⁷ About the positivist approach to philology and the humanities see Wolfgang Kaltenbrunner, “Literary Positivism? Scientific Theories and Methods in the Work of Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) and Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886)”, *Studium* 3 (2010), pp. 74–88 and Franz Leander Fillafer and Johannes Feichtinger, “Habsburg Positivism: The Politics of Positive Knowledge in Imperial and Post-Imperial Austria, 1804–1938”, in: *The Worlds of Positivism*, ed. J. Feichtinger, F. L. Fillafer, and J. Surman, New York 2018, pp. 191–238.

none of these features have been preserved in the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*. The ethnic principle dominates the definition of the community of Hungarian writers here instead of the territorial principle. The second characteristic, namely the mapping of written culture as a totality, also does not apply to the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature*. This lexicon only lists authors who wrote fiction, *belles lettres*, and is rather selective. Lastly, the *New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature* neither has the apologetic ambition nor the positivist encyclopaedic thoroughness: it is a highly selective collection of major authors based on canonical and aesthetic criteria.

These changes are unfavourable for authors who published their works in Latin during the nineteenth century. A significant number of them were not native Hungarian speakers, and there is a large amount of non-fiction works among the Neo-Latin texts, such as legal, medical, or ecclesiastical treatises. In their own time, during the nineteenth century, Neo-Latin authors were also marginalized by their contemporaries. Despite of these three limiting factors, nineteenth-century Latin authors still account for 6% of the total Neo-Latin authors' corpus, and the proportion of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Latin authors is as high as 40%. This contrasts with the generally accepted opinion that the Golden Age of Neo-Latin literature ends with the seventeenth century: it has certainly not ended, at least in Hungary. Based on the data, it is expected that narrative literary history manuals will focus on the strong presence of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary up to the end of the nineteenth century.

The narrative tradition of literary history handbooks

As well as the encyclopaedic manuals, the first narrative manuals of Hungarian literary history were published in Latin during the eighteenth century. The most important handbooks of the narrative tradition are:

- Matthias Bél, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713
- Michael Rotarides, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medii atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literariam introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745*
- Paul Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808
- Sámuel Pápay, *A magyar literatura esmérete két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808
- Ferenc Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebb időktől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865

- *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895
- Jenő Pintér, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941
- *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sőtér, Budapest 1964–1966
- *A magyar irodalom történetei* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008
- *Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010

Matthias Bél and Michael Rotarides have proposed outlines for the elaboration of a Hungarian literary-historical narrative. Bél's book¹⁸ proposes to write the history of the Hungarian language and build a narrative of cultural history around it. This does not mean that he did not consider Neo-Latin works to be a part of Hungarian culture. As an intellectual with a Hungarus identity, Bél expressed his own identity in Latin as “lingua Slavus, natione Hungarus, eruditione Germanus.”¹⁹ He wrote his scientific books only in Latin. In addition to his draft on the history of the Hungarian language, he also wrote a German grammar for Hungarian speakers,²⁰ a Hungarian grammar for Germans,²¹ and a foreword for Pál Doleschall's Slovak grammar book.²²

Rotarides wrote a volume during his university years in Wittenberg that served as an introduction to a survey of literary history.²³ Unfortunately, he passed away before he could complete the entire work, which would have consisted of five volumes. The first volume was published in 1745 and gives a theoretical introduction

¹⁸ Matthias Bél, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713. About Matthias Bél's cultural projects see Andor Tarnai, “Mátyás Bél und die ungarische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986), pp. 165–175; István Soós, “Die ‘Notitia’ von Matthias Bel und das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)”, in: *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mengersdorf 2003*, ed. F. Rozman, Maribor 2005, pp. 47–68.

¹⁹ Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe*, New York 1976, pp. 15–16.

²⁰ Matthias Bél, *Institutiones linguae germanicae. Atque de linguae germanicae et slavicae in Hungaria ortu, propagatione et dialectis praefatus est*, Levoča 1718.

²¹ Matthias Bél, *Der Ungarische Sprachmeister, oder kurze Anweisung zu der edlen ungarischen Sprache*, Bratislava 1725.

²² Pál Doleschall, *Grammatica slavico-bohemica, in qua, praeter alia, ratio accuratae descriptionis et flexionis, quae in hac lingua magnis difficultatibus laborat, et genuinis fundamentis, in Hungaria insinuator, cum appendice*, Bratislava 1746, pp. 1–20.

²³ Michael Rotarides, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medii atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literarium introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745*. About Rotarides' literary history see Paul Kárpáti, Béla Szent-Iványi, and Andor Tarnai, “Das Stammbuch von Michael Rotarides”, in: *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung: Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. A. V. Isacenko, W. Wissmann, H. Strohbach, Berlin 1965, pp. 214–230, and Erika Brtáňová, “Rotarides's Reception and Summary of the History of Hungarian Education”, *Slovenská literatúra* 48 (2001), no. 4, pp. 310–317.

that describes the subject of the *historia litteraria* and the outline of Rotarides' work. The second volume would have discussed the history of writing, while the third would have included a historical narrative on the origins and development of science in Hungary, along with its major authors, books, and institutions. The fourth volume would have covered educational history, and the fifth would have been a writers' lexicon. It is clear from the introductory volume that Rotarides had a broad concept of literary culture. He intended to use the territorial principle to determine the Hungarian identity of authors and advocated for the literary use of the vernacular language, but only for science popularization. For him, Latin was the language of science. Therefore, his literary-historical narrative would certainly have included the works and achievements of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Wallaszky's book²⁴ followed the plan of Rotarides' third volume, which covers the origins and development of Hungarian literacy, sciences, important authors, books, and institutions arranged chronologically. Wallaszky provides a detailed account of cultural and social institutions of the time, such as schools, printing houses, and libraries. He also applied the territorial principle to the identity of works and authors. In the last chapter, he notes that due to the country's linguistic and religious diversity, he believes learning Latin as a *lingua franca* is necessary and learning German is preferable, as the introduction of native language education is not feasible.²⁵ In a footnote, Wallaszky writes about a passionate yet somewhat blinded effort in the last decades to convert state administration and public life from Latin to Hungarian, which has not found followers in the annexed parts of the Kingdom.²⁶

²⁴ Paul Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808. About Wallaszky's work see Anna Bátori, "A tudás hálózatai: Wallaszky Pál historia litterariája és a 18. századi tudástranszfer" [Networks of knowledge: the *historia litteraria* of Pál Wallaszky and the transfer of knowledge in the 18th century], *Irodalomismeret* 3 (2016), pp. 35–63.

²⁵ "Nimirum: 1.) Spectata nationum, linguarum, et Religionum varietate, Regni incolae sunt valde dissimiles. Sunt loca quidem, ubi unica viget lingua, et unica inter iuventutem Religio; sed sunt etiam, ubi unica est in usu lingua, et duae dissimiles Religiones; porro, ubi duae linguae, et unica Religio, atque denique, ubi (quod quidem rarissimum) complures linguae, ac Religiones discrepantes, inter discipulos obtinent. Libri itaque Scholarum quoquomodo impellent. 2.) Considerandum venit, latini sermonis notitiam iis, qui Hungariam eique iunctas Provincias incolunt, vehementer esse necessariam, ideo in ludis his, nonnulli adolescentes ad studium hoc praeparari debent. 3.) Germanicae linguae usus insigniter est utilis. Quare cognitio eius omnibus promiscue discipulis (successu temporis) imprimenda est." Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae*, pp. 488–489.

²⁶ "Zelus hic Linguam Hungaricam excolendi a morte Aug. Iosephi II. in primis est luculentus. In Ratione Educationis Theresianae, praescribatur prae ceteris doceri in scholis inferioribus lingua Germanica. Aug. Iosephus II. evexit eam ad dignitatem Linguae vernaculae, universalis et Diplomaticae in Hungaria. Omnes Constitutiones Regiae, Mandata et responsa ad Dicasteria Regni eadem scripta, eadem in illis acta, immo in rebus ad Ius in Foris dicendum pertinentibus iamiam inducenda fuerat. Id quod Nationi omnino placere non potuit. Post mortem eius itaque excitata, tanto magis urget usum idiomatis sui et in omnibus Institutis Litterariis culturam, Sanctione Regia et Lege Publica demandatam. Immo multi Comitatus, in Foris quoque Iuridicis eam induxerunt. In reliquis Coronae adnexis Provinciis, pro institutione extra ordinem est proposita, quibus satis fuerit, peculiarem eius Magistrum latinis in scholis conservare." Wallaszky, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae*, p. 567.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Latin *historia litteraria* volumes were replaced by Samuel Pápay's literary history,²⁷ which represented a significant shift in approach, not only because it was written in Hungarian. The first part of Pápay's volume deals with the origin, characteristics, and development of the Hungarian language, while the second part describes the development of literary culture based on this narrative. Pápay's definition of literature is clear: he sees it as literacy embodied in written culture. However, Pápay introduces the concept of Hungarian national literature, which he interprets as literacy written in the Hungarian language. This approach shapes his entire narrative: he aims to present only the history of Hungarian-language literacy and excludes Latin works or Latin authors. In the context of the Middle Ages, from which there are hardly any surviving Hungarian-language texts, Pápay is even ready to deviate from his own definition of literacy and prove extensively and hypothetically that during the Middle Ages the verbal part of culture was in Hungarian. Pápay concludes his book with a call for the promotion of the Hungarian language, suggesting that it should be used instead of Latin in all areas of life. His model is German literature, whose development he attributes to the fact that Germans marginalized Latin literacy.²⁸ In Pápay's narrative, Neo-Latin literature is excluded from the realm of national literature and is relegated to a kind of intellectual no-man's-land.

Ferenc Toldy's two-volume literary history from 1864–1865 is considered the first professional work of Hungarian literary history.²⁹ Toldy defines literary history as a narrative that outlines the developments and connections within a special field of written culture. According to him

the entire or universal literary history of a nation covers all branches of literary production, that is to say, works of a strictly scientific nature and in different languages; a national

²⁷ Sámuel Pápay, *A magyar irodalom története két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808. About Pápay's book see István Margócsy, "Pápay Sámuel és Literatúrája" [Sámuel Pápay and his Literatúra], *Irodalomtörténet* 62 (1980), pp. 377–404.

²⁸ "Tudgyuk, hogy ekkor az Ausztriai Birodalomban is, valamint nálunk és más Európaiaknál, a Deák Nyelv volt mind az Országálsnak, mind az Oskolai Tanításnak Nyelve, és ez némelly Európaiaknál ugyan nem sokára meghanyatlott, de állandóan tartott az majd minden Német Tartományokban szin-te a múlt 18dik Századnak közepéig; mert jól tudgyuk azt is, hogy alig van több ötven esztendejénél, miólta Német Ország a' Deáksággal alább hagyván, jobban kezdette gyarapítani nemzeti Literatúráját. Mit keresünk ennél több okot arra, hogy a múlt Századig, miért nem mehetett elő a mi nemzeti Lite-ratúránk?" (We know that at that time in the Austrian Empire, as well as in ours and in other Euro-peans, Latin was the language of both the Kingdom and the education, and that it soon declined in some European country, but continued to do so in almost all the German Provinces until almost the middle of the last eighteenth century; for it is well known that it is scarcely more than fifty years since this German Country, having abandoned Latin, began to enrich its national literature more. What more reason can we seek why, until the last century, our national literature could not progress?) Pápay, *A magyar irodalom története*, pp. 459–460. The quoted text here and in the following footnotes was translated by Piroska Balogh.

²⁹ Ferenc Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégibb időktől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865. About Toldy's literary history volumes see Péter Dávidházi, *Egy nemzeti tu-domány születése. Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* [The birth of a national science: Ferenc Toldy and the history of Hungarian literature], Budapest 2004.

literary history, on the other hand, treats of works in the language of the nation in their causal context, with particular reference to those in which the characteristics of the national spirit are particularly manifest, namely, poetry and oratory, philosophy, religious studies and historiography: not neglecting, however, the literature of the exact, i.e. geometrical, natural and practical sciences. Finally, it takes account of the internal changes of language as a medium for literary works, and this is the internal history of language; and of its external vicissitudes, which is called the external history of language. Both are important, because the internal state and development of language and the quality of literary works are mutually determined, and the richness, fashion and impact of literature depend on its external state.³⁰

Toldy structures his historical narrative around the development of the Hungarian language. Within the chapters, he first discusses the given stage of language development, then continues with an overview of the fictional literary genres, and finally describes the written products of sciences. Despite discussing the Middle Ages and Humanism, Toldy does not cover Latin literary works and genres and hardly mentions the name of the most important humanist Neo-Latin poet, Janus Pannonius. Toldy also purportedly ignores Neo-Latin artistic literature of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. He only mentions Latin handbooks of classical philology and aesthetics regarding scientific literature, but not in a positive way:

Two eminent aesthetes, Michael Greguss and Lajos Schedius, explained the beautiful orally and in writing. Greguss followed Bouterwek, while Schedius, with his keen wit, created a new system, but in Latin, which did not affect life outside the walls of the university.³¹

As a result, Neo-Latin literature, both fictional and academic works, was placed almost entirely outside the scope of Hungarian literary history.

Zsolt Beöthy was the editor-in-chief of a handbook published in the late nineteenth century.³² While he created the concept and introduction, experts wrote the

³⁰ “Valamely nemzet összes vagy egyetemes irodalomtörténete kiterjed az irodalmi munkásság minden ágaira, tehát a szorosan tudományos és különböző nyelveken készített művekre is; a nemzeti irodalomtörténet ellenben a nemzet nyelvén készült műveket tárgyalja okbeli összefüggésekben, különös tekintettel azokra, mikben a nemzeti szellem sajátosságai különösen nyilatkoznak, tehát a költészet és szónoklatra, a bölcsészetre, vallástudományra és történetírára: nem mellőzve mégis az exact, vagyis mértani, természeti, s az ezeken alapuló gyakorlati tudományok irodalmát sem. Végre figyelemmel van a nyelvnek, mint az irodalmi művek közegének, koronkénti mind belső változásaira, s ez a belső nyelvtörténet; mind külső viszonyosságaira, s ez külső nyelvtörténetnek nevezetik. Mindkettő fontos, mert a nyelv belső állapotja és fejlődése, s az irodalmi művek becse, kölcsönösen határozzák egymást, annak külső állapotjaitól pedig az irodalom gazdagsága, divata és hatása függ.” Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom*, p. 2.

³¹ “Két jeles szépész, Greguss Mihály és Schedius Lajos élő szóval és irodalmilag fejtegették a szépet, amaz Bouterwek nyomában haladva, ez éles észszel új rendszert alkotva: de latinúl, amiért az iskola falai közül ki nem hatottak az életre.” Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom*, pp. 255–256.

³² *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895. About Beöthy’s concept on national literary history see Zoltán Szénási, “A magyar nemzet tudat kis-tükre: Beöthy Zsolt irodalomtörténeti szintéziséről” [The Hungarian nation-consciousness in miniature: on Zsolt Beöthy’s synthesis of literary history], in: *Kösziklára építve: írások Dávidházi Péter*

individual chapters. These experts were influenced by contemporary programmatic publications of Neo-Latin texts. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences launched the first institutional series of scientific Neo-Latin text editions in 1857, mainly publishing historical sources under the title *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*.³³ The requirements of contextual research and encyclopaedic accuracy, emphasized by positivism,³⁴ helped some segments of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature to be reintegrated into the narrative of national literature. As a result, Beöthy's definition of national literature became less language-centered than Toldy's. Beöthy defined national literature as

the totality of intellectual works for the whole nation. It is not limited to books written in the Hungarian language, but every work of the Hungarian spirit, whether it lives on the lips of the people or is written down or published in print, whose conception, purpose, subject, or performance expresses the soul, thinking, feeling, imagination, or at least something of it, of the nation. We see no intrinsic reason to exclude from literature, or even national literature, so to speak, works in Latin that characterise Hungarian minds as Hungarian minds.³⁵

This definition made it possible, for example, to interpret Latin medieval chronicles as part of Hungarian literature:

although it was written in Latin, it was created within the walls of a cloister, isolated from the world. But the beating of the Hungarian heart resounds through the Latin robe, and the sun of patriotism shines through the monotonous life of a monk.³⁶

Beöthy's handbook includes a long chapter on Latin humanism in Hungary, which refers to eighteenth-century editions of Janus Pannonius' Latin poems. However, these concessions were only valid until the fifteenth century. The volume's concept is that "Latin poetry was buried by the national movement of the sixteenth century."³⁷ Therefore, from the seventeenth century onwards the volume does not describe Latin authors and works at all.

tiszteletére [Built on rock: writings in honour of Péter Dávidházi], ed. D. Panka, N. Pikli, and V. Rutkay, Budapest 2018, pp. 367–373.

³³ The 105 volumes of the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* (1857–1917) see online: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/product/MTHNHS/>.

³⁴ See note 17.

³⁵ "Az irodalom mai fogalmának meghatározása: az egész nemzetnek szóló szellemi alkotások összessége. A magyar irodalmat nem minden magyar nyelven írott könyv képezi; hanem a magyar szellemnek minden olyan alkotása, éljen bár csak a nép ajkán, vagy legyen írásba jegyezve avagy nyomtatásban közzétéve, amelynek fölfogása, célzata, tárgya vagy előadása által megnyilatkozik a nemzet lelke, gondolkodása, érzése, képzelete, vagy legalább valami belőle. Semmi belső okát nem látjuk, hogy az irodalom, vagy ha úgy tetszik, akár nemzeti irodalom köréből ki legyenek zárva a magyar elméket magyar elmékül jellemző deák nyelvű munkák." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 8.

³⁶ "... bár latin nyelven szól, bár egy klostornak a világtól elzárt falai közt jött létre. De a latin köntösön áthallatszik a magyar szív dobbanása, és a hazafiság napja besugározza a szerzetes élet egyformaságát." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 138.

³⁷ "A latin költészetet a 16. század nemzeti áramlata elfedte." *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Beöthy, p. 100.

In the early twentieth century, the study of Neo-Latin texts in Hungarian philology gained momentum due to the influence of the comparatist approach. The publishing of Latin texts from the Hungarian humanist period began with the *Analecta nova* series,³⁸ followed by the publication of two volumes of *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*.³⁹ In 1930, László Juhász initiated the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum* series, which is still ongoing.⁴⁰ These philological initiatives played a significant role in the emergence of the Hungarian Neo-Latin literary narrative, which is covered in separate chapters of Jenő Pintér's eight-volume *A magyar irodalom története* (The history of Hungarian literature) published between 1930 and 1941.⁴¹ Pintér's volumes have distinct chapters on the "Neo-Latin literature" of the period up until the early nineteenth century. Pintér adopts a linguistically tolerant, territorial approach to the Hungarus identity, devoting separate chapters to German, Slovak, Romanian, and Serbian literature within the Hungarian Kingdom. However, these texts and authors are discussed as appendices, in short chapters, detached from the primary narrative of Hungarian literature.

In 1978, a six-volume history of Hungarian literature was published, which was given the nickname "Spinach" due to its green cover.⁴² This handbook focuses primarily on fiction, with academic and scientific literature being completely excluded from its scope. The chapters written by experts in the field represent the most important texts and authors of Neo-Latin literature.⁴³ However, the handbook only covers the history of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature until 1772, which is the end of the Baroque period, and only in the first two volumes. Like Pintér's manual, this handbook also treats Neo-Latin literature after the medieval and humanist periods as an isolated appendix.

The two recent handbooks were not created to provide a complete history of Hungarian literature. The main idea behind the handbook edited by Szegegy-Maszák in

³⁸ The full title of the series is: *Analecta nova ad historiam resurgentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, iussu Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae ex scriptis ab Eugenio Ábel relictis cum commentariis edidit partimque auxit Stephanus Hegedűs*. The list of the volumes see at the database of *Repertorium Fontium Medii Aevi Historiae Hungaricae*, <https://rf.mgyi.abtk.hu/index.php?category=sercoll&azonosito=80>.

³⁹ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols., ed. I. Szentpétery, Budapest 1938.

⁴⁰ The volumes of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum* series are available online: *Nemzeti Klasszikus Kritikai Kiadásai* [Critical editions of classic Hungarian literature], <https://szovegtar.iti.mta.hu/hu/sorozatok/bsmraef/>. About László Juhász see Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay, "Juhász László és a Bibliotheca" [László Juhász and the Bibliotheca], in: *Filológia és textológia a régi magyar irodalomban* [Philology and textology in Old Hungarian literature], ed. G. Kecskeméti and R. Tasi, Miskolc 2012, pp. 53–62.

⁴¹ Jenő Pintér, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941. About Pintér's see László Bóka, *Arcképvázlatok és tanulmányok* [Portraits and studies], Budapest 1962, pp. 147–148.

⁴² *A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sötér, Budapest 1964–1966.

⁴³ About the Hungarian Neo-Latin experts of the second half of the twentieth century see László Havas, "Ricerche sulla letteratura mediolatina e neolatina in Ungheria nella seconda metà del secolo XX e alle soglie del nuovo millennio: Dai centri di ricerche ai programmi nazionali...", *Camoenae Hungaricae* 2 (2005), pp. 127–142.

2008 is that the history of Hungarian literature cannot be told in a single narrative but rather it consists of several different narratives.⁴⁴ Each chapter of the handbook focuses on a particular topic, maintaining chronological order, and is associated with a specific significant date. The chapters that discuss the period up to the seventeenth century often include observations on Latin texts. However, the last chapter that discusses a Neo-Latin book written by a Hungarian author for more than a sentence is the chapter with the date of 1743, which talks about Ferenc Faludi's poetry that was partly written in Latin. In the eighteenth-century chapters, there are only some general indications of Neo-Latin texts that are mentioned in half-sentences. In the nineteenth-century chapters, there are no such references.

The so-called "Blue Whale", a blue covered volume from 2010, serves as a textbook for university students.⁴⁵ Its aim is to provide a highly selective and canonical view of the single narrative for didactic purposes. While the volume does not have any specific chapters dedicated to Neo-Latin literature, it does contain frequent sub-chapters that refer to Latin texts up until the seventeenth century. The last Latin-language text mentioned is Bálint Kocsis Csergő's memoir from 1728, which is presented in a single sentence. In the eighteenth-century chapters, there are some references to the Latin newspapers of the period, the Latin part of the public literature, and the significance of Latin in education, however, no specific Latin texts or authors are mentioned with title or name.

Conclusion

This overview has revealed how the development of the nation-centered narrative and the limited view of literacy reduced to fiction have impacted the historiography of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary. It is highly likely that a similar pattern exists in Central and Eastern European literary historiography, despite the present absence of any similar researches and studies. This hypothesis has the potential to shed light on new perspectives in literary research and reveal important connections and implications that have been overlooked so far. The historiographical methodology and attitude outlined in the paper has resulted, that the Neo-Latin literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is considered a significant part of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature, has been excluded from literary historical narratives. This period saw 70% of the Hungarian Neo-Latin authors and 40% of the Hungarian Neo-Latin *belles lettres* writers living and writing. Moreover, even when discussing sixteenth and seventeenth-century literature, the narrative textbooks mention the Neo-Latin literature only in an appendix. Thus, a schizophrenic split between the encyclopaedic

⁴⁴ *A magyar irodalom története* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008.

⁴⁵ *Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010.

literary history manuals working with data and the handbooks based on narratives has been formed. This process was also reinforced by the fact that the series of critical editions of Neo-Latin texts focused specifically on the period of humanism and on historical source texts. It is also noteworthy that there are no Hungarian translations or critical commentaries of the here mentioned eighteenth-century Latin literary history manuals, which contradict the tradition focusing solely on the Hungarian language. These manuals are currently only available to experts who understand Latin.

Therefore, Hungary possesses a vast reservoir of cultural heritage from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, written in Neo-Latin, which remained largely undiscovered: a kind of submerged Atlantis. To bring these texts to light and reintegrate them into the literary discourse, the first step is to translate and publish them in critical academic editions. Encouragingly, progress is being made in this area, with translations and commentaries of the manuals of two important Hungarian professors of aesthetics being published in four volumes,⁴⁶ and the establishment of a research group on eighteenth-century Latin poets at the Institute of Literary Studies of the HUN-REN Research Network. This group will publish eighteenth and nineteenth-century Latin lyric poetry, not only with Hungarian translations and commentaries but also in English. However, this paper demonstrates that a significant shift in approach and methodology, as well as the extension of international collaboration, will be necessary to fully reintegrate these Neo-Latin texts into the discourse of representative narrative literary history handbooks in the future.

Bibliography

- A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 2 vols., ed. Zs. Beöthy, Budapest 1893–1895.
- A magyar irodalom története* [The history of Hungarian literature], 6 vols., ed. I. Sötér, Budapest 1964–1966.
- A magyar irodalom történetei* [The narratives of Hungarian literature], 3 vols., ed. M. Szegedy-Maszák, Budapest 2008.
- Aspaas, Per Pippin, and László Kontler, “Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 95–118.

⁴⁶ Balogh, “Aesthetics at the Royal University”, pp. 150–152. The four volumes of the Hungarian translations from Latin are: *Doctrina pulcri. Schedius Lajos János széptani írásai* [Doctrina pulcri. Johann Ludwig Schedius’s writings on aesthetics], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2005; *Szerdahely György Alajos esztétikai írásai. I. Aesthetica (1778)* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. I. Aesthetica (1778)], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2012; *Szerdahely György Alajos esztétikai írásai. II. Szakészeti művek* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. II. Subdisciplinary aesthetic writings], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2024.

- Balogh, Piroska, "Aesthetics at the Royal University of Hungary (1774–1843)", in: *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, ed. P. Balogh and G. Fórizs, Hannover 2018, pp. 133–152.
- Balogh, Piroska, "Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 9 (2024), no. 1, pp. 30–48.
- Balogh, Piroska, "The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-century Hungary", in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 166–189.
- Bátori, Anna, "A tudás hálózatai: Wallaszky Pál historia litterariaja és a 18. századi tudástranszfer" [Networks of knowledge: the *historia litteraria* of Pál Wallaszky and the transfer of knowledge in the 18th century], *Irodalomismeret* 3 (2016), pp. 35–63.
- Bél, Matthias, *Institutio ad symbola conferenda, dum historiae linguae Hungaricae libros duos edere parat*, Berlin 1713.
- Bél, Matthias, *Institutiones linguae germanicae. Atque de linguae germanicae et slavicae in Hungaria ortu, propagatione et dialectis praefatus est*, Levoča 1718.
- Bél, Matthias, *Der Ungarische Sprachmeister, oder kurze Anweisung zu der edlen ungarischen Sprache*, Bratislava 1725.
- Bod Péter, *a historia litteraria művelője* [Péter Bod, a researcher of *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Tüskés, R. I. Csörsz, and B. Hegedűs, Budapest 2004.
- Bod, Péter, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar országban élt tudós embereknek, nevezetesebben a' kik valami, világ eleibe botosított írások által esméretesekké lettek, 's jó emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok mellyet sok esztendőök alatt, nem kevés szorgalmatossággal egybe-szededetett, és az mostan élőknek, 's jora-valo felszerkentésekre közönségessé tett* [Hungarian Athen or to the learned men who lived in Transylvania and in the Hungarian country, especially those who became great by some writings and left good memories of their histories which he has collected over many years, with no little diligence, and made common to those who are now living, and for the sake of the future], Sibiu 1766
- Bóka, László, *Arcképvázlatok és tanulmányok* [Portraits and studies], Budapest 1962.
- Brock, Peter, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe*, New York 1976.
- Brtáňová, Erika, "Rotarides's Reception and Summary of the History of Hungarian Education", *Slovenská literatúra* 48 (2001), no. 4, pp. 310–317.
- Csapodi, Csaba, "A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig" [The language distribution of printed publications in the Hungarian Kingdom until 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), pp. 98–104.
- Czvittinger, Dávid, *Specimen Hungariae Literatae, virorum eruditione clarorum natione Hungarorum, Dalmatarum, Croatarum, Slavorum, atque Transylvanorum, vitas, scripta, elogia et censuras ordine alphabetico exhibens*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1711.
- Dávidházi, Péter, *Egy nemzeti tudomány születése. Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* [The birth of a national science: Ferenc Toldy and the history of Hungarian literature], Budapest 2004.

- Doctrina pulcri. Schedius Lajos János széptani írásai* [Doctrina pulcri: Johann Ludwig Schedius's writings on aesthetics], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2005.
- Doleschall, Pál, *Grammatica slavico-bohemica, in qua, praeter alia, ratio accuratae scriptionis et flexionis, quae in hac lingua magnis difficultatibus laborat, et genuinis fundamentis, in Hungaria insinuator, cum appendice*, Bratislava 1746.
- Evans, Robert John Weston, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford 2006.
- Fillafer, Franz Leander, and Johannes Feichtinger, “Habsburg Positivism: The Politics of Positive Knowledge in Imperial and Post-Imperial Austria, 1804–1938”, in: *The Worlds of Positivism*, ed. J. Feichtinger, F. L. Fillafer, and J. Surman, New York 2018, pp. 191–238.
- Gulyás, Pál, *Magyar írók élete és munkái – új sorozat* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers—new series], Budapest 1939–1944 (A–Dz) and 1990–2002 (E–Ö).
- Havas, László, “La naissance de la littérature hongroise en latin (Entre la civilisation byzantine et la culture latine occidentale)”, *Camoenae Hungaricae* 1 (2004), pp. 7–50.
- Havas, László, “Ricerche sulla letteratura mediolatina e neolatina in Ungheria nella seconda metà del secolo XX e alle soglie del nuovo millennio: Dai centri di ricerche ai programmi nazionali...”, *Camoenae Hungaricae* 2 (2005), pp. 127–142.
- Hőnich, Henrik, “Which Language and which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 35–63.
- Horányi, Elek, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, 3 vols., Vienna 1775–1777.
- Kaltenbrunner, Wolfgang, “Literary Positivism? Scientific Theories and Methods in the Work of Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) and Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886)”, *Studium* 3 (2010), pp. 74–88.
- Kárpáti, Paul, Béla Szent-Iványi, and Andor Tarnai, “Das Stammbuch von Michael Rotarides”, in: *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung: Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. A. V. Isacenko, W. Wissmann, H. Strohbach, Berlin 1965, pp. 214–230.
- Knapp, Éva, and Gábor Tüskés, “Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century”, in: *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. I. Bartók, Budapest 2005, pp. 37–54.
- Latinitas Hungarica: Lacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. J. Axer and L. Szörényi, Warsaw 2013.
- Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [Hungarian Literary Lexicon], 3 vols., ed. M. Benedek, Budapest 1963–1965.
- Magyar irodalom* [The Hungarian literature], ed. T. Gintli, Budapest 2010.
- Margócsy, István, “Pápay Sámuel és Litertúrája” [Sámuel Pápay and his Literatúra], *Irodalomtörténet* 62 (1980), pp. 377–404.
- Miskolczy, Ambrus, “‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism”, in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 64–94.
- Pápay, Sámuel, *A magyar literatúra esmérete két részben* [A survey of Hungarian literature in two parts], Veszprém 1808.

- Paulsen, Friedrich, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, 3rd enl. ed., Berlin and Leipzig 1919.
- Petrik, Géza, *Magyarország bibliographiája 1712–1860* [Hungarian bibliography 1712–1860], 4 vols., Budapest 1888–1892.
- Pintér, Jenő, *A magyar irodalom története: tudományos rendszerezés* [The history of Hungarian literature: a scientific systematization], 8 vols., Budapest 1930–1941.
- Ritoókné Szalay, Ágnes, “Juhász László és a Bibliotheca” [László Juhász and the Bibliotheca], in: *Filológia és textológia a régi magyar irodalomban* [Philology and textology in Old Hungarian literature], ed. G. Kecskeméti and R. Tasi, Miskolc 2012, pp. 53–62.
- Rotarides, Michael, *Historiae hungaricae literariae antiqui medi atque recentioris aevi lineamenta. Quorum prolegomena generalem in universam historiam Hungariae literarium introductionem continentia prodeunt studio ac sumtu H. M. Hungari*, Altonaviae et Servestae (Altona and Zerbst) 1745.
- Seidler, Andrea, “The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century”, in: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. G. Almási and L. Šubarić, Leiden 2015, pp. 152–165.
- Soós, István, “Die ‘Notitia’ von Matthias Bel und das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)”, in: *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 2003*, ed. F. Rozman, Maribor 2005, pp. 47–68.
- Szabó, Károly, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* [The Old Hungarian Library], 2 vols., Budapest 1879–1885.
- Szénási, Zoltán, “A magyar nemzet tudat kis-tükre: Beöthy Zsolt irodalomtörténeti szintéziséről” [The Hungarian nation-consciousness in miniature: on Zsolt Beöthy’s synthesis of literary history], in: *Kösziklára építve: írások Dávidházi Péter tiszteletére* [Built on rock: writings in honour of Péter Dávidházi], ed. D. Panka, N. Pikli, and V. Ruttkay, Budapest 2018, pp. 367–373.
- Szerdahely György Alajos *esztétikai írásai. I. Aesthetica (1778)* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. I. Aesthetica (1778)], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2012.
- Szerdahely György Alajos *esztétikai írásai. II. Szakesztétikai művek* [Georg Aloys Szerdahely’s writings on aesthetics. II. Subdisciplinary aesthetic writings], ed. and transl. P. Balogh, Debrecen 2024.
- Szinnyei József *halálának 100. évfordulójáról megemlékező centenáriumi emlékkönyv* [Centenary book commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of József Szinnyei], ed. É. Szőnyi, Budapest 2014.
- Szinnyei, József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Lives and works of Hungarian writers], 14 vols., Budapest 1891–1914.
- Szörényi, László, “Neulateinische lyrische Dichtung im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts und die antike Tradition”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. S. P. Revard, F. Radle, and M. A. Di Cesare, Binghamton and New York 1988, pp. 153–162.
- Tarnai, Andor, “Egy magyarországi tudós külföldön: Czvittinger és a Specimen” [A Hungarian scientist abroad: Czvittinger and Specimen], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993), pp. 16–38.

- Tarnai, Andor, “Mátyás Bél und die ungarische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986), pp. 165–175.
- Tarnai, Andor, *Tanulmányok a magyarországi historia litteraria történetéről* [Studies on the history of Hungarian *historia litteraria*], ed. G. Kecskeméti, Budapest 2004.
- Tarnai, Andor, “Die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Mitteleuropa im 16.–18. Jahrhundert”, *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1962), pp. 338–341.
- Toldy, Ferenc, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebb időkől a jelen korig, rövid előadásban* [The history of Hungarian national literature from the earliest times to the present, in brief lectures], 2 vols., Pest 1864–1865.
- Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon [New Hungarian Lexicon of Literature], 3 vols., ed. P. László, Budapest 1994, 2nd extended edition: 2000.
- Wallaszky, Paul, *Conspectus Reipublicae Litterariae in Hungaria, ab initiis Regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*, Bratislava and Leipzig 1785; 2nd edition: Buda 1808.

PIROSKA BALOGH

- 🏠 Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Culture; HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for Humanities
- ✉ balogh.piroska[at]btk.elte.hu
- 🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5075-0748>

Piroska Balogh is habilitated associate professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Cultural Studies, senior researcher of Research Group on 18th-Century Latin Poets (HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for Humanities, Institute of Literary Studies) and Doctor Scientiae of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her research interests include neohumanism, Neo-Latin poetry, history of aesthetics, the Republic of Letters, and Latin journalism. She has published widely on the above-mentioned topics and co-edited with Gergely Főríz two volumes titled *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2018) and *Angewandte anthropologische Ästhetik. Konzepte und Praktiken 1700–1900 / Applied Anthropological Aesthetics. Concepts and Practices 1700–1900* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2020). List of publications: <https://m2.mtmt.hu/api/author/10013090>.

Alfonso Lombana Sánchez 

Sámuel Teleki and Janus Pannonius

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 295–309

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

Count Sámuel Teleki (1739–1822) was, by all accounts, a “Neo-Latinist”. His love for the written word went beyond his book collection, which is now preserved in the Teleki Library in Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely. He is also one of the most important editors of the Hungarian Neo-Latin writer Janus Pannonius; after twenty years of preliminary work, Teleki prepared the first *editio* of the poet’s *opera omnia*. This text, which was published in Utrecht in 1784, contributed to the revival of Janus and has been constantly used by researchers over the years—nearly up until modern times. The *editio* exhibits some excellent philological achievements. Not only is Teleki responsible for the first *collatio* of some very important manuscripts and editions of Janus, but he also completed the edition with a biography and a collection of valuable historical testimonies. My proposal thus aims both to present both the work of Sámuel Teleki and analyse his *editio* of Janus.

Keywords

Sámuel Teleki,
Sándor Kovásznai,
Janus Pannonius,
Teleki-Téka,
history of the
book, Neo-Latin
literature

1. Introduction

Count Sámuel Teleki (1739–1822) stands out as one of the most interesting personalities in the history of books during the eighteenth century.¹ Among his many accomplishments, his most important achievements in philology are his edition of Janus Pannonius' works² and the foundation of the Teleki Library in Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely, also known as "Teleki-Téka".³

Throughout the eighteenth century, individuals and aristocrats had private libraries in their homes with collections of old books and manuscripts. In contrast to some of his contemporaries, Teleki promoted the concept of an open "private" library collection that interested readers could easily access. As stipulated in his will, the library was available to the public at certain times.

Deé Nagy has provided evidence that Teleki intended to create a public library for everyone. His books were no longer considered luxury items but rather meant to be read. Miller Jakab Ferdinánd, a library visitor, confirmed that the library's value was "not so much for its impressive appearance, but rather because the public can use it as their own on a daily basis."⁴

Although many individual books have survived, Teleki's collection is best-known today because of the catalogues he prepared.⁵ The impressive library contained 40,000 books at the time of his death and was established at its present location in 1802. It is now one of the most important cultural monuments of Marosvásárhely.

2. The idea of the Teleki-Téka

Establishing a library is closely related to the works on textual criticism and editions of the eighteenth century. Sámuel Teleki visited the important centres of knowledge

¹ When discussing the famous Teleki family, it is important to differentiate between his grandfather Mihály Teleki (1634–1690), who was the General Chief of Transylvania and a close friend of the Rákóczi kings (I and II), and his grandson Sámuel Teleki (1845–1916), who became a famous explorer during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, Pál Teleki (1879–1941), a politician, Prime Minister of Hungary, and expert in geography, was also a member of this family.

² *Ianni Pannonii Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia*, ed. S. Teleki, Utrecht 1784. A facsimile edition was prepared by Péter Koószeghy and others: *Jani Pannonii Opera omnia*, ed. P. Koószeghy et al., Budapest 2002.

³ The most comprehensive works have been written by Anikó Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel*, Kolozsvár 1997, and Deé Nagy, *A marosvásárhelyi Teleki-Bolyai könyvtár ex librisei*, Budapest and Kolozsvár 2001.

⁴ The original quote, cited after Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel* (p. 176), says "Növeli a könyvtár értékét nem annyira lenyűgöző látványa, mint inkább az, hogy naponta a publikum úgy használhatja mint sajátját". The letter was written on 31 December 1785.

⁵ The complete reference for the catalogue is as follows: Sámuel Teleki, *Bibliotheca Samuelis SRI Com. Teleki de Szék*, Vienna 1796–1819.

of his time, and it is likely that it was during these European travels that he became aware of the necessity of creating a collection.

Teleki began his studies in Basel, where he moved to study mathematics (1760–1761). He went to Utrecht and Leiden after this period to study history, law and electricity. His interest in books and textual criticism arose during this period, when he first met Petrus Wesseling, Christoph Saxe, and Johan David Hahn. Later, his studies took him to Paris, where he also met Alexis Claude Clairaut (mathematics) and Charles-Marie de La Condamine (physics).

It is thought that it was at this time that he began to purchase books and reflect on the nature of library collections. Moreover, after his return to Sároberke, he started his edition of Janus Pannonius, which was finally published in 1784. As will be demonstrated in the subsequent pages, the authorship of Teleki, who compiled this collection, requires verification in certain instances, as his work on the texts was suddenly interrupted by his increasing involvement in politics.⁶

It is important to note that the contextualisation of both the library and the edition of Janus must be understood in relation to the development of critical editions of classical texts in the eighteenth century. The intellectual climate of the Enlightenment had a significant impact on textual criticism. Scholars applied rational and scientific methods to study texts, challenging traditional interpretations and including extensive commentaries and annotations. The eighteenth century also saw advances in printing technology and editorial practices that improved the accuracy of printed books. In this sense, Teleki was aligned with the concerns of his time preparing his edition of Janus Pannonius.

3. The edition of 1784

Both the first edition of the *Jani Pannonii opera omnia* prepared by Sambucus in 1569⁷ and the collection prepared by Teleki⁸ in 1784 have been used up until the present.⁹ In this sense, Teleki's edition has determined the texts of Janus that we have been reading for the last two centuries. Teleki's comprehensive work includes every known work of Janus: the edition not only collects poems or “epic *carmina*”, but also a collection of letters and translations. As common in editions of that time,

⁶ In 1787, he moved to Vienna and became the chancellor of Transylvania in 1791. He passed away in Vienna in 1822 and was buried in Sároberke (Dumbrăvioara).

⁷ *Jani Pannonii episcopi quinqueeccles: illius antiquis vatibus comparandi, recentioribus arte anteponendi, quae usipam reperiri adhuc potuerunt omnia opera Joannis Sambuci*, ed. Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Vienna 1569.

⁸ Teleki, *Poemata*.

⁹ Teleki's edition has decreased in significance since the release of the new edition of Janus Pannonius' works, edited by Gyula Mayer and others: *Jani Pannonii opera quae manserunt omnia*, ed. G. Mayer et al., Budapest 2006, 2014 and 2018.

a selection of bibliographical notes with quotations from famous thinkers or writers was also included.

Two letters from Peter Wesseling to Sándor Teleki in 1763 and 1764 confirm that this Utrecht professor entertained the idea of editing Janus.¹⁰ Certainly, Teleki did not undertake the project alone. Regarding Teleki's results, it would be unfair to attribute the edition solely to him. In the preface,¹¹ he acknowledges the assistance of several colleagues, including Adam Kollar (1718–1783) and Dániel Cornides (1732–1787), librarians in Vienna, and Christophorus Sax (1714–1806), professor at Utrecht. Moreover, it is worth noting that Teleki's list of names is incomplete.

Recent research has revealed additional contributors that were not mentioned. The most important is Sándor Kovásznai, a teacher from Marosvásárhely who also worked on the texts and their commentaries. Recent research has shed light on his contributions to this extensive project.¹² As Zaynab Dalloul has shown, Kovásznai created a huge unedited commentary on Janus' texts that now "can be considered rather modern not only in the eighteenth century, but even in our times."¹³

In the preface to his edition, Mayer notes that Kovásznai wrote a letter to Sámuel Zilahi requesting that his co-authorship be considered during the editing process of Janus Pannonius:

Legalább olyan editioja Janusnak soha sem volt több; igaz, hogy a manuscriptumnak lehet tulajdonítani, mert a nélkül semmi sem lett volna belőle. És így a gróf hozta életre Janust, de mi is amit lehetett segítettünk in obstetricando.¹⁴

Dalloul examined Kovásznai's role in detail and argues that the edition was indeed not only the work of Teleki but also of Kovásznai.¹⁵ His argument is based on Kovásznai's editing process, his knowledge of old literature, and his work style. Dalloul argued that Kovásznai was responsible for preparing the collation and doing most of the hard work. The manuscript found in the Teleki-Téka provides perfect

¹⁰ Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel*, pp. 143–156.

¹¹ Teleki, *Poemata*, p. xxx.

¹² Zaynab Dalloul, "Interpretations of Janus Pannonius' Eranemos in Light of the Cultural Heritage and Library of Count Sámuel Teleki and Alexander Kovásznai", *Kniha. Zborník opíránmoch* (2016), pp. 182–192.

¹³ Dalloul, "Interpretations of Janus Pannonius' Eranemos", p. 190.

¹⁴ "There has been no edition of Janus quite like this; true it can be owed to the manuscript without which nothing would have come of it. And thus did the count bring Janus to life, and so did we also do our part to help him into the world." Quote and translation from Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 29.

¹⁵ In addition to the interesting last discoveries of Dalloul, "Interpretations of Janus Pannonius' Eranemos", see Dalloul, "Kovásznai Sándor és az európai kommentártörténeti hagyomány", *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 114 (2010), pp. 99–121, and Dalloul, "Sándor Kovásznai and Janus Pannonius", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Budapest, 6–12 August 2006*, ed. R. Schnur, Tempe, AR 2010, pp. 213–222.

evidence of his authorship because it is “a huge and detailed commentary on the works of Janus Pannonius.”¹⁶

Dalloul states that the edition drew significant inspiration from Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and Janus’ last publications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were rediscovered and re-edited several times. Firstly, Pareus had paid attention to Janus and edited some of his works in 1619;¹⁷ years later, Norbert Conradi prepared an edition with the help of Adam Kollar from Vienna.¹⁸

Also Györy Klimó, Bishop of Pécs (1710–1777), who knew that Teleki was preparing an edition,¹⁹ asked József Koller (1745–1832) to compile some of Janus’ works in Italy and promoted the edition of some hitherto unknown texts in the parts of the *Historia Episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum* dedicated to Janus Pannonius. The book appeared some years later.²⁰

Hence, it is important to acknowledge that Teleki’s achievements were made possible by the collective efforts of a dedicated team and that this edition is merely one link in a long chain.

4. The edition

Teleki’s edition comprises two octavo books. Both copies were printed in Utrecht (Traiecti ad Rhenum) by Bartholomeus Wild in 1784. The complete title of the first volume, which spans XVI and 691 pages, is:

IANI PANNONII. Poëtarum sui Seculi facile Principis. In Hungaria. Quinque Ecclesiarum olim Antistitis POËMATA quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia. Ad Manu scriptum Codicem Regium Corvinianum exacta, reconita et cum omnibus quae adhuc prodierunt editionibus diligenter collata, plurimisque Epigrammatis e praedicto M[anu] S[cripto] nunc primum depromtis aucta, et emendata.

The title page also reproduces two verses of Epigram 401 by Janus Pannonius (I 371 in the Teleki edition).

Nolunt Pieriae latere merces,
quas fama pretium manet perennis. (Ep. 401, 30–31)

¹⁶ Dalloul, “Interpretations of Janus Pannonius”, p. 190.

¹⁷ *Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum: Nunc primum in hac Germania exhibitae, a Joh. Philippo Pareo, ed. Joh. Philippus Pareus, Frankfurt 1619.*

¹⁸ *De Jani Pannonii Quinque Ecclesiarum episcopi vita et scriptis. Libri III poematum elegiarum et epigrammatum, ed. Ignatius Norbertus Conradi, Budapest 1754.*

¹⁹ Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel*, pp. 145ff.

²⁰ The manuscripts he consulted during this journey were the codex in the Vatican Library (n. 2847), as well the manuscripts in Milan and Florence. His editions appeared as “Ioannes III”, in: *Historia Episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum*, ed. J. Koller, Bratislava 1796, pp. 1–359. For the related bibliography concerning this editorial project, see Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 30–31.

The second volume, which spans 415 pages, is titled:

IANI PANNONII OPUSCULORUM PARS ALTERA, in qua exhibentur. Pauca e Plutarcho et Demosthene in Latinum eodem interprete translata; nec non orationes ejus et epistolae quae reperiri potuerunt omnes; quibus Appendicis loco subjunguntur auctoris vitae a variis consignatae, una cum dedicationibus, praefationibus, testimoniis et elogiis doctorum de Iano Pannonio virorum; ac denique varietates lectionum e manu scripto libro et diversis editionibus excerptae.

By reading the title pages, one can discern the accuracy and high level of critical objectivity in this edition.

The first page references manuscript B, which is currently preserved in Vienna.²¹ The fascinating history behind this manuscript created an aura of authority that has continued until now. The manuscript was found by Peter Lambeck in Buda in 1666. A delegation was invited to take some books from a devastated collection. Peter, as he wrote in his memorial,²² took three exemplars: this collection of Janus Pannonius, one exemplar of Gregory of Nazianzus (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 759) and one book of Augustine of Hippo (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 706). For several years, as advocated by Lambeck, it was believed to be a codex of Mathias Corvinus. However, although some researchers and readers—Teleki among them—believed that this manuscript was a collection of the Buda corpus, recent research has invalidated this hypothesis and dated the copy to around 1500, and not necessarily from Hungary.²³

In any case, Teleki's team used this manuscript as an example of the "meliores" and recognised it as an authority. Therefore, its variants were carefully considered, and Teleki's order of poems followed that of the manuscript.

Nevertheless, Teleki's critical work was far-ranging and accurately considered other manuscripts and books. In the forward, he declared that he had used other exemplars, including the manuscript in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 9977, which contained the text found by Sambucus in Florence in 1567, as well as other copies of Janus that he was familiar with, including one in Milan (Ambr. R 93 sup. + 26 sup.). He was also aware of additional Janus manuscripts in Florence (Plut. 34,50), Brescia (Bibl. Civica C VII 1), and other libraries, which he collected to

²¹ Vienna, ÖNB, 3274. For a complete description and bibliography, see Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 11.

²² See Petrus Lambeckus (Lambeck), *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi II*, Vienna 1669, Cap. 11, pp. 989–996.

²³ Mayer has given the summary of the history of the codex. Csápodai demonstrated that the book did not belong to the Corvina library, see Csaba Csápodai, *A budai királyi palotában 1686-ban talált kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek*, Budapest 1984. Mayer investigated the watermarks to determine the date of the manuscript, see Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 12. One of the possible copyists could have been Bartolomé Fonzio, see Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, "Bartholomaeus Fontius. (Újabb adalékok magyarországi kapcsolataihoz és Poétikájá)", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977), no. 1, p. 42.

publish later. However, these copies may not have been considered for the 1784 edition.²⁴

The edition also considered the printed books of Janus editions, to which Teleki referred.²⁵ He quoted the two first editions of *Panegyricus in Guarinum*²⁶ and the collection of Elegies printed in Vienna.²⁷ He also knew the collection of Rhenanus and Frobenius of Basel²⁸ and the three editions of Bologna, which were very important not only for the elegies,²⁹ but also especially because they are the only printed versions of *Panegyricus in Marcellum*³⁰ and Janus' translations.³¹ He also worked with the books of Cantiuucula, which he owned in both the Venice and Basel editions,³² and of course with the three collections of Sambucus.³³ Additionally, he worked with the Hungarian *Eranemus*³⁴ and the collections of Pareus³⁵ and Conradi.³⁶ He may have used the edition of 1743 of Kassa (EMC)³⁷ for the epistles. As Mayer said,

Teleki's philological and bibliophilic activity was enormously successful in finding printed editions. He came across thirteen editions, ten originals of which the Teleki Library still owns Only two other solo Janus Pannonius volumes, or rather booklets, are known by the research to date: the two Kraków volumes.³⁸

²⁴ See Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 31–32 for a complete relation of this complementary material, preserved at the Teleki Téka under the shelf number Ms 305 = Tq 675 b/3.

²⁵ Teleki, *Poemata*, pp. V–XIII.

²⁶ *Ioannis Pannonii episcopi quinque ecclesiarum, poetae et oratoris clarissimi panegyricus: in laudem Baptistae Guarini Veronsis praeceptoris sui conditus*, ed. Paulus Crosnensis (Pawel z Krosna), Vienna 1512, and *Ioannis Pannonii ... Sylva panegyrica in Guarini Veronenis praeceptoris sui laudem condita*, ed. S. Magius (Sebestyén Magyi), Bologna 1513.

²⁷ *Iani Pannonii Quinque Ecclesiarum praesulis, poetae candidissimi, Elegiarum aureum opusculum*, ed. Benedictus Bekenius (Benedek Békeny) and Johannes Camers, Vienna 1514.

²⁸ Teleki seems to have much appreciated these collections. *Iani Pannonii Quinqueecclesiensis episcopi, Sylva Panegyrica ad Guarinum Veronensem, praeceptorem suum: Et ejusdem epigrammata, nunquam antehac typis excusa*, ed. Beatus Rhenanus, Basel 1518.

²⁹ *Ioannis Pannonii ... Elegiarum liber unus*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1523.

³⁰ *Jani Pannonii Panegyricus Jacobo Antonio Marcello Patritio Veneto*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1522. This work has only been transmitted here. There are no more copies or manuscript versions of it.

³¹ *Plutarchi Cheroniei philosophi Libellus, quibus modis ab inimicis iuuari possimus Ioanne Pannonio episcopo Quinque Ecclesiensi interprete*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1522. Although other manuscripts have transmitted these translations, this is the *editio princeps* and the only copy that Teleki knew. See Alfonso Lombana Sánchez, “Las traducciones de Janus Pannonius”, in: *Ventanas al mundo húngaro*, ed. A. Lombana Sánchez, D. Faix, G. Zombory, and G. Tóth, Budapest 2021, pp. 71–78.

³² *Iani Pannonii ... Ad Guarinum Veronensem panegyricus. Eiusdem elegiarum liber. Et epigrammatum syluula*, ed. Hilarius Cantiuucula, Venice 1553 and *Iani Pannonii ... Ad Guarinum Veronensem panegyricus. Eiusdem elegiarum liber. Et epigrammatum syluula*, ed. Hilarius Cantiuucula, Basel 1555.

³³ That is the already quoted large collection of Johannes Sambucus, *Omnia opera*, but also *Iani Pannonii ... lusus quidam et epigrammata, nunc primum inventa et excusa*, ed. Johannes Sambucus, Padova 1559 and *Reges Ungariae, ab An(no) Christi 401 usq(ue) ad 1567. Item Jani Pannonii ... Eranemus nunc repertus*, ed. Johannes Sambucus, Vienna 1567.

³⁴ *Iani Pannonii Eranemvs. Hoc est, ventorum contentio*, Debrecen 1594.

³⁵ *Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum*.

³⁶ *De Jani Pannonii ... Libri III poematum elegiarum et epigrammatum*.

³⁷ *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae*, ed. Stephanus Huszti, Kassa 1744.

³⁸ Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 30. The two volumes of Kraków are *Insunt praeterea Ioannis Pannonii Quinqueecclesiensis Episcopi Epigrammata, lectu haud indigna, hactenus non*

The edition of works he prepared consists of the following:

Volume I

Preface (pp. III–XVI),

Epic works:

Sylva Panegyrica ad Guarinum (pp. 1–59),

Panegyricus ad Marcellum (pp. 59–210),

Carmen pro pacanda Italia (pp. 211–231),

Diomedis et Glauci Congressus (pp. 231–238), which is a translation of Homer, *Iliad*, 6, 119–236,

Carmen ad Ludovicum Gonzagam (pp. 238–251),

Eranemus (pp. 251–271),

Elegies

Liber primus (pp. 273–357), with the 15 elegies of ms. B,

Liber secundus (pp. 358–449), with the 18 elegies of the editions not found in ms. B,

Epigrams

Liber primus (pp. 451–640), with the 374 epigrams of ms. B and two epigrams in the Milan manuscript,

Liber secundus (pp. 641–660), with other epigrams,

Appendix carminum (pp. 661–691), with verses written to Janus Pannonius or attributed to him,

Volume II

Versiones (pp. 3–53), which consist of Latin translations of Plutarch (*M.*, 2, 6; *M.*, 6, 39) and Demosthenes (*Phil.*, 11, 3),

Orationes (pp. 54–69), three speeches by Janus Pannonius,

Epistolae (pp. 70–107), twenty-three letters,

Vita a variis consignata (pp. 109–242), reproducing historiographical sources, diplomatic documents, and arguments related to the poet's own work,

Dedicaciones et praefationes (pp. 243–317), where different forwards of earlier editions were reprinted,

Testimonia et iudicia selecta (pp. 319–336) and

Varietas lectionum (pp. 337–414), where the variants and the collations are given.

impressa, ed. Hieronymus Vietor, Krakow 1518, and *Epigrammata Iani Pannoini (sic) Quinque Ecclesiarum praesulis, viri omnium certe ore doctissimi, omnibus lectu gratissima et iucunda*, ed. Hieronymus Vietor, Krakow 1518.

Regarding the biographical aspects, it should be noted that the exhaustive work done on the sources, meticulously cited, lends authority to the text presented. Because of all that, this edition has several undeniable merits of exceptional quality, which deserve to be analysed in depth.

5. Criticism and philological work in Teleki's edition

The precision of Teleki's team in preparing the Janus Pannonius collection is evident in the accurate reproduction of the sources and the meticulous preparation of the *lectiones*. In the edition, the decisions follow a *modus operandi* familiar to other contemporaries. The edition primarily relies on classical sources but also employs intuition and often favours printed books as source material.

5.1. Classical sources

The edition prioritised certain options based on classical sources. It can be demonstrated that knowledge of old sources played a decisive role in choosing or changing some text words. In this regard, it is reasonable to assume that Kovásznai was the most important support for Teleki, which aligns with Dalloul's perspective that Kovásznai was the principal editor.

The decision on the *lectio melior* was often based on the old sources. In Ep. 11, 6 (II Tel. 10), *pars pro toto*, we can observe the corrections made by Teleki to Beatus Rhenanus' edition, which was his unique source:

Rhenanus, p. 96 (Ep. 11, 1–3, 8)

II Teleki 10 (p. 649)

Ocius ite deae, celeres precor ite Camenae,
corripi dulcisonam pulcher Apollo lyram,
et tot Mazono pro munere reddite grates,

Ocyus ite deae, celeres, precor, ite Camenae,
corripi dulcisonam, pulcher Apollo, lyram;
Et tot Mazono, pro munere, reddite grates,

...

...

quot gignit **rapidas** terra Libyssa **feras**

quot gignit **rabidas**, terra Libyssa, **feras**

Between 'rabidas' and 'rapidas', Teleki proposes a *lectio* inspired by the standard reading of Ovid (*Her.* 11, 111–112)³⁹ or Statius (*Theb.* 8, 71),⁴⁰ which historically could be

³⁹ Ovid, *Her.*, 11, 111–112: "Nate, dolor matris, rabidarum praeda ferarum, | Ei mihi! natali dilacerate tuo."

⁴⁰ Statius, *Theb.*, 8, 71–72: "Sit, qui rabidarum more ferarum | mandat atrox hostile caput."

supported by Seneca (*Her. O.* 1213),⁴¹ Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 8, 638–640),⁴² Tito Strozzi (*Erot.* 1, 5, 20)⁴³ or Enea Silvio Piccolomini (*Cynth.* 23, 4).⁴⁴

However, Ovid's edition of the *Heroides* makes this discussion particularly interesting, especially in relation to *Her.* 10, 96 and 11, 111.⁴⁵ As Reeson demonstrated in the case of Ovid, “‘rabidarum’ is a reading in some late manuscripts” and “it is a moot point whether ‘rapidus’ may be applied to wild beasts where, as here, the context concerns rather their ferocity than their rapidity.” Therefore, Reeson chose ‘rabidarum ... ferarum’ because “while ‘rapidus’ may sometimes have the sense of ‘snatching’, it must have a sense of rapid motion.” Additionally, as Arthur Palmer stated: “it seems possible that Roman writers sometimes intentionally used ‘rapidus’ with the derivation from ‘rapio’ before their eyes in the sense of ‘tearing.’”⁴⁶ It was exactly this option that Janus should be aiming for: Rhenanus perceived it, but Teleki did not.

This was later confirmed by the appearance of manuscript T, which contained the phrase ‘rapidas ... feras’. Both the Reeson’s reflection and the authority given to this manuscript⁴⁷ may have promoted the edition by Mayer as ‘rapidas ... feras’.⁴⁸ Rewriting ‘rapidas’ as ‘rabidas’ demonstrates the importance given to classical sources in selecting or altering certain words in the text.

5.2. Intuition

In second place, it must be acknowledged that Teleki relied heavily on his intuition. Intuition is a crucial quality for textual critics. Teleki’s edition exhibits accurate and often correct proposals that align with the art of editing, where the editor distances themselves from the text and proposes daring alternatives. As far as Teleki is concerned, the textual tradition and further collations have approved his changes after comparing different manuscripts. Two examples serve to illustrate his exceptional intuition.

Ms. B, f. 53r

Teleki, p. 643

In te uis omni sapiens nimis Vgo uideri;
sed minus ille sapit: *quí* nimis, Vgo, sapit.

In re vis omni, sapiens nimis, Ugo, videri,
sed minus ille sapit, qui nimis, Ugo, sapit.

⁴¹ Seneca, *Her. O.*, 1213: “Rabidaeque necem debere ferae.”

⁴² Silius Italicus, *Pun.*, 8, 638–640: “Castra quoque et uallum rabidae sub nocte silenti | inrupere ferae raptique ante ora pauentum | adiunctos uigilis sparserunt membra per agros.”

⁴³ “Dilacerent rabidae membra cruenta ferae?”, *Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. Carmina*, ed. A. della Guardia, Modena 1916. Here *Erot.* 1, 5, 20.

⁴⁴ “Non dii, sed rabide te genuere fere”, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Cinthia, Historia y De remedio amoris*, ed. A. Van Heck, Vatican City 1994. Here *Cynth.* 23, 4.

⁴⁵ See James Reeson, *Ovid, Heroides 11, 13 and 14: A Commentary*, Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2001, p. 104.

⁴⁶ Palmer quoted after Reeson, *Ovid*, p. 104.

⁴⁷ See Alfonso Lombana Sánchez, “The Janus Legacy in Seville”, *Hungarian Studies* 38 (2024): *Special Issue on Early Modern Hungary*, <https://doi.org/10.1556/044.2023.00238> [forthcoming].

⁴⁸ Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, Ep. 11, p. 76.

Epigram 266 was copied in six of the seven manuscripts where it was preserved as ‘In te.’⁴⁹ This is the version of the Vienna manuscript that Teleki used. However, Teleki improved the *lectio* of Vienna by correcting ‘in te’ to ‘in re’ for the first time. This is clearly the most convincing version—and almost the only possible one. Also Mayer proposed ‘In re’.

An interesting emendation can be found in Ep. 189 (I Tel. 289), an erotic poem edited by Teleki for the first time, where he also made textual interventions. Janus’ love poetry was heavily censored. Thus, Teleki’s team carried out the first edition of this poem, although it had been copied in six different exemplars. Once again, they did an excellent job correcting what he read in the manuscript B.

Ms. B, 53r

Teleki, p. 583

NVnc cum Lucia, mentulatiorem
qui **nasatior** est inepta credas;
riuali puto me carere summon;
quod nondum tibi uisus est Philemon.

Hunc cum, Lucia, mentulatiorem,
qui **nasatior** est, inepta credas,
riuali puto me carere summo,
quod nondum tibi visus est Philemon.

The initial word ‘nunc’ was replaced during the editing process with ‘hunc’. Additionally, there was disagreement with using the word ‘nasatior’. Although it was ultimately left unchanged, Teleki commented: “Etsi forte scripserit Ianus, *nasatum*; melius tamen legeretur: *vasutus* vel *nasutus*.”⁵⁰

Despite the authority given to the manuscript B, Teleki and his team had to develop a coherent alternative, and they opted for ‘nasutus’, which is very similar to Martial’s style.⁵¹ Since Janus was a reader of Martial, this intuition can truly be corroborated. Also Mayer suggested ‘nasatior’, the superlative comparative of Martial’s ‘nasutus’, which was also used to describe people with a fine, mocking, satirical spirit.

Therefore, the option ‘nasutus’ was also proposed in this direction. Therefore, although Teleki trusted manuscript B, he also relied on his intuition to create a comprehensive version.

5.3. Printed books

This said, Teleki consistently preferred options found in the old books and first editions he consulted when in doubt. Therefore, printed books containing texts of Janus

⁴⁹ See the *collatio* in Mayer, *Opera quae manserunt omnia*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 170. Only one manuscript corrected ‘in re’ as ‘tute’.

⁵⁰ Teleki, *Poemata*, p. 583.

⁵¹ “Nil nasutius hac maligniusque” (Mart., *Epigr.*, 2, 54, 5) or “Nasutus nimium cupis videri. | Nasutum volo, nolo polyposum” (Mart., *Epigr.*, 12, 37, 1–2).

Pannonius played an important role. The following four examples provide a brief list of instances in which Teleki chose the printed version, even though it may not always be the best choice in my opinion.

Ep. 55, 5	inquit B] inquis Eh Tel + S
Ep. 137, 4	sunt B] sint Edh Tel.
Ep. 168, 12	quisquam iuris B] iuris quisquam Edh Tel.
Ep. 417, 2	facies B] facias Eh Tel

However, it should be pointed out that, when editing elegies, Teleki displayed a more critical approach and did not trust Sambucus. An example emending the printed editions can be seen in relation to El. 7 (II Tel 17).

Elegy 7 (II Tel 17) has only been preserved in the second edition of Sambucus. The options suggested by Teleki are significant. Mayer (El. 15–23) has also considered and reproduced them in his edition. They are the result of a very concentrated reading:

Sambucus, ed. 1569, p. 434

Quanta tuumne canam decoret
 prudentia pectus?
 Quam clarus canas factus es ante
 comas?
 Cuncta per hanc praesens, quae fert,
 intelligis, aetas,
 Ipse fui aspectus ausus adire tuos,
 et me qua reliquos, regum placidissime,
 fronte
 excipis, et dulces fundis ab ore sonos.

Teleki, ed. 1784, p. 434

Quanta tuumne canam decoret
 prudentia pectus?
 Qua clarus canas factus es ante comas.

 Cuncta per hanc praesens quae fert,
 intelligis, aetas,

 Ipse fui aspectus ausus adire tuos.
 Et me qua reliquos, regum placidissime,
 fronte
 excipis, et dulces fundis ab ore sonos.

Teleki's edition demonstrates meticulous attention to detail in the texts. Despite having only one printed source and generally following the lead of previous editors, he is particularly cautious in this case. Upon close reading of the text, rhythmic incongruities and meaningless parts of the elegy were identified. And in a pioneering way, the edition suggested these gaps, which Mayer has also accepted⁵²—but which in the case of Sambucus might have gone unnoticed.

⁵² Mayer supported Teleki's proposal but suggested adding a second verse after "qua clarus canas...".

6. Conclusion

Sámuel Teleki was active during a time of revolution and proliferation of textual criticism. He emerges as a significant figure in eighteenth-century textual criticism, and the critical edition of Janus Pannonius' works, and the foundation of the Teleki Library are his most notable achievements. These endeavours reflect his dedication to preserving and advancing knowledge of classical literature. Regarding Janus Pannonius, his dedication to disseminating one of the most important authors of Hungarian literature is noteworthy.

Furthermore, his vision for his library should always be remembered. Thanks to this project, he broke away from tradition by advocating for an open and accessible collection, welcoming all interested readers, during an era when private libraries were common among the aristocracy. This forward-thinking vision transformed his library into a public treasure. The Teleki Library has endured as a vital cultural heritage of Marosvásárhely over the years, and his vision of the library promoted books as working elements and a source of authority.

Teleki's editorial work on Janus Pannonius' *oeuvre*, moreover, has left a lasting mark on the texts we read today. However, the expression 'Teleki' does not necessarily refer to 'Count Sámuel Teleki' but rather to the 'team' that he promoted. Some important absences are noted throughout the acknowledgments, and one of them is Sándor Kovászani.

Regarding the edition, it should be noted that Teleki's commitment to preserving and interpreting Janus' works was influenced by Enlightenment ideals and the rational, scientific approach of his time. Teleki's editorial decisions were guided by three main streams: they chose variants wisely based on classic sources, demonstrated an intuition that is often correct, and maintained critical management of sources. Although the team often preferred the printed version, in places it does not follow them.

To conclude, Count Sámuel Teleki's contributions to textual criticism, library development, and the preservation of classical literature have left an indelible mark on both the field of philology and cultural heritage. His approach to libraries and editorial work reflects the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment and is still celebrated today for its innovation. And in the case of Janus, his work has been instrumental for preserving his *oeuvre* to the present day.

Bibliography

Primary sources

De Jani Pannonii Quinque Ecclesiarum episcopi vita et scriptis. Libri III poematum elegiarum et epigrammatum, ed. Ignatius Norbertus Conradi, Budapest 1754.

Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum: Nunc primum in hac Germania exhibitae, ed. Joh. Philippus Pareus, Frankfurt 1619.

- Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Cinthia, Historia, De remedio amoris*, ed. A. Van Heck, Vatican City 1994.
- Epigrammata Iani Pannoini (sic) Quinque Ecclesiarum praesulis, viri omnium certe ore doctissimi, omnibus lectu gratissima et iucunda*, ed. Hieronymus Vietor, Krakow 1518.
- Epistolae Matthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae*, ed. Stephanus Huszti, Kassa 1744.
- Iani Pannonii ... Ad Guarinum Veronensem panegyricus. Eiusdem elegiarum liber. Et epigrammatum syluula*, ed. Hilarius Cantiancula, Venice 1553.
- Iani Pannonii ... Ad Guarinum Veronensem panegyricus. Eiusdem elegiarum liber. Et epigrammatum syluula*, ed. Hilarius Cantiancula, Basel 1555.
- Iani Pannonii ... lusus quidam et epigrammata, nunc primum inventa et excusa*, ed. Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Padova 1559.
- Iani Pannonii Eranemvs. Hoc est ventorum contentio*, Debrecen 1594.
- Iani Pannonii opera quae manserunt omnia*, ed. G. Mayer et al., Budapest 2006, 2014 and 2018.
- Ianni Pannonii Poemata quae usquam reperiri potuerunt omnia*, ed. S. Teleki, Utrecht 1784. A facsimile edition: *Jani Pannonii Opera omnia*, ed. P. Košzeghy et al., Budapest 2002.
- Iani Pannonii Quinque Ecclesiarum praesulis, poetae candidissimi, Elegiarum aureum opusculum*, ed. Benedictus Bekenius (Benedek Békeny) and Johannes Camers, Vienna 1514.
- Iani Pannonii Quinqueecclesiensis episcopi, Sylva Panegyrica ad Guarinum Veronensem, praeceptorem suum: Et ejusdem epigrammata, nunquam antehac typis excusa*, ed. Beatus Rhenanus, Basel 1518.
- Insunt praeterea Ioannis Pannonii Quinqueecclesiensis Episcopi Epigrammata, lectu haud indigna, hactenus non impressa*, ed. Hieronymus Vietor, Krakow 1518.
- “Ioannes III”, in: *Historia Episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum*, ed. J. Koller, Bratislava 1796, pp. 1–359.
- Ioannis Pannonii ... Elegiarum liber unus*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1523.
- Ioannis Pannonii ... Sylva panegyrica in Guarini Veronenis praeceptoris sui laudem condita*, ed. S. Magius (Sebestyén Magyi), Bologna 1513.
- Ioannis Pannonii episcopi quinque ecclesiarum, poetae et oratoris clarissimi panegyricus: in laudem Baptistae Guarini Veronsis praeceptoris sui conditus*, ed. Paulus Crosnensis (Pawel z Krosna), Vienna 1512.
- Jani Pannonii episcopi quinqueeccles: illius antiquis vatibus comparandi, recentioribus arte anteponendi, quae usquam reperiri adhuc potuerunt omnia opera Joannis Sambuci*, ed. Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Vienna 1569.
- Jani Pannonii Panegyricus Jacobo Antonio Marcello Patritio Veneto*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1522.
- Lambecus (Lambeck), Petrus, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi II*, Vienna 1669.
- Plutarchi Cheronei philosophi Libellus, quibus modis ab inimicis iuuari possimus Ioanne Pannonio episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi interprete*, ed. Adrianus Wolphardus, Bologna 1522.
- Reges Ungariae, ab An(no) Christi 401 usq(ue) ad 1567. Item Jani Pannonii ... Eranemus nunc repertus*, ed. Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Vienna 1567.
- Teleki, Sámuel, *Bibliotheca Samuelis SRI Com. Teleki de Szék*, Vienna 1796–1819.
- Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. Carmina*, ed. A. della Guardia, Modena 1916.

Secondary literature

- Csápodi, Csaba, *A budai királyi palotában 1686-ban talált kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek*, Budapest 1984.
- Csapodiné Gárdonyi, Klára, “Bartholomaeus Fontius. (Újabb adalékok magyarországi kapcsolataihoz és Poétikája.)”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 93 (1977), no. 1, pp. 38–42.
- Dalloul, Zaynab, “Interpretations of Janus Pannonius’ Eranemos in Light of the Cultural Heritage and Library of Count Sámuel Teleki and Alexander Kovásznai”, *Kniha. Zborník oprob-lémoch* (2016), pp. 182–192.
- Dalloul, Zaynab, “Kovácsznai Sándor és az európai kommentártörténeti hagyomány”, *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 114 (2010), pp. 99–121.
- Dalloul, Zaynab, “Sándor Kovásznai and Janus Pannonius”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Budapest, 6–12 August 2006*, ed. R. Schnur, Tempe, AR 2010, pp. 213–222.
- Deé Nagy, Anikó, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel*, Kolozsvár 1997.
- Deé Nagy, Anikó, *A marosvásárhelyi Teleki–Bolyai könyvtár ex librisei*, Budapest and Kolozsvár 2001.
- Lombana Sánchez, Alfonso, “The Janus Legacy in Seville”, *Hungarian Studies* 38 (2024): *Special Issue on Early Modern Hungary*, <https://doi.org/10.1556/044.2023.00238> [forthcoming].
- Lombana Sánchez, Alfonso, “Las traducciones de Janus Pannonius”, in: *Ventanas al mundo húngaro*, ed. A. Lombana Sánchez, D. Faix, G. Zombory, and G. Tóth, Budapest 2021, pp. 71–78.
- Reeson, James, *Ovid, Heroides 11, 13 and 14: A Commentary*, Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 2001.

ALFONSO LOMBANA SÁNCHEZ

✉ MSCA-Researcher, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

@ alombana[at]ucm.es

🌐 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2982-544X>

Alfonso Lombana Sánchez is a philologist, researcher, translator, and expert in Renaissance studies. Over the past decade, his work has primarily centred on textual criticism and Central-European Latin literature of the Middle Ages. His exploration of the Hungarian Middle Ages and Renaissance led him to the works of Janus Pannonius, which he has extensively studied through the MSCA-Project FLOR-JP.

Margherita Sciancalepore 

Aragonesi e Borboni a lezione da Giovanni Pontano

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 311–323

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

Aragonese and Bourbons Taught by Giovanni Pontano

In the history of the tradition and fortune of Giovanni Pontano's many and varied works, a still little-studied area concerns the first translations, carried out as early as the fifteenth century, and the translations subsequently made to confirm the humanist's fame. Interesting are those of *De principe* and *De fortitudine* published in Naples in the eighteenth century by Michelangelo Grisolia, abbot and professor of ethics and politics at the Reale Convitto Ferdinandiano alla Nunziatella. Between 1784 and 1787, in fact, he printed *I doveri del principe*, *Il principe eroe* and *Leroe domestico*, respectively dedicated to Queen Maria Carolina of Austria, King Ferdinand IV of Bourbon, and the heir Francis, the future Francis I. These publications present various points of interest not only for their historical and cultural context, namely the most turbulent years of the Italian Southern Enlightenment, but also for the ideological purpose behind the choice of both the two ethical-political treatises and their illustrious addressees. The paper investigates how these works were read, interpreted, and re-proposed by Grisolia for the education of members of the royal family, confirming the universality of Pontano's teaching *ad institutionem principis*, whose validity has spanned the centuries, proving capable of addressing past generations of sovereigns as well as modern ones.

Keywords

Giovanni Pontano,
Michelangelo Grisolia,
De principe,
De fortitudine,
Neapolitan Humanism,
Italian Southern Enlightenment,
translations

Se Immanuel Kant ha ritenuto che per definire l'Illuminismo fosse necessario partire da una domanda e chiedersi "Was ist Aufklärung?",¹ un interrogativo altrettanto legittimo da porsi, in relazione al contesto italiano, riguarda gli sviluppi che il movimento ha avuto rispetto al quadro europeo e, in una prospettiva sempre più ristretta e geograficamente circoscritta, gli aspetti di dipendenza ma anche di originalità e autonomia che esso ha manifestato nel Regno di Napoli. Cosa è stato, dunque, l'Illuminismo meridionale e quali caratteristiche ha assunto tali da rendere opportuna una distinzione rispetto alla corrente diffusasi contemporaneamente nel resto d'Italia? Indagini e risultati prodotti da indirizzi storiografici differenti – quando non addirittura opposti – non sono ancora riusciti a dare una risposta capace di interpretare, in maniera univoca, le matrici e gli esiti di un momento autenticamente "rivoluzionario" tanto nella componente ideologica quanto nell'esperienza politica messa in atto e culminata nella proclamazione della Repubblica napoletana del 1799.² L'elemento su cui, però, tutti gli studiosi sembrano concordare e che, a seconda dei campi di interesse, rappresenta il dato di partenza o il punto d'arrivo della ricostruzione storica è l'influenza che la specificità del territorio ha avuto nell'orientare la speculazione degli intellettuali meridionali, intendendo per territorio sia l'ambiente fisico sia la componente antropica e sociale, nonché la struttura amministrativa e istituzionale. L'assunto filosofico, di matrice muratoriana, che poneva come inderogabile e imprescindibile il raggiungimento della felicità comune³ rendeva infatti ancora più evidenti, per contrasto, le condizioni di arretratezza in cui versava la popolazione regnicola, fiaccata da secoli di isolamento e vessazioni, e suggeriva l'urgenza di un intervento per ridurre il divario tra sistema e prassi.

Perché ciò potesse realizzarsi, gli eruditi auspicarono soprattutto una sorta di palingenesi improntata sull'educazione che coinvolgesse la base della società così come il suo vertice. Anzi, il ruolo catalizzatore e propulsivo nel loro programma di formazione collettiva spettava proprio alla monarchia, in quanto l'istruzione delle masse sarebbe dovuta essere l'effetto positivo di una ragione superiore guidata dalla sapienza, la spontanea propagazione della conoscenza acquisita da governanti disposti ad apprendere e offerta da uomini di cultura propensi ad ammaestrare.

L'iniziativa editoriale oggetto del mio studio rispondeva proprio a questa istanza che potremmo definire "deontologica". Il fautore è stato un poco noto abate di origini

¹ Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?", *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 4 (1784), pp. 481–494.

² Anna Maria Rao, "Mezzogiorno e rivoluzione: trent'anni di storiografia", *Studi storici* 37 (1996), pp. 981–1041; Vincenzo Ferrone, "L'Illuminismo italiano e la rivoluzione napoletana del '99. Un problema storico da ridefinire", *Studi storici* 40 (1999), pp. 993–1007, poi in Id., *I profeti dell'Illuminismo. Le metamorfosi della ragione nel tardo Settecento italiano*, Roma–Bari 2000, pp. 361–374; *Napoli 1799 fra storia e storiografia. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 21–24 gennaio 1999)*, a cura di Anna Maria Rao, Napoli 2002; Cristina Passetti, *Verso la rivoluzione. Scienza e politica nel Regno di Napoli (1784–1794)*, Napoli 2007 (e, in particolare, la *Presentazione* di Anna Maria Rao, pp. VII–XXIV).

³ Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della pubblica felicità oggetto de' buoni principi*, a cura di Cesare Mozzarelli, Roma 1996. In relazione alla tematica si veda *Corte, buon governo, pubblica felicità. Politica e coscienza civile nel Muratori. Atti della III giornata di studi muratoriani (Vignola, 14 ottobre 1995)*, Firenze 1996.

calabresi e già docente di etica e politica a Napoli nel *Real Convitto Ferdinandiano*. Il suo nome, Michelangelo Grisolia, è legato ad alcuni opuscoli nei quali la riflessione filosofica, sollecitata anche dalla professione di docenza, si focalizza sul tema delle origini e dell'esercizio del potere, in particolare quello monarchico: mi riferisco soprattutto al *De principe* e al *Ragionamento sul sistema dell'origine della sovranità*, editi entrambi a Napoli nel 1783 per i tipi di Vincenzo Orsino. Di lì a poco, Grisolia avrebbe dato alle stampe altri tre opuscoli, o per meglio dire traduzioni commentate di due opere di Giovanni Pontano, il *De principe* e il *De fortitudine*: si tratta de *I doveri del principe*, apparso nel 1784 per le cure dell'editore napoletano Michele Morelli, *Il principe eroe* del 1786 e *L'eroe domestico* dell'anno successivo, impressi nella stamperia reale e corrispondenti rispettivamente al primo e al secondo libro del trattato pontaniano sulla fortezza.⁴

L'impegno di Grisolia appare, almeno nelle intenzioni, in sintonia con i tempi, sebbene non manchino spunti critici, segnali di una cauta fiducia – finanche problematica a volte – nutrita dall'abate per il secolo dei Lumi. Le traduzioni sono realizzate a beneficio anzitutto dei loro destinatari, tutti membri della famiglia reale dei Borboni, Maria Carolina d'Austria per *I doveri del principe*, Ferdinando IV per *Il principe eroe* e l'erede al trono Francesco per *L'eroe domestico*, con la speranza che in particolare il giovane rampollo potesse trarre insegnamento e ispirazione dalla lettura di questi testi il cui contenuto, corredato, come recita il titolo, da “annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche”, avrebbe permesso di apprendere meglio le responsabilità di governo. La cosiddetta “teoria dei doveri” viene menzionata da Grisolia nella dedicatoria alla regina Maria Carolina, dove si sostiene che la tutela della società civile, sempre minacciata dalla negligenza degli uomini nei confronti del benessere privato e pubblico, è garantita soprattutto quando i sovrani non sono fiaccamente e con distacco indotti a svolgere i propri incarichi, bensì avvertono verso quell'autorità, assegnatagli da Dio e riconosciuta dai sudditi, un appassionato trasporto emotivo. Si legge infatti:

Questi fortunati condottieri de' Popoli, dico i Principi sommi ed indipendenti, che debbono comandare altrui, e regolarli, e servire anche loro di specchio e di norma per tutto ciò che sia giusto ed onesto, debbono specialmente aver bene appresa, ed in tutta la sua estensione, la Teoria de' Doveri. Come potranno altrimenti la Società guidare al suo fine ed i suoi membri impegnare alla dilei perpetuità? Ecco perché debbono i sommi Principi

⁴ Per maggiori informazioni sull'attività intellettuale di Grisolia si rimanda ai seguenti studi: Saverio Napolitano, “Il problema della sovranità nella cultura napoletana di fine Settecento: il contributo del mormannese Michelangelo Grisolia”, in: *Tra Calabria e Mezzogiorno. Studi storici in memoria di Tobia Cornacchioli*, a cura di Giuseppe Masi, Cosenza 2007, pp. 65–79; Francesco Saverio Minervini, “Michelangelo Grisolia, un pontaniano alla fine del Settecento”, *Critica letteraria* 175 (2017), n. 2, pp. 329–347; Margherita Sciancalepore, “Note sulla fortuna del Pontano nel Settecento”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis. Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Vienna 2015)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber and Franz Römer, Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 641–646; Francesco Saverio Minervini, “Italiano e latino tra primato della lingua e sovranità politica”, in: *Una lingua morta per letterature vive: il dibattito sul latino come lingua letteraria in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del convegno internazionale (Roma, 10–12 dicembre 2015)*, a cura di Valerio Sanzotta, Leuven 2020, pp. 121–142; Margherita Sciancalepore, “Leggere Pontano a Napoli nel Settecento: le traduzioni di Michelangelo Grisolia”, *Rinascite della modernità* 2 (2022), pp. 107–114.

essere di buon'ora alla piena conoscenza de' propri doveri condotti, e perché debbono ben per tempo innamorarsi di gelosamente adempirgli. È questa amabile conoscenza la cagione efficace e perenne della pubblica felicità.⁵

Il ricorso all'immagine dello specchio non è affatto casuale e allude esplicitamente al genere degli *specula principis* nel quale l'opera di Pontano si inserisce. Ho già avuto modo di esporre in altra sede le mie ipotesi sulle ragioni che, nella scelta dei testi da tradurre, potrebbero aver agito a favore della produzione dell'umanista napoletano, tra le quali il recupero di un autore che, nonostante il pregio artistico e il contributo significativo nella tradizione della trattatistica politica, veniva ormai trascurato e, forse, rischiava di essere dimenticato a causa delle poche edizioni reperibili delle sue opere.⁶ Non si può escludere anche l'intervento di una suggestione, ovvero la coincidenza data dal titolo di duca di Calabria di cui Francesco I di Borbone era stato insignito nel 1778, lo stesso al quale viene ancora oggi associato il nome di Alfonso II d'Aragona, l'originale destinatario delle due opere tradotte da Grisolia. Ciò che l'abate mormannese immagina è un percorso educativo simile a quello impostato da Pontano per il suo discepolo e che "per la retta istituzione di un Principe ancora fanciullo e crescente" prevede, come spiega ne *Il principe eroe*, quale passo successivo all'acquisizione delle nozioni in merito ai doveri, la conoscenza delle "virtù più singolari ed eccellenti, che formano il cuore dell'Eroismo, e quindi della vera gloria".⁷

A sostegno dell'intero codice etico che l'uomo di potere deve rispettare vi è, secondo Grisolia, la "fortezza", intesa come la virtù suprema capace di contenere tutte le altre virtù particolari, come quella disposizione positiva e quasi "divina" che, rendendo l'animo più forte contro gli assalti delle passioni e più resistente alla debolezza, trasforma l'uomo in eroe. Superiore, dunque, ma anche duplice e attiva su due fronti contemporaneamente, perché solo esercitando il coraggio contro i pericoli esterni e affrontando con fermezza le minacce interne al regno i principi possono garantire stabilità e longevità al proprio comando; e merito indiscusso di Pontano rispetto a filosofi, quali Plotino e Aristotele, che avevano affrontato lo stesso argomento, era stato, a giudizio di Grisolia, quello di distinguere le due forme di fortezza, la prima definita "militare ed eroica", la seconda "privata e domestica".⁸ Aggiunge inoltre in una delle sue note di commento:

⁵ *I doveri del principe di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso duca di Calabria. Traduzione di Michelangiolo Grisolia con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche e col testo latino a fronte*, Napoli 1784, s.n.p. Si informa che si è voluto intervenire a emendare e semplificare l'uso della punteggiatura al fine di rendere più agevole la lettura dei passi proposti.

⁶ M. Sciancalepore, "Leggere Pontano a Napoli", p. 110.

⁷ *Il principe eroe di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso d'Aragona duca di Calabria. Traduzione di Michelangiolo Grisolia con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche e col testo latino a fronte. Si premette un Discorso ai Dotti, ed una Dissertazione preliminare; e si aggiugne in fine la traduzione del libro di Plutarco "Ad principem ineruditum"*, Napoli 1786, p. VII.

⁸ *L'eroe domestico di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso d'Aragona duca di Calabria. Traduzione dell'ab. Grisolia, professore di Etica e di Politica nella Reale Accademia Militare. Con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche, e col testo latino a fronte. Si aggiugne in fine un Saggio su gli dieci libri dell'Etica di Aristotele a Nicomaco*, Napoli 1787, p. XI.

Se questa virtù può rendere ancor l'uomo Eroe fra le domestiche mura lungi dai perigli della guerra, se questa virtù sola rende l'uomo capace di resistere a tutte le passioni domestiche, a' dolori, alle voluttà, all'ambizione, come dice il nostro autore, dunque la Fortezza non ha per oggetto solamente l'audacia e 'l timore, ma può considerarsi come una virtù dominante nell'uomo, guida e norma de' suoi costumi, e sola capace di rintuzzare la forza delle passioni e della rea fortuna. La Fortezza è quella singolare virtù che ci rende capaci nella sofferenza, unico alleviamento e ristoro ne' mali più grandi. Ella non ci lascia cadere vilmente nella debolezza di caricar di maldicenze la sorte e struggerci di tristezza. Ella è il fonte di quella gloria che, oppressi dalle disgrazie in tempo di pace e nella propria casa, ci rende nondimeno superiori a' colpi della fortuna. Ella ci rende onesti e giusti nell'amministrazione de' pubblici affari.⁹

I precetti sui quali Grisolia si sofferma e che cerca di rendere più accessibili alla comprensione e alla interiorizzazione dei suoi lettori dimostrano, di fatto, anche la straordinaria modernità del messaggio pontaniano, la cui lezione risuonava ancora in tutta la sua validità a distanza di tre secoli. Anche il lessico impiegato dall'umanista viene recuperato per esprimere concetti assoluti, come nel caso di "immanità", ovvero quella "matta bestialità" secondo la traduzione di Giuseppe Toffanin,¹⁰ quella ferocia in cui la grandezza d'animo si trasforma quando si separa dalla rettitudine e agisce senza valutare se le conseguenze delle iniziative intraprese siano giuste o sbagliate. Il principe che non dimentica né tradisce la propria *humanitas*, chiosa Grisolia, deve sempre operare in funzione del bene e nel rispetto dell'integrità morale, anche nei confronti dei propri nemici. In disaccordo con i cosiddetti "pubblicisti" e i filosofi che invece sostenevano che contro il nemico ogni espediente, anche moralmente deprecabile, fosse lecito, se utile alla sua sopraffazione, l'abate ricorda quanto lucido fosse stato l'acume intellettuale di Pontano:

Le riflessioni del nostro Autore intorno alla clemenza che debbono usare i conquistatori sono molto proprie ed opportune. Egli, prima del Montesquieu, comprese che il fine della vittoria e della conquista non è la strage de' vinti e la lor distruzione. Il vincitore tosto che ha disarmato il nemico, e gli ha posto il giogo, ha ottenuto il suo fine, cioè la sua conservazione, che solo rende giusta e lecita la guerra. Dunque dopo riportata la vittoria non può incrudelire giustamente sopra i nemici. Lo farà impunemente; ma non perciò sarà un dritto farlo, e non si offenderà la giustizia naturale. Questo termine *licet* che spesso nota la impunità delle azioni, giusta il dritto della guerra e delle genti, ha ingannato molti pubblicisti. [...] il nostro Pontano prevenne molto tempo innanzi l'Ill. Ugon Grozio nella cognizion del dritto delle genti. Il Pontano, come può scorgersi in questi libri arricchiti della

⁹ *L'eroe domestico*, pp. 4-5, n. 1.

¹⁰ Giuseppe Toffanin, *Giovanni Pontano fra l'uomo e la natura*, Bologna 1938, p. 88. L'espressione è stata poi accolta e adoperata nell'edizione *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani De immanitate liber*, edidit, italice vertit, commentariolo instruxit Liliana Monti Sabia, Napoli 1970 (cfr. p. 138). In riferimento all'opera, si segnala anche Mario Santoro, "Il *De immanitate*: testamento spirituale del Pontano", *Partenope* 1 (1960), pp. 5-16.

più scelta erudizione, mostrò lui la via da stabilire il dritto e la filosofia del dritto, coll'aiuto dell'erudizione.¹¹

Non sono pochi i passi dove le massime espresse dall'umanista vengono lette attraverso la lente storica del loro traduttore e commentatore e si adattano ad essere contestualizzate ai tempi e alle problematiche più dibattute del XVIII secolo. È inevitabile, ad esempio, che le argomentazioni sulla clemenza aprano uno squarcio sul tema dell'amministrazione della giustizia, in linea con il vivace dibattito che si era acceso a Napoli dopo la divulgazione, su impulso di Antonio Genovesi, delle riflessioni di Cesare Beccaria.¹² La posizione di Grisolia a questo proposito appare aperta a una conciliazione tra severità e indulgenza, poiché sebbene dichiara con fermezza che non sia accettabile lasciare impunito un crimine se si vuole garantire la stabilità di uno Stato, ammette però che in alcuni casi l'assoluzione potrebbe risultare utile al pari della condanna. Rammenta altresì che il *princeps* veramente clemente è colui che non si fa dominare dall'impulso alla vendetta, in quanto consapevole di dover punire la colpa, non il colpevole. Strettamente connessa alla materia giuridica è poi quella economica, in una prospettiva che considera il "benessere" come una condizione di agiatezza collettiva utile a contrastare i reati causati dal bisogno e dall'indigenza. D'altronde la stabilità finanziaria registrata esclusivamente nei conti pubblici e nelle casse dello Stato non è da sola sufficiente ad attestare la prosperità di una società che invece può dirsi, insieme al suo sovrano, davvero ricca quando è gratificata. E a proposito del giudizio di Pontano che nel *De principe* loda la perspicacia di Ciro il Grande per aver intuito che il vero scopo di un buon sovrano dovesse essere "civitates beatas efficere", Grisolia aggiunge:

Ciro, il giudizioso Ciro, aveva dunque capito il fine del Principato. Debbono i Principi esser padri e pastori de' popoli che governano: non debbono ad altro tendere le loro mire che a felicitarli. Quei che pensano che i Principi debbono nel loro Erario derivare per tutte le possibili vie le ricchezze dello Stato, la sbagliano all'ingrosso. Il sovrano è ricco e potente quando i sudditi non sono miserabili ed avviliti. Che faremo noi di un capo risplendente, e carico di ricchezze, il quale sarà poggiato ad un busto sparuto e scontraffatto? Qui debbono badare i rispettabili Ministri delle Finanze di qualunque Sovrano. Non debbono considerare il Principe come un privato, i dicui interessi sien disgiunti dall'utile pubblico. Qui si consiste lo sbaglio. Si considera il Sovrano come un privato, non come un Padre pubblico,

¹¹ *Il principe eroe*, pp. 165–167, n. 1.

¹² Sulla ricezione del pensiero e dell'opera di Cesare Beccaria a Napoli, si vedano: Anna Maria Rao, «Delle virtù e de' premi»: la fortuna di Beccaria nel regno di Napoli», in: *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l'Europa. Convegno di studi per il 250° anniversario della nascita*, a cura di Sergio Romagnoli e Gian Domenico Pisapia, Bari 1990, pp. 534–586; Renato Pasta, «Il *Dei delitti e delle pene* in Italia: appunti e riflessioni», *Materiali per una storia della cultura giuridica*, 25 (1995), pp. 313–339; Girolamo Imbruglia, «Riformismo e illuminismo. Il *Dei delitti e delle pene* tra Napoli e l'Europa», in: *Cesare Beccaria. La pratica dei Lumi*, a cura di Vincenzo Ferrone e Gianni Francioni, Firenze 2000, pp. 99–126; Pasquale Matarazzo, «*Dei delitti e delle pene*. Letture napoletane» in: *I diritti dell'uomo. Dei delitti e delle pene a 250 anni dalla pubblicazione*, a cura di Elio Palombi, Torino 2016, pp. 16–37; Id., «L'altro Beccaria. Torsioni e tensioni nel Mezzogiorno Borbonico», *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 40 (2017), pp. 315–342.

il quale sia in obbligo di nudrire tutti i sudditi, e di animarli, e soccorrerli. [...] La felicità e la ricchezza de' sudditi fanno la felicità e la ricchezza dello Stato, ed in conseguenza del Sovrano. Chi dice diversamente, dice un'eresia insoffribile nella vera Politica.¹³

Il passo scelto permette di aggiungere alcune informazioni sul metodo speculativo adottato da Grisolia nelle tre edizioni esaminate. Non è raro che, nell'esposizione dei propri principi teorici, l'abate tragga spunto dagli *exempla* menzionati da Pontano e a questi ne aggiunga altri tratti da letture diverse o dalla storia a lui contemporanea, a volte consegnando brevi e suggestive narrazioni degne della tradizione aneddotica, a volte sfociando in un nozionismo eccessivo e pedante. Si riportano due esempi opposti per estensione ma accomunati da una tematica comune e cioè l'attitudine alla resistenza richiesta ai principi per far fronte ai disagi e sopportare la fatica. Ne *I doveri del principe* l'argomento ispira il ricordo della prima visita a Napoli dell'imperatore Giuseppe II d'Asburgo-Lorena, in occasione della quale pare che questi, disdegnando gli agi che, in ragione della sua autorità, gli erano stati riservati per il pernottamento, avesse preferito coricarsi sul pavimento coperto da una coltre di pelle perché il suo animo fosse sempre temprato e pronto ad affrontare, in caso di necessità, le dure condizioni imposte da un'eventuale campagna militare.¹⁴ Di contro, ne *Il principe eroe*,¹⁵ a commento della menzione di Cicerone fatta da Pontano per spiegare la funzione corroborante del *labor* ("Et Cicero determinat laborem functionem esse quandam vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis vel muneris": cfr. Cic. *Tusc.* 2,15,35),¹⁶ Grisolia dà sfoggio di tutta la sua erudizione segnalando non solo un altro luogo della stessa opera ciceroniana,¹⁷ ma facendo appello alle lezioni di autori classici (Aulo Gellio,¹⁸ Diodoro Siculo¹⁹ Plutarco²⁰ e Sallustio),²¹ nonché neolatini (Panormita).²² Elenco delle fonti che l'abate utilizza a suffragio delle proprie tesi

¹³ *I doveri del principe*, pp. 140–141, n. 3.

¹⁴ *I doveri del principe*, p. 183, n. 3.

¹⁵ *Il principe eroe*, pp. 14–15, n. 1.

¹⁶ *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani de fortitudine ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae; Ioannis Ioviani Pontani ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae de principe*, Napoli 1490, a5v. Il testo dell'opera sarà presto edito a cura di Francesco Tateo.

¹⁷ "Le leggi di Licurgo, aggiunge Cicerone nel libro citato, comandano che la gioventù sia esercitata a fatiche diverse, alla caccia, alla corsa, al nuotare, alla ginnastica, a morirsi di fame, di sete, di freddo, di caldo": cfr. Cic. *Tusc.* 2,14,34.

¹⁸ "Gellio gravemente scrive che la vita umana è molto simile al ferro, il qual'esercitato si strugge, non esercitato si consuma pur anche colla ruggine. Gli uomini similmente non esercitati sono distrutti dall'inazione e dal torpore, molto più che dall'esercizio": cfr. Gell. 11,2,6.

¹⁹ "Massinissa, Re dei Numidi, dice Diodoro, era molto robusto perché avvezzo sin dalla fanciullezza alle fatiche": D.S. 32,16 [Photius *Bibl.* 384 B].

²⁰ "Alessandro, dice Plutarco, veggendo che i suoi eransi abbandonati all'ozio ed al lusso dopo le molte vittorie riportate nell'Asia, riprese loro dolcemente, dicendo che la mollezza fosse da dappoco e da servi e che la fatica fosse propria dei re": cfr. Plu. *Alex.*, 40,1–2.

²¹ "La fatica nutrice gli animi generosi e ben educati; e siccome conviene la politezza e l'ornamento alle donne, così la fatica distingue i valentuomini": cfr. Sall. *Iug.* 85,40.

²² "Sono stati ben gelosi gli Dei immortali, diceva Alfonso I presso il Panormita, cogli uomini e cogli stessi Re: eglino han voluto che non potessero mai la virtù e l'onore conseguire, che debb'essere il cibo e l'alimento dei Principi, se non mercè delle ostinate fatiche e dei molti sudori, non già dell'ozio e della

ne conferma la vasta *sapientia* acquisita per formazione intellettuale e per esigenze accademiche: numerose e maggiormente ricorrenti sono le *auctoritates* sia greche che latine, seguite dai pensatori moderni, quali i giusnaturalisti Grozio e Pufendorf, che avevano influenzato il pensiero di Grisolia,²³ fino agli esponenti di spicco della cultura illuministica, da Montesquieu a Rousseau, da Filangieri a Beccaria, a Giannone o – senza alcuna riserva – a se stesso.²⁴ Accade, infatti, che quando la materia dell'esposizione lo consente, il nostro si autociti per richiamare il lettore a quanto già pubblicato in altre edizioni o per suggerirgli eventuali approfondimenti e ulteriori spunti di riflessione. Ad esempio, ne *I doveri del principe*, lì dove Pontano sostiene “Prudenter igitur Maro Phlegiam illum suum inducit iustitiam religionemque colaudantem his verbis: *Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos*,”²⁵ Grisolia traduce che “prudentemente Virgilio introduce nel suo poema²⁶ quel Flegia che loda la giustizia e la religione”²⁷ e spiega:

Questo Flegia, di cui parla Virgilio nel VI dell'*Eneidi* v. 618, dicesi che avesse abbrugiato il tempio di Apollo, onde questo Dio gli scagliò le sue frecce e lo cacciò nell'Inferno. Perciò Virgilio nel v. 620 dello stesso libro gli mette in bocca questa sentenza: *Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos*. Quindi apparisce che queste due virtù vanno unite insieme, né può concepirsi Giustizia senza Pietà e Religione.²⁸

Il riferimento apre una lunga digressione sulla disposizione umana al rispetto delle leggi e, di conseguenza, al loro promulgatore, sia esso un “Ente Sovrano, il quale abbia dritto di comandare alle creature intelligenti e dritto di farsi obbedire” o un

mollezza. Onde il medesimo sapientissimo nostro Principe, biasimato da Matteo di Sicilia che faticasse colle proprie mani, sorridendogli disse che Dio e la natura non avevano dato ai Re le mani indarno”: cfr. *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* 1,41 e 2,37. In attesa dell'edizione critica di imminente pubblicazione, il testo dell'opera può essere consultato in Antonio Beccadelli el Panormita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso. Versió catalana del segle XV de Jordi de Centelles*, a cura d'Eulalia Duran, Barcelona 1990. Se nel far menzione della fonte Grisolia commette delle imprecisioni poiché non specifica il libro dal quale ha tratto il primo aneddoto, mentre l'altro lo assegna al primo anziché al secondo libro, è invece estremamente preciso nell'indicare l'edizione consultata, come si legge in *I doveri del principe* (p. 89, n. 6), in cui afferma di essersi servito di quella “che ha fatta [...] Giano Gruter in *Lampade, sive Face artium liberarium*, colle note di Enea Silvio, e cogli Scholj di Giacomo Spiegello, tom. II ediz. del 39”: si tratta della ristampa della raccolta *Lampas sive fax artium liberalium* di Jan Gruter, pubblicata tra il 1737 e il 1751 per le cure dei padri Teatini di Palermo, in riferimento alla quale si veda Donatella Coppini, “La nuova fortuna editoriale del Panormita dal Settecento al Novecento”, *Rinascite della modernità* 1 (2021), pp. 5–19.

²³ Cfr. M. Sciancalepore, “Note sulla fortuna”, pp. 642–643.

²⁴ L'analisi più accurata e dettagliata delle fonti sarà oggetto di una prossima pubblicazione, nella quale verrà riservato maggiore spazio anche alle osservazioni circa il rapporto del traduttore con il latino di Pontano. In questa sede è possibile anticipare che la tipologia e l'estensione delle note cambia a seconda dell'opera, passando da minuziosi riferimenti di carattere storico, letterario e filosofico ne *I doveri del principe* a valutazioni prevalentemente di tipo linguistico nelle due successive traduzioni.

²⁵ Giovanni Pontano, *De principe*, a cura di Guido M. Cappelli, Roma 2003, p. 4.

²⁶ Il corsivo è inserito per iniziativa di Grisolia e serve a segnalare, com'è evidente, un'aggiunta rispetto al testo originale. Di questo aspetto, vd. oltre.

²⁷ *I doveri del principe*, p. 85.

²⁸ *I doveri del principe*, pp. 84–85, n. 2.

“Essere infinito e Supremo” “intimamente buono ed in conseguenza amante della felicità delle creature ragionevoli”, e poiché dell’argomento in questione Grisolia aveva già opportunamente e diffusamente dissertato in precedenza, suggerisce: “Leggasi il nostro *Ragionamento sul sistema dell’origine della Sovranità* § 9 fino al 16 dove si dà una breve idea della Religion Naturale”.²⁹

Non mancano, poi, note di costume e di antropologia sociale – in alcuni casi accompagnate da espressioni di disappunto – nei confronti, ad esempio, delle mode del Settecento, come quando Grisolia mostra di non condividere la pratica, in voga tra le donne, di coprire la fronte con i capelli che diviene addirittura “un segno manifesto dell’ignoranza del secolo, e delle idee guaste” se oltraggia l’estetica del decoro arrivando a deturpare la natura,³⁰ né risparmia toni meno pungenti alle madri italiane, in particolare quelle meridionali, le quali, rinomate per il loro attaccamento morboso verso la prole, ne impediscono la carriera militare perché “non soffrono più volentieri, che i loro figli si allontanino da sé, e si diano a seguir la milizia armata”; per tale motivo “trattengono i figli, nati alle grandi azioni, coll’affetto loro veramente femineo e molle”.³¹

Anche il contesto culturale è di frequente chiamato a supportare le considerazioni su un’epoca non sempre benevola con gli intellettuali e non sempre disposta ad apprezzarne l’impegno. Ne *I doveri del principe*, a proposito dell’immagine spesso idealizzata degli eroi che la letteratura custodisce e la fama celebra, associando – in maniera a dire il vero forzata rispetto all’argomento oggetto della riflessione – i poemi omerici a *Le avventure di Telemaco*,³² viene ricordata la triste sorte di Fénelon, un “uomo incomparabile, il quale seppe così bene [...] mostrare, come si debba educare un Principe, che ha da fare la felicità de’ suoi sudditi”, ma che, di contro, proprio per questo impegno letterario era stato immeritatamente allontanato dalla corte di Francia, sicché “ad onta di queste sue cure” conclude il nostro con un velo di amarezza,

²⁹ *I doveri del principe*, p. 86, n. 2. La conclusione della nota è riservata, tuttavia, ad altre due fonti classiche, ossia Cic. *nat. deor.* 1,2 e Arist. *EN* 5,1129b (ma in realtà attestato in Thgn. 147 e anche in Phoc. fr. 10 D). Un rimando singolare alla propria produzione Grisolia lo fa nella nota immediatamente successiva (*I doveri del principe*, pp. 86–87, n. 3) quando, a proposito dell’impegno che un principe dovrebbe approfondire nel governo dello Stato, considerato che per esso e nella prospettiva di una maggiore tutela gli uomini hanno rinunciato allo stato di natura, l’abate si richiama a quanto “ne abbiamo pensato ancor noi nel cap. 1 del lib. II della nostra opera *De principe*, che fra breve daremo alla luce”. L’opera, invece, per ragioni che non conosciamo, venne pubblicata un anno prima rispetto alla traduzione pontaniana, ma ciò ci permette comunque di ipotizzare che le due attività, quella di teorico e quella di interprete, furono condotte parallelamente. Allo stesso modo, poco utile ai fini della ricostruzione temporale dell’attività di Grisolia è riferimento in *L’eroe domestico* (p. 50, n. 5) all’opuscolo *Ultima vera per gli probolisti a richiesta per gli antiprobolisti, o sia Spicilegio musico*, apparso in un’edizione priva di informazioni tipografiche e incluso anche in una miscellanea di scritti inerenti all’argomento a firma di Saverio Mattei, Ferdinando Galiani e Mariano Cordella, stampata a Napoli probabilmente nel 1785.

³⁰ *I doveri del principe*, pp. 192–193, n. 1.

³¹ *L’eroe domestico*, p. 72, n. 5.

³² Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, éd. Jeanne-Lydie Goré, Paris 1987 (réimpr. Paris 2009). Nell’ambito di un numero monografico dedicato interamente all’opera, si segnala il contributo di Jean-Philippe Groperrin, Pierre Ronzeaud, “*Les Aventures de Télémaque: une bibliographie*”, *Littératures classiques* 70 (2009), pp. 351–375. Per affinità con l’argomento trattato, si veda anche *Le avventure delle Aventures. Traduzioni del Télémaque di Fénelon tra Sette e Ottocento*, a cura di Marco E. L. Guidi e Marco Cini, Pisa 2017.

“quali furono i premi di un Vescovo così dotto, ed interessato alla gloria del suo Re, e de’ vantaggi della sua nazione?”³³ La desolazione di Grisolia non è immotivata e tradisce il sentimento che egli aveva provato all’indomani della pubblicazione del trattato in latino intitolato *De principe*. In quell’occasione, infatti, seppur non avesse subito l’onta di un bando, aveva però fatto esperienza dell’umiliazione che un autore prova nel vedere non adeguatamente apprezzata la propria opera.³⁴ Gli strali della critica non lo avevano lasciato indifferente, al punto che da quel momento in poi Grisolia, adattandosi al “genio universale”, avrebbe mutato “stile e favella” dedicandosi alla produzione in lingua italiana, senza tradire, però, la sua formazione classica. Proporre la lettura delle opere di Pontano in traduzione significava anzitutto compiacere le inclinazioni del secolo accogliendo le sollecitazioni che provenivano dagli stessi padri dell’Illuminismo meridionale, a partire da Genovesi, sul ricorso alla lingua nazionale, dunque italiana, per garantire la diffusione delle idee e delle informazioni.³⁵ Come si è cercato di dimostrare, non meno importante era, d’altra parte, lo spazio di autonomia, compreso soprattutto nell’apparato di note a commento dei passaggi più significativi del pensiero pontaniano, che Grisolia riusciva a garantirsi, concedendo alla propria competenza linguistica e alla propria erudizione una nuova occasione e, forse, un maggiore consenso pubblico.

Il rapporto con il latino dell’umanista napoletano non è improntato su una vuota e incondizionata ammirazione da parte del traduttore, che invece non di rado – e, a volte, in maniera fin troppo cavillosa – mette in discussione le scelte lessicali quando non attestate dalla tradizione e da quelli che definisce i “buoni Autori”, oppure censura forme espressive poco regolate e ritenute non opportune. Ugualmente

³³ *I doveri del principe*, pp. 176–177, n. 2. Nella stessa opera (pp. 122–126, n. 1), a chiarimento dell’affermazione pontaniana “Neque illis assentiendum est qui litteras accusant” (G. Pontano, *De principe*, p. 28) e all’interno di un paragrafo che reca l’eloquente titolo “Breve apologia nella quale si mostra che le lettere non necessarie ed il Principe deve proteggerle”, Grisolia difende l’importanza della cultura, nello specifico letteraria e scientifica, come fattore di sviluppo e di stabilità sociale: “Non solo in questo secolo, ma benanche in quello del Pontano erano da’ più, che son sempre ignoranti, le lettere e i letterati uomini negletti. Nondimeno bisogna riflettere che se le arti sono necessarie per la felicità di una nazione, molto più lo sono le lettere e le scienze. Queste nutriscono gl’ingegni umani e li rendono più grandi e più chiari. [...] Quando saran cadute le lettere, subito la barbarie assale la nazione che, diventando selvaggia, diventano tutti i suoi membri di un ceto. È dunque interesse del Sovrano, de’ Grandi, del Ceto militare, de’ Magistrati protegger le lettere. Quando queste saran cadute, tosto caderà la Piramide che si è detta”. Sulle aspettative, spesso deluse, dei letterati regnicoli, interessante è il contributo di Anna Maria Rao, “Intellettuali e professioni a Napoli nel Settecento”, in: *Avvocati, medici, ingegneri. Alle origini delle professioni moderne*, a cura di Maria Luisa Betri e Alessandro Pastore, Bologna 1997, pp. 41–60.

³⁴ Le ragioni di questo insuccesso editoriale sono spiegate dall’abate nella prefatoria ai lettori che apre, dopo la dedica a Maria Carolina, la traduzione della omonima ma ben più fortunata opera pontaniana (*I doveri del principe*, pp. 1–2): cfr. M. Sciancalepore, “Leggere Pontano a Napoli”, p. 113.

³⁵ Si vedano i seguenti contributi di Cristina Passetti: “«Saper leggere e scrivere, ed un poco d’abbaco»: il modello sociale di Antonio Genovesi”, in: *Modelli d’oltre confine. Prospettive economiche e sociali negli antichi Stati italiani*, a cura di Antonella Alimento, Roma 2009, pp. 131–146; “Una fragile armonia: felicità e sapere nel pensiero di Antonio Genovesi”, *Rivista storica italiana* 121 (2009), pp. 857–868, poi in: *Felicità pubblica e felicità privata nel Settecento*, a cura di Anna Maria Rao, Roma 2012, pp. 287–297; “Utili scienze e lingua nazionale nel programma di riforme di Antonio Genovesi”, *Philosophia. Bollettino della Società Italiana di Storia della Filosofia* 1 (2009), pp. 133–154.

libero è il suo atteggiamento nei confronti del testo, che nell'impianto³⁶ ma soprattutto nella resa acquista una veste non del tutto aderente all'originale: Grisolia aggiunge sintagmi, evita le ripetizioni, modifica i pronomi, interpreta invece di limitarsi a tradurre perché, dice, “nella lingua italiana non è soffribile quella semplicità, che porta seco il genio della Romana Lingua”.³⁷ A tali considerazioni di tipo linguistico, si aggiungono anche convinzioni ideologiche che intervengono ad alterare con grande libertà – e scarsa disciplina filologica – il senso del testo: ecco, allora, che quando nel *De principe* Pontano sostiene quanto sia importante educare l'animo “ut se e libertate in servitute[m], e divitiis in paupertate[m] et ex alto atque illustri loco in infima obscuraque deici aliquando cogit”,³⁸ Grisolia mantiene invariato il suggerimento all'ammaestramento dell'animo ma affinché “rifletta alcuna fiata poter l'uomo cadere dalla libertà nella servitù, dalle ricchezze nella povertà e dall'alto e nobile grado nel più basso ed ignobile”,³⁹ chiarendo in nota le ragioni dell'alterazione del pronome riflessivo, già evidenziato – in questo come in altri casi di “tradimento” del testo – dall'uso del corsivo:

Non condono quel *se* al nostro autore, il quale sendo reciproco debbesi rapportare all'animo. Ma l'animo non conosce catene. Abbiamo perciò ammolita la durezza di questo sentimento nella nostra traduzione.⁴⁰

Si fa anche censore delle traduzioni altrui, nello specifico di Annibal Caro, alla cui autorità ricorre per la trasposizione dei versi virgiliani citati da Pontano, nonostante non ne condivida sempre le soluzioni stilistiche, a suo parere prive di “sobrietà”, al punto da preferire proporre versioni personali e originali che lascia alla sensibilità del lettore valutare.⁴¹

³⁶ Come anticipato, gli interventi più o meno invasivi di Grisolia sui testi pontaniani e le sue annotazioni di tipo linguistico saranno discussi in un prossimo studio ad essi dedicato. Offriamo un esempio a scopo dimostrativo rispetto a quanto affermato. Ne *Il principe eroe* (p. 60, n. 1), in corrispondenza del capitolo relativo ai pericoli di guerra che ha per titolo “Cur bellica pericula sint graviora” e che riprende tali parole nell'incipit della trattazione (“Cur autem bellica pericula et sint et videantur graviora, hinc est, quod evidentiora cum sint, magis sentiuntur”: *Pontani de fortitudine*, b8v), l'abate suppone la presenza di un errore nella ripetizione dell'avverbio e a fronte della lezione concorde delle stampe interviene a emendare il testo, avvertendo: “Non solo la edizione di Basilea fatta 50 anni dopo, ma quella benanche di Mattia Moravo del 1490, che credesi più corretta, ha nel principio di questo capitolo *cur*. Noi crediamo che debba dire *cum*”.

³⁷ *I doveri del principe*, p. 81, n. 5.

³⁸ G. Pontano, *De principe*, p. 22. Il testo latino nell'edizione di Grisolia presenta una sostanziale differenza, ovvero una lacuna, rispetto all'originale.

³⁹ *I doveri del principe*, p. 115.

⁴⁰ *I doveri del principe*, p. 114, n. 2. Un altro esempio legato ad una forma di severo rigore religioso è spiegato in “Note sulla fortuna”, p. 644.

⁴¹ *Il principe eroe*, pp. 48–49, n. 1; pp. 114–115; p. 120, n. 1. *L'Eneide di Virgilio, del commendatore Annibal Caro* fu stampata a Venezia nel 1581 da Bernardo Giunti e gode oggi di diverse edizioni, tra le quali la più autorevole resta *Versione dell'Eneide di Annibal Caro*, a cura di Arturo Pompeati, Torino 1954. Oltre alla voce di Aulo Greco ad essa dedicata nella *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (Roma 1984, pp. 671–673), la traduzione è stata oggetto di numerosi studi, di cui si indicano alcuni tra i più significativi: Vittorio Cian, *Annibal Caro traduttore dell'Eneide*, Torino 1921; Francesco Sarri, *Annibal Caro, saggio critico*,

In conclusione, non ci sono tracce del riscontro ricevuto da Grisolia per il suo contributo come curatore di nuove edizioni delle opere pontaniane, se non la concessione del privilegio di pubblicare *Il principe eroe* e *L'eroe domestico* nella stamperia reale. Si può ipotizzare, allora, che gli sforzi profusi ne *I doveri del principe* fossero stati apprezzati dai sovrani. Di fatto l'impegno di divulgazione del pensiero politico dell'umanista si esaurì dopo questa esperienza e rappresenta uno degli ultimi impegni dell'abate che di lì a poco, il 22 giugno del 1794, sarebbe morto lasciando una monarchia vacillante dopo l'esecuzione dei sovrani francesi e un Regno in cui gli echi della rivoluzione risuonavano sempre più insistenti.

Bibliografia

Bibliografia primaria

Ioannis Ioviani Pontani de fortitudine ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae; Ioannis Ioviani Pontani ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae de principe, Napoli 1490.

Grisolia, Michelangelo, *De principe*, Napoli 1783.

Grisolia, Michelangelo, *Ragionamento sul sistema dell'origine della sovranità*, Napoli 1783.

I doveri del principe di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso duca di Calabria. Traduzione di Michelangiolo Grisolia con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche e col testo latino a fronte, Napoli 1784.

Il principe eroe di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso d'Aragona duca di Calabria. Traduzione di Michelangiolo Grisolia con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche e col testo latino a fronte. Si premette un Discorso ai Dotti, ed una Dissertazione preliminare; e si aggiugne in fine la traduzione del libro di Plutarco "Ad principem ineruditum", Napoli 1786.

L'eroe domestico di Gio. Gioviano Pontano ad Alfonso d'Aragona duca di Calabria. Traduzione dell'ab. Grisolia. professore di Etica e di Politica nella Reale Accademia Militare. Con sue annotazioni storiche, critiche, morali e politiche, e col testo latino a fronte. Si aggiugne in fine un Saggio su gli dieci libri dell'Etica di Aristotele a Nicomaco, Napoli 1787.

Pontano, Giovanni, *De principe*, a cura di Guido M. Cappelli, Roma 2003.

Milano 1934; Aulo Greco, *Annibal Caro. Cultura e poesia*, Roma 1950, pp. 103–117; Caterina Olivieri, *L'Eneide del Caro*, Torino 1965; Ettore Bonora, "Consensi e dissensi intorno all'Eneide del Caro", in: Id., *Retorica e invenzione. Studi sulla letteratura italiana del Rinascimento*, Milano 1970, pp. 199–209; Gianfranco Cupri, "L'Eneide di Virgilio di Annibal Caro", in: *Letteratura italiana. Le Opere*, vol. 2, Torino 1993, pp. 563–580; Claudio Mutini, "Annibal Caro o l'arte della traduzione", in: *Storia generale della letteratura italiana*, diretta da Nino Borsellino e Walter Pedullà, vol. 4.2, Milano 1999, pp. 325–356, esp. 352–356; Tommaso Casini, "Tra lessico pittorico e iconografia: Annibal Caro e la fortuna della traduzione dell'Eneide", in: *Gli dei a corte. Letteratura e immagini nella Ferrara Estense*, a cura di Gianni Venturi e Francesca Cappelletti, Firenze 2009, pp. 115–134; Silvia Morgani, "Un nuovo testimone dell'Eneide tradotta da Annibal Caro", *L'Ellisse* 5 (2010), pp. 191–200.

Bibliografia secondaria

- Ferrone, Vincenzo, “L’Illuminismo italiano e la rivoluzione napoletana del ’99. Un problema storico da ridefinire”, *Studi storici* 40 (1999), pp. 993–1007.
- Galasso, Giuseppe, *La filosofia in soccorso de’ governi. La cultura napoletana del Settecento*, Napoli 1989.
- Illuminismo e Settecento riformatore. Un lessico per la contemporaneità*, a cura di Gian Mario Anselmi, Gino Ruoizzi e Stefano Scioli, Bologna 2020.
- Illuministi italiani, V. Riformatori napoletani*, a cura di Franco Venturi, Milano–Napoli 1972.
- Martelli, Sebastiano, *La floridezza di un reame. Circolazione e persistenza della cultura illuministica meridionale*, Salerno 1996.
- Minervini, Francesco Saverio, “Italiano e latino tra primato della lingua e sovranità politica”, in: *Una lingua morta per letterature vive: il dibattito sul latino come lingua letteraria in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del convegno internazionale (Roma, 10–12 dicembre 2015)*, a cura di Valerio Sanzotta, Leuven 2020, pp. 121–142.
- Minervini, Francesco Saverio, “Michelangelo Grisolia, un pontaniano alla fine del Settecento”, *Critica letteraria* 175 (2017), n. 2, pp. 329–347.
- Napolitano, Saverio, “Il problema della sovranità nella cultura napoletana di fine Settecento: il contributo del mormannese Michelangelo Grisolia”, in: *Tra Calabria e Mezzogiorno. Studi storici in memoria di Tobia Cornacchioli*, a cura di Giuseppe Masi, Cosenza 2007, pp. 65–79.
- Rao, Anna Maria, *Il regno di Napoli nel Settecento*, Napoli 1983 (stampa 1984).
- Sciancalepore, Margherita, “Leggere Pontano a Napoli nel Settecento: le traduzioni di Michelangelo Grisolia”, *Rinascite della modernità* 2 (2022), pp. 107–114.
- Sciancalepore, Margherita, “Note sulla fortuna del Pontano nel Settecento”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis. Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Vienna 2015)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber and Franz Römer, Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 641–646.
- Villani, Pasquale, *Mezzogiorno tra riforme e rivoluzione*, Roma–Bari 1973.

MARGHERITA SCIANCALEPORE

🏠 independent scholar
 @ margherita.sciancalepore[at]gmail.com
 🆔 <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-5269-778X>

Margherita Sciancalepore studied Humanistic Literature and earned a PhD (2010) in Italian Studies from the University of Bari. Her dissertation provided the first catalogue of manuscripts of Giovanni Pontano’s prose works. At the moment, she is an independent scholar and a teacher of Italian and Latin Literatures. She has participated in several national and international conferences. Her primary fields of expertise are Aragonese Humanism—especially the ways in which Pontano’s writings were transmitted—and the female writers of Italian Renaissance.

Claudia Corfiati 

Mario Santoro, Tristano Caracciolo, la filologia, i giovani

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 325–339

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

Mario Santoro, Tristano Caracciolo, Philology, Young People

The 1950s gave an important impulse to the birth of Medieval and Humanistic Philology and in general to Neo-Latin studies: however, there are still few contributions dedicated to the intellectuals of that period, and investigations about their approach and objectives. The aim of this paper is to propose a critical reflection on the first monograph dedicated to Tristano Caracciolo by Mario Santoro in 1957, and on the method with which the scholar approached the reading of the works of the Neapolitan humanist. After analyzing the way in which Caracciolo's works are cited and the quality of the quotations, particular attention has been paid to the historical and cultural context in which Santoro's interests in humanistic literature were born, a period that we can define of great change and crisis of traditional values. The pedagogical meaning of Caracciolo's thought is emphasized to the point that Santoro builds a singular parallelism between the Neapolitan culture of the early sixteenth century and that of the 1950s.

Keywords

Tristano
Caracciolo,
Mario Santoro,
humanistic
philology,
Neapolitan
Renaissance
culture

Nel 1948 Mario Santoro pubblicava il volume *Uno scolaro del Poliziano a Napoli: Francesco Pucci* aprendo la strada ad un filone di ricerca sulla cultura accademica napoletana del secondo Quattrocento, ancora oggi molto fertile e interessante.¹ La monografia, insuperata, ebbe tuttavia alterna fortuna presso i lettori, soprattutto per la sezione propriamente filologica nella quale si pubblicavano alcuni testi inediti del Pucci. Se infatti da una parte si apprezzava il tentativo di portare alla luce una fitta trama di personaggi, iniziative culturali, interessi e discussioni che ruotavano intorno allo *Studium* napoletano, frequentato dal Pucci e da lui sicuramente vivacizzato grazie anche alle istanze metodologiche della scuola del Poliziano, le prove di edizione di Santoro, condotte su testimoni unici e poco sorvegliati, non ottennero un riscontro particolarmente positivo.² Tuttavia, lo studioso continuò non solo ad occuparsi di Umanesimo, ma anche dell'edizione di fonti inedite, nella convinzione, che gli proveniva dalla Scuola storica alla quale erano appartenuti i suoi maestri, che scopo fondamentale della filologia italiana fosse quello di scavare negli archivi, pubblicare testi inediti, rinvigorire, anche grazie all'attenzione ai minimi dettagli, e a personaggi e fatti marginali, il ritratto dei grandi protagonisti della storia della cultura italiana.³

A partire dal 1950 le sue energie si spesero quindi in una serie di piccoli interventi che seguivano la traccia della monografia sul Pucci.⁴ Immediatamente successivo è, infatti, il saggio su di una lettera del Poliziano a Giovanni Pico su Piero de' Medici,⁵ accompagnato dal testo dell'epistola, non inclusa nella raccolta del 1498, e trascritta dal ms. Vat. Capp. 235. Si confermava anche qui l'attenzione alla tradizione manoscritta e agli inediti, interpretati come tessere significative per la ricostruzione di un contesto più ampio. Il saggio sulla polemica tra l'Ambrogini e Giorgio Merula, del 1952,⁶ è tra le prime voci bibliografiche a trattare dell'opuscolo *In Politianum* e chiaramente si ricollega agli studi su Pucci e sulla scuola dell'Ambrogini;⁷ così

¹ Faccio solo alcuni esempi, estratti da una bibliografia vasta, che trova espressione – tra le altre cose – negli studi dedicati ad Aulo Giano Parrasio (allievo del Pucci) e negli atti dei *Parrhasiana*, seminari ripresi proprio in questo 2024 grazie all'impegno, tra gli altri, di Giancarlo Abbamonte: Michele Fuiano, *Insegnamento e cultura a Napoli nel Rinascimento*, Napoli 1969; Brian Richardson, "Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus", *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 19 (1976), pp. 277–289; James Lawrence Peter Butrica, "Pontanus, Puccius, Pocchus, Petreius and Propertius", *Res publica litterarum* 3 (1980), pp. 5–9; Vincenzo Fera, "Il dibattito umanistico sui *Miscellanea*", in: *Agnolo Poliziano. Poeta scrittore filologo, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Montepulciano, 3–6 novembre 1994)*, a cura di Vincenzo Fera e Mario Martelli, Firenze 1998, pp. 333–359.

² Su questo volume dedicato a Francesco Pucci si veda Claudia Corfiati, "Mario Santoro, Francesco Pucci e la cultura umanistica a Napoli negli anni Cinquanta del Novecento", *Rinascite della modernità* 3 (2023), pp. 63–74.

³ Per una ricostruzione del contesto rimando a Vincenzo Fera, "La filologia umanistica in Italia nel secolo XX", in: *La Filologia medievale e umanistica greca e latina nel secolo XX*, Roma 1993, pp. 33–65.

⁴ Rimando all'elenco delle sue pubblicazioni che si legge in appendice al volume *Rinascimento meridionale e altri studi in onore di Mario Santoro*, a cura di Maria Cristina Cafisse, Francesco D'Episcopo, Vincenzo Dolla, Tonia Fiorino e Lucia Miele, Napoli 1987, pp. 483–496.

⁵ Mario Santoro, "L'epistola grande del Poliziano a Pico su Piero de' Medici", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 3 (1950), pp. 363–367.

⁶ Mario Santoro, "La polemica Poliziano–Merula", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 5 (1952), pp. 212–233.

⁷ Vd. Laura Perotto Sali, "L'opuscolo inedito di Giorgio Merula contro i *Miscellanea* di Angelo Poliziano", *Interpres* 1 (1978), pp. 146–183 e Vincenzo Fera, "Tra Poliziano e Beroaldo: l'ultimo scritto filologico di Giorgio Merula", *Studi umanistici* 2 (1991), pp. 7–88.

come l'articolo su *Cristoforo Landino e il volgare*,⁸ nel quale si soffermava su quel probabilmente apocrifo *Formulario di epistole e orazioni*,⁹ del quale citava una serie di frammenti, piuttosto che riprodurne il testo completo.¹⁰ Infine, lo studio sulla polemica pliniana tra Nicolò Leonicensi e Pandolfo Collenuccio del 1956¹¹ prevedeva la pubblicazione in appendice di una lettera del Collenuccio conservata nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze, e solo parzialmente conosciuta.¹²

Gli estratti di questi articoli con dedica autografa, che il Santoro inviava ad amici e colleghi che insieme a lui in quegli anni battevano le medesime strade di ricerca, si conservano ancora, anche se spesso sono entrati nel mercato antiquario. La Biblioteca della Scuola Normale di Pisa, in particolare, registra gli estratti dei saggi sulla polemica pliniana e sulla polemica Poliziano–Merula inviati a Eugenio Garin, insieme ad altri, mentre esemplari simili si trovano in vendita, a titolo di esempio, presso l'antiquario ICharta di Milano.¹³ La buona pratica della diffusione degli estratti degli articoli in rivista, pur con i limiti tecnologici di allora, permetteva una rapida diffusione delle scoperte in un circolo tutto sommato selezionato di lettori. Il contesto degli studi sull'Umanesimo di quegli anni è – come noto – fertilissimo. Per limitarmi al periodo che va dalla pubblicazione del saggio su Pucci a quella del volume sul Caracciolo, oggetto di questo studio, ricordo che nel 1949 erano usciti il volume fondamentale di Garin *L'educazione*

⁸ Mario Santoro, "Cristoforo Landino e il Volgare", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 131 (1954), pp. 501–547. Scrisse in seguito una nota sul concetto di pace in Erasmo – Mario Santoro, "Pace e guerra nel pensiero di Erasmo", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 6 (1953), pp. 334–353 – suggerita dalla recente pubblicazione del *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (éd et trad. par Yvonne Remy et René Dunil-Marquebreucq, Berchem 1953), volume da lui recensito nel medesimo fascicolo della rivista, pp. 382–383.

⁹ Quest'opera in verità è di dubbia attribuzione vd. Maria Cristina Acocella, "Il *Formulario di epistole missive e responsive* di Bartolo Miniature: un secolo di fortuna editoriale", *La Bibliofilia* 113 (2011), pp. 257–292. Il proemio all'opera fu pubblicato da Roberto Cardini in: *La critica del Landino*, Firenze 1973, pp. 163–164.

¹⁰ In questo caso possiamo rilevare una certa stanchezza da parte dello studioso nei confronti di testi e tradizioni di difficile approccio, come emerge da questa cursoria e quindi sommaria dichiarazione: "Il titolo nelle edizioni che ho vedute è: 'Formulario di epistole vulgare missive e responsive et altri fiori di ornati parlamenti allo excelso et illustrissimo principe Signore Hercule da Esti dignissimo duca di Ferrara. Composto per Cristophoro Landini cittadino di Firenze: dignissimo commentatore di Dante'. Cito dall'esemplare napoletano dell'edizione romana, integrando, nelle parti mancanti, con quello dell'edizione di Gaeta (ove però, come mi ha fatto osservare Gianfranco Contini, il testo appare copiosamente deflorentinizzato)" (M. Santoro, "Cristoforo Landino", p. 533, e, per l'indicazione degli esemplari utilizzati, p. 505 nota).

¹¹ Mario Santoro, "La polemica pliniana fra il Leonicensi e il Collenuccio", *Filologia Romanza* 3 (1956), pp. 162–205.

¹² Aggiungo anche il ricordo dell'intervento al primo convegno dei Bibliotecari dell'Italia meridionale sulla stampa napoletana degli inizi del Cinquecento, nonché di una serie di schede e recensioni pubblicate per lo più sul *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*. L'interesse di Santoro nei confronti del Rinascimento non si ferma a questi anni, nonostante i suoi interessi si allarghino notevolmente fino alla letteratura contemporanea: mi limito a ricordare i saggi su Machiavelli (1959), sul *De immanitate* di Giovanni Pontano e sul Galateo (1960), su Masuccio Salernitano (1962), sul *De ingratitude fugienda* di Gianantonio Campano (1964), i numerosi interventi dedicati a Ludovico Ariosto. È importante inoltre ricordare la fondazione della rivista *Esperienze letterarie* nel 1976 e dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento meridionale nel 1982.

¹³ Il catalogo online (<https://icharta.com/>) è stato consultato l'ultima volta il giorno 5 luglio 2024.

umanistica in Italia e quello di Roberto Weiss *Il primo secolo dell'Umanesimo: studi e testi*; il primo numero di *Rinascimento* è del 1950, così come il volume *Dal Medioevo al Rinascimento* di Garin; nello stesso anno il maestro di Santoro, Giuseppe Toffanin, pubblicava *La religione degli Umanisti* presso Zanichelli; nel 1951 uscivano gli atti di *Umanesimo e scienza politica* (Roma–Firenze 1949); nel 1952 Garin ripubblicava a Bari, per la Laterza, il suo *L'umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento*. Non potendo e non pretendendo di fare una rassegna completa degli studi italiani sull'Umanesimo (ma il fenomeno era studiato con altrettanta passione e coinvolgimento anche all'estero), mi fermo qui, ricordando infine solo il *Discorso sull'Umanesimo italiano* di Carlo Dionisotti del 1956.

Questo è il contesto in cui Santoro decise di occuparsi di Tristano Caracciolo, pubblicando nel 1957, presso l'editore Armanni di Napoli – lo stesso editore che dal 1948 stampava la rivista *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* – il volume intitolato *Tristano Caracciolo e la cultura napoletana della Rinascenza*.

Se con il Pucci aveva avuto occasione di recuperare dalla memoria bibliografica del Pércopo un personaggio completamente sconosciuto e di cui non esistevano ancora edizioni, nel caso del Caracciolo la situazione era alquanto differente. I suoi opuscoli erano già noti – non tutti ma la maggior parte – grazie a Ludovico Antonio Muratori che li aveva accolti all'interno dei suoi *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (1733); quel testo era stato inoltre riproposto qualche anno più tardi, per i tipi di Giovanni Gravier, nella *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori dell'Istoria generale del Regno di Napoli* (1769). Alla fine del secolo XIX almeno due delle biografie (la *Vita di Sergianni Caracciolo* e la *Vita di Giovanna*) erano state tradotte in italiano e godevano di una certa fortuna di lettori. Infine, era uscita nel 1934, più di duecento anni dopo la *princeps*, la nuova edizione degli *Opuscoli storici* a cura di Giuseppe Paladino, che si era preoccupato di restaurare il testo secondo la lezione manoscritta, ma il volume era privo di una nota al testo a causa della morte del curatore.¹⁴ Possiamo anche aggiungere che Antonio Altamura, cui il Santoro dedicherà nel 1980 un personale ricordo,¹⁵ nella sua seconda monografia sul Quattrocento napoletano, *L'Umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, aveva dedicato al Caracciolo tre pagine, richiamando alla memoria citazioni di Jacob Burckhardt e di Eberhard Gothein,¹⁶ studiosi che si erano serviti anche di testi inediti di Tristano, attingendo, a quanto sembra, al famoso codice IX C 25 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.¹⁷

¹⁴ Su di lui cfr. Costanza D'Elia, "Paladino, Giuseppe", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXXX, Roma 2014 ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-paladino_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-paladino_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).

¹⁵ Mario Santoro, "Ricordo di Antonio Altamura", *Esperienze letterarie* 5 (1980), pp. 28–38.

¹⁶ Jacob Burckhardt, *La Civiltà del Rinascimento in Italia*, pref. di Eugenio Garin, Firenze 1952 (ma la prima ed. italiana è del 1876) ed Eberhard Gothein, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, traduzione, note e indici a cura di Tommaso Persico, Firenze 1915.

¹⁷ Vd. Claudia Corfiati, "Tradizioni nascoste di testi umanistici. Il caso di Tristano Caracciolo", in: *Le filologie della letteratura italiana. Modelli, esperienze, prospettive, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 28–30 novembre 2019*, Roma 2021, pp. 153–176, ma anche Ead., "Sulla diversa fortuna del Caracciolo",

L'Altamura citava anche lui da questo manoscritto e pubblicava in appendice il *De inconstantia*.¹⁸

Non possiamo dire con certezza che sia stata la lettura dell'Altamura a portare il Santoro a occuparsi di questo, tutt'oggi negletto, autore partenopeo, ma certamente rispetto alla precedente direzione dei suoi studi che battevano il percorso dell'Umanesimo fiorentino e del Poliziano, la scelta del Caracciolo può essere interpretata da una parte come un movimento netto verso il Cinquecento, che porterà lo studioso nel giro di pochi anni ad occuparsi poi di Machiavelli, Ariosto, ecc... e dall'altra come tendenza a spostare la sua attenzione dall'umanesimo filologico a quello "filosofico", o dovremmo dire dalla "edizione di testi" alla "storia della cultura umanistica" in senso generale. Probabilmente si tratta di una evoluzione, che sicuramente proviene dalla sempre più precisa consapevolezza della materia di studio, ma anche dalla necessità di rispondere a interrogativi morali e a esigenze pedagogiche, che – e in questo torna il magistero di Toffanin – non riescono più a placarsi con la ricerca antiquaria ed erudita, ma hanno bisogno di ricostruzioni di più ampio respiro, di autori e opere di più sicuro impatto, sia presso i loro contemporanei, sia presso gli uomini, meglio i lettori, del Novecento.

Questa parabola si intravede nel volume sul Caracciolo, che ancora contempla l'approccio erudito, come vedremo, ma si spinge con più coraggio e convinzione ben oltre. *L'Introduzione* è dedicata – come già era stato per il Pucci – a delineare lo *status quaestionis*, ma il censimento bibliografico vero e proprio, che nel precedente volume costituiva parte importante del tessuto narrativo, è affidato alla prima nota a piè pagina, così come la *recensio* dei manoscritti noti (esclusivamente napoletani) è confinata nella lunghissima nota 3; sicché nelle prime pagine quello che assolutamente emerge è un ritratto sfumato di intellettuale, che verrà delineandosi sempre più con maggiore precisione nelle pagine seguenti. Importante è il paragrafo che regge la nota sulla tradizione:

Estremamente cauto e schivo di ogni vanità, il Caracciolo non dette alle stampe neppure un rigo. Le sue opere rimasero perciò manoscritte, ma non ignorate dai contemporanei e conservate con varia fortuna dai posteri: parecchie poi furono stampate; restano ancora inedite altre che si leggono nel ms. IX C 25 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, l'unico che comprenda tutti gli scritti dei quali abbiamo notizia. Purtroppo si tratta di un ms. tardo, non solo qua e là lacunoso, ma, quel che è assai più grave, estremamente scorretto: perciò spesso il testo, così com'è, non ha senso. Ciò spiega i numerosi equivoci in cui cadde un lettore certamente intelligente ma frettoloso come il Gothein, l'incomprensibilità di alcune citazioni riportate dagli studiosi, l'incertezza dei testi editi. Perciò, prima di avviare un discorso sul Caracciolo (che non volesse esaurirsi in impressioni approssimative), occorreva

in: *Quanto fu il genio alle pazzie del Seicento*. Saggi sulla cultura del XVII secolo in Italia, a cura di Francesco Saverio Minervini, Avellino 2016, pp. 11–35.

¹⁸ Già si era occupato di un altro inedito in Antonio Altamura, "Un opuscolo inedito di Tristano Caracciolo", *La Rinascita* 2 (1939), pp. 253–264.

(come io ho tentato di fare) restaurare i testi, e restaurarli senza arbitrarie raffazzonature ma anche in modo da ricavare, sempre che fosse possibile, un senso sicuro.¹⁹

Santoro conosceva solo il codice napoletano, come copia completa degli scritti del Caracciolo e a questo manoscritto dava somma importanza e rilievo, pur considerandolo, sia perché tardo, sia perché “qua e là lacunoso” e soprattutto “estremamente scorretto”, del tutto inaffidabile per la definizione del testo. Partendo dal presupposto che lo studioso tedesco Eberhard Gothein leggesse Caracciolo da questo stesso testimone – non dimostrabile oggi in maniera inequivocabile dal momento che solo nelle note di Tommaso Persico (il curatore e traduttore italiano del volume del Gothein) si fa riferimento alla segnatura “IX C 25”, mentre nell’edizione tedesca l’indicazione del manoscritto manca – lo studioso si compiace di riportare anche alcuni esempi di errori commessi dal Gothein nella trascrizione del testo: si tratta, in verità, di errori che più che essere legati ad una effettiva scarsa qualità del testo del manoscritto – quale che fosse – sembrano provenire da una lettura cursoria, veloce (la sorella del Caracciolo non era nubile, ma vedova; alla morte di Tristano erano ancora vivi due suoi figli, non uno; dello Spinelli non scrisse mai un elogio funebre, ma una biografia).²⁰ Per questa ragione sarei propensa a considerare le dichiarazioni critiche di Santoro nei confronti dell’economista tedesco più come una formula per prendere le distanze dall’interpretazione che quello aveva dato della cultura meridionale, che come frutto di una accurata analisi del testo.

Quale che fosse l’intenzione allora, una dichiarazione prefatoria di questo tipo finisce per porre sotto gli occhi del lettore moderno fin da subito la necessità di verificare la qualità del testo del manoscritto, e dei “restauri” effettuati dal Santoro.²¹ Come si è detto infatti, la tutto sommato recente edizione di Paladino, riproponendo – rispetto all’ed. Muratori – la verifica del testo sulla tradizione manoscritta, aveva prodotto un “testo” per un numero sicuramente maggiore di opuscoli, ma restava una porzione ancora inedita (ancora oggi, aggiungo) di opuscoli, ed è proprio su questi inediti che e per i temi trattati, e per il fatto stesso di essere tali – cosa che come sappiamo suscitava in Santoro l’urgenza di una “pubblicazione” –, si fermò la sua attenzione.²²

¹⁹ Mario Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo e la cultura napoletana della Rinascenza*, Napoli 1957, pp. 9–10.

²⁰ Vd. M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, pp. 11–12 e nota 4.

²¹ Se il latino del Caracciolo risulta ostile per sua natura a qualsivoglia piana traduzione, come sentenziava qualche decennio fa Liliana Monti Sabia (*Un profilo moderno e due Vitae antiche di Giovanni Pontano*, Napoli 1998, p. 37), tanto più si presentava urgente la questione di una interpretazione (previo restauro) di quei testi che per la prima volta venivano citati e commentati.

²² Successivamente al 1957 pochi sono stati gli interventi dedicati a Tristano Caracciolo e pochissime le edizioni, in un modo o nell’altro però tutti prendono abbrivio dalle sue pagine, sia che si approfondisca il rapporto del Caracciolo con la cultura nobiliare regnicola – Giuliana Vitale, “L’umanista Tristano Caracciolo e i principi di Melfi”, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 2 (1963), pp. 344–381; Lucia Miele, “Tristano Caracciolo ed un progetto pedagogico per la giovane nobiltà meridionale”, *Critica letteraria* 23 (1995), pp. 29–47 – sia che si scandagliino gli inediti e si allestiscano nuove edizioni – L. Monti Sabia, *Un profilo moderno e due Vitae antiche* (con edizione del testo di Caracciolo), Ead., “*Il de concordia et ineundo coniugio di Tristano Caracciolo*”, in: *Mathesis e Mneme. Studi in memoria di Marcello*

Bisogna premettere a qualsiasi possibile analisi, anche cursoria e provvisoria come quella qui proposta, che il volume sul Caracciolo non ha un'appendice di testi, come abbiamo visto sia nel saggio su Pucci, sia in numerosi altri testi pubblicati da Santoro negli anni precedenti. L'opera del Caracciolo è citata però assiduamente all'interno della sua scrittura, in passi spesso commentati, o diversamente lasciati liberi di esprimere da soli il loro contenuto, sì da formare un tutt'uno con il discorso critico. È difficile pensare che tra le carte del Santoro non ci fosse una trascrizione integrale di tutti i testi inediti del Caracciolo da lui utilizzati e sarebbe stato per noi di grande utilità poter verificare in maniera sistematica il suo metodo di correzione, se avessimo avuto la possibilità di rintracciare i suoi appunti.²³ In mancanza di questi preziosi documenti, non ci resta che utilizzare alcuni campioni di testo, confrontandoli e "verificandoli" con il manoscritto da cui dichiaratamente dipendono.

Prenderò a campione il primo capitolo, che porta il titolo *Aspetti biografici* e ricostruisce la vita di Tristano utilizzando per lo più (ma non solo) la *Vitae auctoris actae notitia* così come si legge alle cc. 152r–165r del ms. IX C 25 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. Sulle ragioni per cui Santoro recuperò questo prezioso documento è facile divinare: si tratta infatti dell'unica fonte di una certa autorevolezza (anche se ovviamente da vagliare, come in ogni documento che si professa autobiografico) sulla vita dell'autore. Sfolgiando le numerose citazioni (ventisei, concentrate nelle prime 53 pagine) scopriamo che gli interventi emendatori di Santoro su errori palesi e inequivocabili sono pochi. Il testo di questi frammenti ricalca con grande precisione quello del manoscritto, anche se dotato di una punteggiatura moderna che lo rende molto più accessibile. A p. 17 ad esempio, viene citato il passo in cui Caracciolo ricorda la fine dell'assedio di Alfonso il Magnanimo alla città di Napoli:

Gigante, a cura di Salvatore Cerasuolo, I, Napoli 2004, pp. 291–296; Tristano Caracciolo, *Didonis reginae vita – Penelopes castitas et perseverantia*, a cura di Renato Ricco, Bari 2020 – sia che si guardi alla sua scrittura storica e al suo pensiero politico – Giacomo Ferrà, *Il tessitore di Antequera. Storiografia umanistica meridionale*, Roma 2001, pp. 251–265; Claudia Corfiati, "Il Principe e la Fortuna: note sul *De varietate fortunae* di Tristano Caracciolo", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Uppsaliensis. Proceedings of the XIV International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, a cura di Astrid Steiner-Weber e Franz Römer, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 307–316; Antonietta Iacono, "Autobiografia, storia e politica nella trattatistica di Tristano Caracciolo", *Reti medievali* 13 (2012), pp. 333–369; Luigi Tufano, "Tristano Caracciolo e il *regis servitium* nel Quattrocento napoletano", *Reti medievali* 14 (2013), pp. 211–261; Claudia Corfiati, "La fortuna e la storia: figure tragiche in Tristano Caracciolo", in: *Il principe e le scene. Metafore del potere tra antico e moderno*, a cura di Grazia Distaso, Bari 2014, pp. 101–109; Ead., "Esiti tragici nella scrittura di Tristano Caracciolo", in: *Comico e tragico nella vita del Rinascimento. Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Chianciano–Pienza, 17–19 luglio 2014)*, a cura di Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Firenze 2016, pp. 217–226; Ead., "Tristano Caracciolo, Girolamo Borgia e gli Aragonesi", in: *La Corona d'Aragona e l'Italia, Atti del XX Congresso della Corona d'Aragona, Roma–Napoli 4–8 ottobre 2017*, a cura di Guido D'Agostino, Salvatore Fodale, Anna Maria Oliva, Davide Passerini e Francesco Senatore, Roma 2020, pp. 1175–1189 – sia che si cerchi più semplicemente di definire il suo profilo intellettuale – Frank Rutger Hausmann, "Caracciolo, Tristano", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XIX, Roma 1976, pp. 463–465; Claudia Corfiati, "Dal Petrarca al Pontano: l'umanesimo di Tristano Caracciolo", *Humanistica* 11 (2016), pp. 105–120.

²³ Lesito delle ricerche in questa direzione non è stato per ora fortunato. Vd. C. Corfiati, "Mario Santoro", p. 65.

Respirabat [...] primum civitas tot ex malis quibus diu pressa iacuerat, obsidione scilicet diuturna et arctissima, qua moenia *egredi* tantum non erat.

Prendeva respiro [...] per la prima volta la città [liberata] dai tanti mali, dai quali oppressa per lungo tempo si era trovata in una condizione di prostrazione, ovvero a causa del lungo e strettissimo assedio, durante il quale non fu per lungo tempo possibile lasciare le mura.

Il senso è chiaro, tradurre difficile. Se confrontiamo la lezione con quanto si trova nel manoscritto (ms. IX C 25, c. 153r) vediamo che il Santoro ha ommesso il *tamen* dopo *Respirabat* probabilmente perché l'avverbio avversativo si legava a quanto detto prima nel testo, e poco utile per il suo discorso, e ha corretto l'insensato *aegregi* dell'ultimo rigo con il più corretto *egredi*. Forse anche il *tantum* tradito meriterebbe una correzione in *tantisper*.²⁴

Ancora possiamo vedere come a p. 22 Santoro interviene a correggere un tradito *proficem* in *proficerem*, restituendo il senso, per altro chiaro, al luogo:

Spectabam tunc binis oculis aequalium plurimorum ornatus honestiores, putabam eo liberalius illos adolescere tangebarque zelo aemulationis, quando felicem reputabam illorum adolescendi modum, fiebatque ut parum intenderem litteris, minimeque *proficerem*, alio intentus.²⁵

Osservavo allora con tanto d'occhi il modo di vestire più decoroso di molti dei miei coetanei, credevo che loro crescessero tanto più liberi, ed ero colpito dal desiderio di emulazione, quando ritenevo felice il loro modo di essere adolescenti, e accadeva che facessi poca attenzione allo studio delle lettere, e progredissi ben poco, con la testa altrove.

Mentre a p. 26, nel passo dedicato alla dote per le sorelle, nonostante l'efficace *emendatio*, la *lectio* rimane *difficilis*; Tristano scrive infatti:

Haec inter se offert onus maritandarum sororum solvendarumque dotium quae a puero me exercere et iugi intentaque paritate alia, quam decebat, vivere forma *coegere* ad grandiusculam fere aetatem.²⁶

Anche in questo caso Santoro ha corretto il tradito *coegit* con *coegere*, in dipendenza dal plurale *quae*.²⁷

²⁴ Ovviamente in questa sede non ho alcuna intenzione di emendare il testo o fare proposte di interpretazione, che potranno avere un valore scientifico solo dopo una disamina di tutti i testimoni noti. Per un primo quadro dell'attuale stato della *recensio* delle opere del Caracciolo vd. C. Corfiati, "Tradizioni nascoste".

²⁵ Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III", ms. IX C 25, c. 154v.

²⁶ Ms. IX C 25, c. 158r.

²⁷ Sullo stesso piano possiamo mettere gli interventi a p. 26, dove aggiunge un *cur* prima della parola *sumptus*, a p. 33, dove il tradito *palpaverit* diventa *palpaverim*.

Tra queste cose si presenta l'onere di sposare le sorelle e di elargire le doti, che mi costrinse fin da bambino a lavorare sodo e a vivere in una lunga e dura parsimonia e in un modo diverso da quello che sarebbe stato conveniente, fino quasi all'età dell'adolescenza.

E infine un ultimo esempio. A p. 32 Santoro cita un passo in cui il Caracciolo descrive in questo modo il desiderio di tornare a studiare le lettere:

*cum igniculus, quem excussa ignaris scintilla fomiti indiderat, in diem cresceret, et noscendi et sciendi, ut legerem excalescere moliebatur.*²⁸

Qui possiamo registrare tre interventi, non tutti imputabili – a mio parere – ad una cura filologica del testo: nel manoscritto la frase inizia con *et tunc*, non con *cum*, *diem* è *dies* nel codice, quindi al posto di *excalescere*, vi è *excalfacere*, che è grafia attestata in latino. Dal confronto con il manoscritto emerge poi che al posto di *ignaris* si legge *igniario* e probabilmente *fomite* al posto di *fomiti* (dativo che non trova giustificazione nel testo). Nonostante questi restauri il passo al momento è veramente difficile da tradurre, per cui mi limito a proporne una interpretazione un po' libera, anche sulla scia di quello che scriveva Santoro:²⁹

et tunc igniculus, quem excussa igniario scintilla fomite indiderat, in diem cresceret et noscendi et sciendi, ut legerem excalescere moliebatur.

e allora il piccolo fuoco, che una scintilla emessa da un'asca di legno aveva generato, e di giorno in giorno sarebbe cresciuto, un desiderio ardente di conoscenza e di sapienza <mi> procurava la passione per la lettura.

La tradizione tarda e inaffidabile rende estremamente difficoltosa l'interpretazione e quindi la trascrizione del testo e Santoro, e chi dopo di lui volle utilizzare comunque queste pagine per ricostruire il contesto della cultura napoletana di fine secolo, dovette affrontare un disagio notevole e una responsabilità non irrilevante. Se nel 1948, pubblicando il Pucci, lo studioso ambiva alla "edizione" dei testi, con questo secondo volume si dimostra sicuramente più prudente da questo punto di vista, ma ci lascia una lettura frammentata degli opuscoli del Caracciolo, che è causa ancora oggi della sua sfortuna. I frammenti, inoltre, sembrano spesso costituirsi come tali proprio a causa della corruzione del testo. A p. 21, per esempio, trascrive in questo modo:

Cum multos mei corporis condicionisque adolescentes partim parentum divitiis, partim Aulae favore et consuetudine ea peragere cernerem indeque laudari [...] meque similibus

²⁸ Ms. IX C 25, c. 157r.

²⁹ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 32: "Sentì allora imporsi e crescere nel suo animo il desiderio di apprendere e di sapere, e con esso il fervoroso bisogno di leggere."

commodis defectum eoque posthaberi, quantum aetas illa poscebat, aemulatione et tristitia afficiebar.³⁰

Dal momento che vedevo molti adolescenti pari a me di corporatura e di condizione in parte grazie alle ricchezze dei genitori, in parte grazie al favore e alla frequentazione della corte fare quelle cose [si riferisce alle attività sportive di stampo cavalleresco] e perciò essere lodati <> e io che ero privo di simili comodità a tal punto tenuto lontano da quanto quell'età richiedeva, ero preso da invidia e tristezza.

I puntini di sospensione non vanno ad omettere un qualcosa di accessorio al testo, ma piuttosto un gruppo di parole (di cui le prime due di difficile lettura perché “pasticciate”) – “ut [sc. et] spem de eis maiorem concipi” – che chiariscono, a mio parere, il sentimento di emulazione: “e nascere una più grande aspettativa su di loro.”

Un esempio simile di omissione “non giustificata”, se non da una difficoltà del testo, si legge a p. 44.

Itaque inter domesticorum curam, non omisi [...] percontari literarum peritos; profecerim necne aliquid aliorum existimationi relinquo: mihi autem, et si non adeo, non nihil tamen profecisse sentio.

E così nel mezzo dell'occupazione casalinga, non smisi [...] di interrogare gli esperti di letteratura, se ho fatto progressi o no lo lascio al giudizio degli altri: secondo me però, anche se non tanto, tuttavia mi sembra di aver progredito un poco.

Il dettato è limpido e la lezione sembra restaurata; se andiamo a guardare però sul manoscritto, scopriamo che in vece di *non omisi* si legge *non obmissi neque*. Al di là della grafia di *omitto*, il *neque* non funziona, in quanto la congiunzione copulativa dovrebbe reggere un verbo coordinato con *obmissi*.

Altro caso esemplare – rimanendo all'interno della porzione di testo selezionata – è quello della nota a p. 43. Si sta parlando del metodo di studio da autodidatta del Caracciolo, che si esercitava trascrivendo di suo pugno le pagine degli autori che stava studiando. Questa pratica è descritta in maniera molto precisa:

Illectus tamen noscendi voluptate transcriptione meae manus qua proxime in historiarum amorem ductus fueram, tentare volui an si similiter per me *exarando* grammaticorum praecepta erudiri aut ad bonas litteras appropinquare valerem, laboriosam sane aggressus provinciam, et spei <aut> nullius aut parvae, posse secundum grammaticam sine ostensore et quidem disertis perdiscere; [...] emolior per breves quasdam et pueriles regulas rescribere si forte per illas ad altiora foret ascensus. Dehoratabatur me praecipue indexteritas scribendi

³⁰ Ms. IX C 25, c. 153v.

quae adeo rudis et inconcinna erat, ut uni mihi tantum litteras continuisse videri possem; perrexi tamen, cum hoc uno modo proficere sperarem.

Un confronto con le cc. 157v–158r del manoscritto napoletano, rivela: l'*emendatio* del tradito *exarundo* in *exarando*, una piccola omissione da parte di Santoro, involontaria, di un *aut* prima di *nullius*, e l'esclusione di queste parole: "stimulatus nimirum aviditate illa sciendi arduum quippe prope quippiam". Le ragioni sono evidenti: il periodo non è chiaro dal punto di vista sintattico. Il segmento che inizia con *posse* e si conclude con *perdiscere*, sembra dichiarativo rispetto al precedente *provinciam*, e lo *stimulatus* omesso da Santoro andrebbe coordinato con *aggressus*. Ecco una proposta di traduzione, che evidenzia una residua difficoltà di intendere "uni mihi tantum litteras continuisse":

Allettato tuttavia dal piacere della conoscenza che avevo provato con la trascrizione di mio pugno, con la quale ero stato portato poco prima all'amore delle storie, volli tentare se in maniera simile nel copiare personalmente le regole dei grammatici fosse per me possibile imparare qualcosa o avvicinarmi alle buone lettere, cominciando questa impresa senza dubbio faticosa, e di nessuna o poca speranza, di poter imparare la grammatica senza che nessuno, e per giunta dotto, me la insegnasse, <stimolato certamente da quella avidità di conoscere qualcosa di difficile e per giunta velocemente>; mi infiacchisco a riscrivere alcune brevi e puerili regole, se per caso grazie a quelle fosse possibile raggiungere quelle più alte. Mi dissuadeva in particolare la poca abilità nella scrittura che era a tal punto rozza e inelegante, che sarebbe potuto sembrare che io avessi messo insieme i caratteri per me soltanto [*quello che lui trascrive sarebbe dunque illeggibile?*]; tuttavia continuai, perché speravo di fare progressi solo in questo modo.

La scrittura del Caracciolo, del Caracciolo inedito, si presentava piena di insidie, che giustificano pienamente la scelta di Santoro di non fornire una edizione, nemmeno parziale, di testi, che però si mostravano assolutamente degni di essere divulgati e conosciuti. Tuttavia, se il saggio sembra puntare all'onnicomprendività e all'eshaustività, ripercorrendo l'intera produzione del Caracciolo, a scapito di qualche angolo buio, che ancora oggi rischia di non venire mai rischiarato da futuri lettori, il filo conduttore è rappresentato ancora una volta dagli inediti: la biografia (*Vita auctoris auctae notitia*), la *Disceptatio quaedam priscorum cum iunioribus de moribus suorum temporum*, l'*Opusculum ad Marchionem Atellae*, i *Plura bene vivendi praecepta ad filium*, il *De cuiusque vanitate in loquendo*, il *Quid sit in tot variis artibus iunioribus amplectendum*, la *Didonis reginae vita* e il *De sororis obitu*. Ad eccezione degli ultimi due testi, che rientrano nel genere biografico femminile, si tratta di opere di carattere pedagogico, o morale, con una certa propensione al dialogo tra generazioni (anche il ricordo della giovinezza dell'autore rientra in questa "attenzione ai giovani"), che necessariamente furono escluse dal Muratori nel suo volume, ma che oggi meriterebbero nuovi lettori.

Santoro nella sua narrazione fu capace di cogliere molti aspetti dell'umanesimo meridionale e italiano che hanno nel tempo sviluppato filoni di ricerca fondamentali:

quando ricorda l'importanza della grammatica,³¹ quando – corroborato dalle pubblicazioni di Eugenio Garin al riguardo³² – dichiara assiomaticamente il valore educativo della cultura umanistica:

si può dire che ogni umanista è virtualmente un maestro, per la fede nella comunicabilità e nella diffusione dei valori della cultura: chi non crede nella funzione e nella insopprimibilità della missione della scuola, in senso lato, è in ogni tempo in una posizione antiumanistica;³³

quando rammenta la fede del Caracciolo nel valore universale della lingua latina,³⁴ quando si interroga sul moderno e laico concetto di prudenza ed esperienza, che emerge non solo negli scritti di Tristano, ma in quelli del Pontano e di altri intellettuali partenopei.³⁵

Certo, dedicando un capitolo a *La critica della società contemporanea*, Santoro fa del Caracciolo un campione di quell'Umanesimo militante, che in quegli anni, in altri contesti, veniva chiamato "civile", con maggior enfasi e più solide prove documentali, ma quando poi nelle pagine successive piega la definizione del pensiero politico del suo autore alla categoria di petrarchismo politico messa in campo da Diomede Lojacono nel 1891 per il *De maiestate* di Giuniano Maio,³⁶ il suo giudizio sembra vacillare, quasi fosse offuscato da una personale avversione nei confronti di un certo modo di vivere la professione politica, o forse da recenti spiacevoli ricordi.³⁷

In questo volume del 1957 però vi è qualcosa di più, perché – come ho detto prima – vi è una conversione guidata da un preciso obiettivo educativo, che già si coglie nella *Introduzione*, che si conclude con queste parole:

se con questo mio lavoro riuscirò a dare, come spero, al Caracciolo il posto che gli spetta nella storia della cultura, e nel tempo stesso aggiungere un'altra tessera al quadro (quanto

³¹ "Sarebbe interessante – dice – un esame dei vari trattati fioriti in quel tempo sia per documentare l'interesse e la diffusione dello studio grammaticale della lingua latina, sia per individuare metodi e caratteri di tale studio" (M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 43).

³² Eugenio Garin, *L'educazione umanistica in Italia*, Bari 1949, e poi *L'educazione in Europa*, Bari 1957. Ma la declinazione pedagogica era già nel volume di John Humphreys Whitfield, *Petrarca e il Rinascimento* (Bari 1949). L'edizione delle *Familiars* di Petrarca a cura di Vittorio Rossi (presente nella biblioteca privata di Santoro) stava del resto producendo una rivoluzione nell'ambito degli studi sull'umanesimo. M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 55.

³³ "Del resto la persuasione dell'eccellenza del latino rimarrà viva a lungo nella cultura napoletana, anche quando il volgare avrà ottenuto e in pratica e in teoria i diritti di lingua letteraria" (M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, pp. 82–83).

³⁴ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 92.

³⁵ Diomede Lojacono, "L'opera inedita *De Majestate* di Giuniano Majo e il concetto del principe negli scrittori della corte aragonese di Napoli", *Atti della R. Accademia di scienze morali e politiche di Napoli* 24 (1891), pp. 329–376.

³⁷ Ad un punto si chiede, in una incidentale, "Del resto, esiste veramente una scienza politica, se scienza presuppone la presenza di fatti accertati, mentre la indagine politica muove su fatti e problemi continuamente mutevoli e irripetibili?" (M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 137). Si tenga presente però che al concetto di fortuna nel Caracciolo dedicherà un importante capitolo nel volume *Fortuna, ragione e prudenza nella civiltà letteraria del Cinquecento*, Napoli 1966, pp. 97–133.

ampio, ma ancora incerto e parziale e pieno di ombre) della cultura napoletana della Rinascenza, avrò fatto opera non inutile.

Santoro vuole restituire un “posto nella storia della cultura” ad un personaggio che resterà minimo, ma che assurge in questa prospettiva storicistica e direi filologica del secondo dopoguerra a simbolo di un’intera nazione. Basta sfogliare le pagine finali del volume, quelle dedicate a *Il conservatorismo del Caracciolo*.

Da quanto abbiamo detto fin qui appar chiaro che non è giusto dare al Caracciolo, come fece il Gothein, seguito poi tranquillamente dagli altri, l’appellativo di “conservatore” almeno nel senso di angusto, intransigente sostenitore di interessi, principi, ordinamenti del passato, chiuso alle istanze, ai problemi, alle esigenze del presente, pregiudizialmente ostile ad ogni innovazione.³⁸

Partendo dalle pagine di uno degli opuscoli inediti, la *Disceptatio quaedam priscorum cum iunioribus de moribus suorum temporum*, che egli ipotizza ispirata da alcuni passi dell’*Antonius* pontaniano, Santoro sembra trovare in Caracciolo tracce di una condizione intellettuale universale e senza tempo. Dice infatti che quest’operetta

nasce da un’esperienza comune di tutti i tempi: il contrasto più o meno accentuato specialmente in ordine ai più spiccati movimenti ideologici, tecnici, politici, sociali, fra vecchi e giovani, fra il mondo di ieri e quello presente. Se i primi troppo spesso ancorati ad un passato irrevocabile guardano con sufficienza o con severità i costumi, la condotta, le aspirazioni dei giovani, esaltando gli ideali, il modo di vivere, la moralità del loro tempo, questi li giudicano reazionari, conservatori, sorpassati, rivendicando la dinamicità delle proprie istanze e delle proprie conquiste.³⁹

E continua su questa linea, depositando qui le parole di un uomo che alla fine degli anni Cinquanta coglieva il contrasto generazionale con i suoi figli e con i giovani che frequentavano le sue lezioni presso l’ateneo Napoletano (nel 1957 aveva la libera docenza presso l’Ateneo che nel giro di un anno lo avrebbe accolto come strutturato). Proseguendo nella lettura, infatti, arriviamo al punto in cui dichiara:

perciò si può dire che un segno fondamentale del carattere di una società è dato dal modo con cui le nuove generazioni riescono ad inserirsi nell’itinerario dei padri e continuarlo. È la grande lezione, e sempre valida perché sempre ricorrente, che ci viene dal biblico Esaù ai personaggi del commosso racconto *Il mondo di ieri* di Stefano Zweig.⁴⁰

³⁸ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 169.

³⁹ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 172.

⁴⁰ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, p. 173. E si veda Stephan Zweig, *Il mondo di ieri. Ricordi di un europeo*, traduzione a cura di Lavinia Mazzucchetti, Milano 2022 (1ª ed. 1946). Tra l’altro Zweig – come il Caracciolo – fu autore anche di biografie di carattere storico, come quella di Maria Antonietta di Francia.

A chi non conosce questo autore austriaco di origini ebraiche, fervente oppositore di tutti i totalitarismi e in ultimo del nazifascismo, queste parole sembrano stranianti, emergendo da una trattazione sul “conservatorismo” del Caracciolo. Ma Santoro in questo rivela l’acutezza del suo pensiero critico. *Il mondo di ieri* di Zweig è un romanzo autobiografico che uscì postumo nel 1942, dopo la morte suicida dell’autore in esilio in Brasile, è un romanzo che ricorda, con il preciso intento di lasciarne una traccia davanti ad un futuro giudicato apocalittico, la cultura austriaca della Belle Époque, antecedente a quella che lui stesso considerava la barbarie del nazismo e della guerra. Quale immagine più efficace per avvicinare il Caracciolo ai suoi lettori poteva utilizzare Santoro? Tornando a parlare subito dopo del Caracciolo scrive:

Tristi erano i tempi e oscure le prospettive per il futuro; e i giovani nell’inevitabile sovvertimento dei valori, nello scadimento dei principi morali, nelle trasformazioni degli ordini politici, nel mutamento delle relazioni sociali, nelle convulsioni di una grave crisi economica potevano facilmente essere travolti dallo scetticismo, dall’affarismo, dal materialismo, cioè dai più gravi pericoli che incombono sulle giovani generazioni in tutti i tempi dopo gravi crisi politiche e specialmente nei dopoguerra.⁴¹

Questa citazione non ha bisogno di ulteriori commenti: il Caracciolo, fatti gli opportuni distinguo, scrisse e visse in una situazione non dissimile da quella in cui Santoro stesso si trovò a studiare, a scrivere, a vivere, a educare.

L’empatia, che fa sì che “crocianamente” facciamo diventare ogni storia una storia contemporanea, è in queste pagine finali del volume altissima. Ma paradossalmente proprio grazie a questo appiattimento delle distanze, improvviso e inconsulto, riusciamo a cogliere, attraverso le parole di Santoro, le radici più profonde della nascita della filologia umanistica. E anche gli errori e i travimenti, che caratterizzarono i primi anni di intensi studi su Pucci e su Caracciolo, ci sembrano fecondi non solo per la nascita del metodo filologico, come più volte è stato detto, ma perché accompagnarono la rinascita dell’Europa e dell’Italia, della cultura italiana in particolare, dopo gli orrori della Seconda guerra mondiale e della cultura fascista.

Bibliografia

- Corfiati, Claudia, “Tradizioni nascoste di testi umanistici. Il caso di Tristano Caracciolo”, in: *Le filologie della letteratura italiana. Modelli, esperienze, prospettive, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 28–30 novembre 2019*, Roma 2021, pp. 153–176.
- Corfiati, Claudia, “Mario Santoro, Francesco Pucci e la cultura umanistica a Napoli negli anni Cinquanta del Novecento”, *Rinascite della modernità* 3 (2023), pp. 63–74.

⁴¹ M. Santoro, *Tristano Caracciolo*, pp. 173–174.

- Fera, Vincenzo, “La filologia umanistica in Italia nel secolo XX”, in: *La Filologia medievale e umanistica greca e latina nel secolo XX*, Roma 1993, pp. 33–65.
- Hausmann, Frank Rutger, “Caracciolo, Tristano”, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XIX, Roma 1976, pp. 463–465.
- “Pubblicazioni di Mario Santoro”, in: *Rinascimento meridionale e altri studi in onore di Mario Santoro*, a cura di Maria Cristina Cafisse, Francesco D’Episcopo, Vincenzo Dolla, Tonia Fiorino e Lucia Miele, Napoli 1987, pp. 483–496.
- Santoro, Mario, *Uno scolaro del Poliziano a Napoli: Francesco Pucci*, Napoli 1948.
- Santoro, Mario, *Tristano Caracciolo e la cultura napoletana della Rinascenza*, Napoli 1957.
- Vitae auctoris actae notitia*, Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III”, ms. IX C 25, cc. 152r–165r.

CLAUDIA CORFIATI

🏠 Università degli studi di Bari

@ claudia.corfiati[at]uniba.it

🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1167-9840>

Associate Professor of Italian Philology at the University of Bari. Her primary research interests: Historiography in South Italy (Tristano Caracciolo, Angelo Di Costanzo); Ludovico Lazzarelli; the Latin Poetry of the Fifteenth Century; Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*; books and culture in Aragonese Naples (Francesco Pucci, Girolamo Borgia). Among the most recent volumes: Paracleto Malvezzi, *Bucolicum carmen ad Pium II papam* (2016), *Sarca* (2022), *Plutarch’s “De virtute morali” in the Latin version by Andrea Matteo Acquaviva* (2022).

Joaquín Pascual Barea 

Profesión, vocación e imagen de Antonio de Lebrija hasta 1950

De *grammaticus* a padre de la lingüística española

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 341–361

<https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus>

Abstract

Profession, Vocation and Image of Antonio de Lebrija until 1950: From *grammaticus* to Father of Spanish Linguistics

During his lifetime, Antonio de Lebrija forged his own image as restorer of Latin in Spain. Of the many facets that he developed as a humanist, it was his work as Latin grammarian and philologist that prevailed until the eighteenth century, when critics became especially interested in Lebrija's contribution to the study of the Spanish language in his *Gramática* and his *Reglas de Ortografía*, as well as his dictionaries (Latin to Spanish and Spanish to Latin). In the subsequent centuries, Lebrija's status as historian was also valued, as well as his contribution to other disciplines, especially his commentaries on religious texts, his pedagogical works and his poetry. Lebrija's figure has also been used politically, both from the nationalist and conservative position of traditional Catholicism, founded on his patriotism and services to the Spanish crown and his dedication to sacred letters, and from a liberal and progressive ideology, which highlighted his firm defence of freedom of expression and reason against the principle of authority.

Keywords

Antonio de Lebrija, grammarian, Neo-Latin poetry, modern linguistics, ideological appropriation, liberalism

Introducción

Antonio de Lebrija (1444–1522) fue un humanista polifacético que, lejos de limitarse a reformar la enseñanza del latín en las aulas, se sirvió de sus conocimientos profundos de esta lengua y de los más limitados de griego y hebreo para publicar un buen número de gramáticas, diccionarios y escritos lingüísticos, así como sus propios poemas latinos, ediciones críticas y comentarios de obras pertenecientes a disciplinas muy diversas, y versiones latinas en prosa y verso de otros escritos ajenos. Desde el siglo XVII y hasta mediados del siglo pasado, su figura ha sido analizada desde perspectivas muy diferentes, primando la faceta que en cada época y a cada estudioso le ha parecido más pertinente. A fin de calibrar hasta qué punto estos enfoques se corresponden con la realidad, tomaré como referencia la consideración que el propio interesado tuvo de sí mismo a lo largo de su vida, así como la que prevaleció entre sus contemporáneos y durante el resto del siglo XVI, sobre lo que versan los dos primeros apartados de este artículo.

1. La profesión de Antonio de Lebrija según los títulos de sus propias obras

Después de alcanzar en 1484 el grado académico de maestro, equivalente a doctor, Antonio de Lebrija acostumbró a anteponer este título a su nombre en las portadas, encabezamientos y colofones de sus libros. Pero ya desde 1481 solía añadir además a su nombre la profesión, cargo o actividad con que, a lo largo de su vida, se sentía más identificado, le proporcionaba mayor gloria o se correspondía con la obra en cuestión. Estos títulos deben atribuirse por lo general al propio Lebrija, si bien su intervención es menos probable en el caso de las numerosas reimpressiones de sus obras que en las primeras ediciones o en las reelaboraciones y revisiones que llevó a cabo de algunas de ellas. Procede examinar por tanto sobre todo las primeras ediciones y algunas de esas reediciones a fin de obtener una visión de cómo deseó presentarse él mismo en las distintas etapas de su carrera profesional.

Su condición primordial de gramático (*grammaticus*) figura a continuación de su nombre desde el 16 de enero 1481 hasta 1513.¹ Con este título no solo aludía a su labor como maestro de latín y autor de gramáticas, diccionarios y otras obras para el aprendizaje del latín, sino también a sus ediciones críticas y comentarios filológicos de textos latinos de toda índole.² Solo unos meses después de abandonar definitivamente la Universidad de Salamanca, despedido por no haber recuperado

¹ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Introductiones Latinae*, Salamanca 1481.

² Juan Gil, *Antonio de Lebrija: El sabio y el hombre*, Sevilla 2021, pp. 26–39.

la cátedra de Gramática, aceptó de forma efímera el cargo de catedrático de latín en Sevilla, ocupándose de hacer imprimir en esta ciudad el 23 de octubre de 1513 el texto de su última lección magistral en Salamanca³, en la que figura como gramático y profesor de Retórica (*grammatici et rhetoris*). A partir de entonces no solo omitió su título de gramático incluso en sus obras de carácter gramatical y filológico, sino que renunció expresamente al mismo como algo del pasado. Así, cuando el 13 de abril de 1516 publica al fin su *Tertia Quinquagena*, que aspiraba a ser su obra filológica más ambiciosa, recuerda que había pasado de gramático a maestro de Retórica en la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, así como cronista real (*ex grammatico rhetoris in Complutensi gymnasio, atque proinde historici regii*), las dos profesiones que de hecho ejercía por entonces.⁴ Aunque el 5 de agosto de 1521 aparece como gramático a la vez que cronista real (*grammatici atque regii historiographi*) en el encabezamiento y el colofón de la *Repetitio octava de numeris*, considero que fueron redactados en 1512, año en el que había leído en Salamanca el día once de junio esta lección magistral.⁵

Como poeta figura en 1491 en el encabezamiento de la primera edición de sus *Carmina*, y en el colofón es presentado por el editor de sus poemas como “el poeta y orador más destacado de todos los de nuestra época” (*poeta oratoreque inter omnes nostrae tempestatis eminentissimo*)⁶, y poco después ostenta el doble título de *grammaticus et poeta* en una temprana edición de sus *Vafre dicta philosophorum*. Incluso aparece como *poeta laureatus*, además de *grammaticus*, en la impresión burgalesa de 1493 de la segunda edición de las *Introductiones Latinae*, lo que probablemente se debió a una iniciativa del impresor, por más que él hubiera ansiado por entonces dicha corona. Pues nuestro gramático debió de comprender que no lograría la condición de poeta regio a la que había aspirado desde 1486.⁷

Apenas uno o dos meses después de ser nombrado cronista real el 21 de marzo de 1509, Lebrija ya hizo gala de su condición de cronista real (*historicus regius*) en el título de un *De liberis educandis libellus*, dedicado al secretario real Miguel Pérez de Almazán.⁸ Hasta su muerte en 1522, este fue el título que ostentó de forma más duradera y constante a lo largo de la última etapa de su vida. Además de figurar juntamente como cronista real y catedrático de Retórica en la referida

³ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Relectio nona de accentu Latino aut Latinitate donato*, Sevilla 1513.

⁴ Antonius Nebrissensis, *In quinquaginta Sacrae Scripturae locos non vulgariter enarratos Tertia Quinquagena*, Alcalá de Henares 1516. Parecidas palabras emplea en el *explicit* y en el encabezamiento de la dedicatoria.

⁵ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Relectio de numeris in qua numerorum errores complures ostendit qui apud auctores leguntur*, Alcalá de Henares 1521.

⁶ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Epithalamium in nuptiis clarissimorum lusitaniae principum Alphonsi ac Heli-sabetha...*, Salamanca 1491. Hay edición y traducción de Ruth Martínez Alcorlo en 2013.

⁷ Joaquín Pascual Barea, “La ambición de poeta regio de Antonio de Lebrija”, *Well-Wrought Snapshots: Pragmatics and Aesthetics in Neo-Latin Occasional Poetry (1450–1800)*, ed. Ingrid A. R. De Smet and Marc Laureys, en prensa.

⁸ Antonius Nebrissensis, *De liberis educandis libellus*, en: Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *La educación de los hijos*, estudio, edición, traducción y notas por León Esteban y Laureano Robles, Valencia 1981, p. 56.

Repetitio sexta leída en 1510 y *septima* leída en 1511, en 1511 dedicó el presbítero de Calahorra Pedro Ocón una obrita “al muy sabio e ilustre maestro Antonio de Lebrija, cronista real” (*ad sapientissimum praeclarumque magistrum Antonium Nebrissensem regium historiographum*), que incluye un poema que también dedica “el bachiller Juan Agüero de Trasmiera a Antonio de Lebrija, cronista del César de España” (*Ad Antonium Nebrissensem Hispani Caesaris Historiographum Iohannes Augur Transmierensis Bac.*), y otros poemas del propio Lebrija en los que es llamado “cronista del gran César” (*magni Caesaris historiographi*). Se trata de distintas variantes en la expresión latina del cargo de cronista real que no cabe atribuir al propio Lebrija, pero que se hacen eco del título más honroso que tuvo desde entonces.⁹ Poco después debió de imprimirse su primera edición conocida de los *Libri minores*, en la que al igual que en sucesivas reediciones, figura únicamente como *historiographus Regius*.¹⁰ En 1512 hallamos la variante “cronógrafo real” (*chronographus regius*), tanto por su condición de cronista como por el contenido supuestamente histórico de los diversos trataditos apócrifos que editó en ese volumen.¹¹ Ya hemos visto que en 1516 había pasado de gramático a profesor de Retórica y cronista real (*ex grammatico rhetoris atque Regii historici*). Y solo figura como cronista real (*regius historiographus* o *historicus regius*) en dos obras impresas el 13 de septiembre y el 5 de noviembre de ese mismo año: su edición y comentario de *Segmenta ex epistolis Pauli, Petri, Iacobi et Ioannis*, y las *De orbo novo decades* de Pedro Mártir de Anglería, entre otras obras editadas o reeditadas durante la última etapa de su vida. Así, vuelve a titularse únicamente *Regius Historiographus* a comienzos de 1522 en un escrito contra Reuchlin y Erasmo¹², y en una biografía burlesca de su hijo Marcelo compuesta después de 1518¹³, con la que por otra parte no dejaba de cultivar un género histórico. También aparece únicamente como *historiographus regius* en la carta al lector que encabeza la *Thalichristia* de Alvar Gómez de Ciudad Real, obra impresa en Alcalá de Henares el 11 de abril de 1522, apenas tres meses antes de su muerte.

Lebrija ejerció la cátedra de Retórica en la Universidad de Salamanca desde el curso 1509–1510 hasta el de 1512–1513, y en la de Alcalá de Henares desde finales de 1513, lo que explica que también aparezca su título de profesor de Retórica (*rhetor*) junto a su nombre en varias obras impresas entre 1510 y 1516. Así,

⁹ Pedro de Ocón, *Nonarum, Iduum et Kalendarum libellus*, Salamanca 1511; Felipe González Vega, “Poesía de la imagen y representación del tiempo. Unos poemas inéditos de Nebrija en un folleto de calendarios romanos”, *Minerva* 24 (2011), pp. 31–57.

¹⁰ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Libri minores de novo correcti*, [Logroño, ca. 1511–1512].

¹¹ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Opuscula antiquitatis plena*, Burgos 1512.

¹² *In Reuclinum Phorcensem et Erasmus Roterdanum, quod de talita in Evangelio Marci et tabita in Luca non bene senserunt*, publicada por Carlos Gilly, “Una obra desconocida de Nebrija contra Erasmo y Reuchlin”, en: *El erasmismo en España: ponencias del coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo del 10 al 14 de junio de 1985*, ed. Manuel Revuelta Sañudo y Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, Santander 1986, pp. 194–218, espec. p. 204.

¹³ Pedro Martín Baños, “Estudio, edición y traducción de un inédito burlesco de Antonio de Nebrija: la *Malleoli Ascalaphi Cisterciensis Ordinis Commodatarii vita*”, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 31 (2011), pp. 255–291.

aunque no consta el año de impresión, aún figura solo como gramático y cronista real (*grammatici atque Regii Historiographi*) en el encabezamiento de la *Repetitio sextae de mensuris* y de la *Repetitio septima de ponderibus*, leídas el 11 de junio de 1510 y el 13 de junio de 1511; pero en el colofón de la sexta aparece como cronista real y como catedrático de Retórica en la Universidad de Salamanca (*historiographus regius et cathedrarius rhetorices in Salmanticensi gymnasio*).¹⁴ En la referida obra que hizo imprimir en Sevilla en 1513 tras abandonar Salamanca, figura como gramático y maestro de Retórica (*grammaticus et rhetor*). Y tras establecerse en la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares como catedrático de Retórica, editó en 1515 un manual de arte retórica¹⁵ en calidad únicamente de profesor de esta disciplina en la Universidad de Alcalá (*in Complutensi gymnasio artis rhetoricae professor*), a cuyo fundador y patrono suyo la dedicó. Sin embargo, su condición de profesor de Retórica no vuelve a aparecer a partir del verano de 1516, e incluso acabó renunciando expresamente a ella. Pues en la edición póstuma llevada a cabo por sus hijos Sancho y Sebastián de sus dos principales obras históricas, figura simplemente como *historiographus* en el encabezamiento de una *excusatoria praefatio*, y expresamente como *ex grammatico et rhetore historiographus regius* en los de una *Divinatio in scribenda historia* y de una *exhortatio* al lector que precede a esa *praefatio*, y como *ex grammatico et rhetore historicus regius* en el *Bellum Navariense*.¹⁶ Con todo, al menos el encabezamiento de la *Divinatio in scribenda historia* no creo que fuera redactado por Lebrija, ya que está fechada el 13 de abril de 1509, antes de haber obtenido ninguna cátedra de Retórica, por lo que tal vez lo trasladaran aquí sus hijos y editores a partir de la referida *exhortatio*.

En conclusión, podemos decir que, junto a su condición fundamental de *grammaticus* o filólogo latino entre 1480 y 1513, también presumió de poeta hacia 1491–1493, de cronista real desde 1509 hasta su muerte en 1522, y de maestro de Retórica entre 1510 y 1516. Ciertamente, su actividad en cada uno de esos ámbitos se extendió durante mucho más tiempo, y no siempre conforme a sus deseos, como prueba una glosa al prólogo de la edición de 1495 o *Recognitio* de sus *Introductiones Latinae*, en la que declaraba su intención de abandonar los estudios de gramática para dedicarse a la Historia de España y finalmente a la Biblia hasta el final de sus días. Pero lo cierto es que en sus libros figuró durante aproximadamente treinta y tres años como gramático (1481–1513), catorce como historiador

¹⁴ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Repetitio sexta de mensuris*, [Salamanca 1510]; id., *Repetitio septima de ponderibus*, [Alcalá de Henares ca. 1516]. Ambas obritas, junto con la referida *Repetitio octava*, han sido editadas y traducidas por David Paniagua en 2019.

¹⁵ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Artis rhetoricae compendiosa coaptatio ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano*, [Alcalá de Henares] 1515. Contamos con una edición y traducción de la misma por Juan Lorenzo en 2006.

¹⁶ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Rerum a Fernando et Elisabe Hispaniarum foelicissimimis regibus gestarum decades duas, necnon Belli Navariensis libros duos*, Granada 1545.

(1509–1522), siete como maestro de Retórica (1510–1516) y apenas tres como poeta (1491–1493).

2. La fama de Antonio de Lebrija entre sus contemporáneos y hasta finales del siglo XVI

Ya desde finales del siglo XV, aunque tampoco le faltaron rivales ni críticas a sus tratados, Lebrija recibió incontables elogios, y no solo de sus compatriotas. Así, el italiano Pedro Mártir de Anghiera o Anglería (1457–1526) publicó en 1498 un poema alegórico en el que presenta a Barbarie huyendo a África desde las costas de Cádiz tras haber sido vencida y expulsada de España por Lebrija, a quien Anglería llama el más instruido de los poetas (*vatum doctissime*) y de quien escribe, entre otros elogios, que había merecido en Italia la corona de hiedra y laurel (*hunc posquam virides lauros hederasque sequaces / iam meruisse sibi vidit Saturnia tellus*).¹⁷ En otro epigrama impreso al final de la tercera versión de sus *Introductiones Latinae* también lo imagina coronado de laurel su colega portugués Arias Barbosa (ca. 1475–1540)¹⁸, quien hasta finales de 1512 seguiría componiendo otros poemas laudatorios para los liminares de varias obras del nebricense.

Durante el siglo XVI, el nombre de Antonio de Lebrija siguió siendo popular gracias sobre todo a sus *Introductiones Latinae*, sus diccionarios y otras obras que, aunque comentados, ampliados o reformados por otros maestros, se siguieron publicando a su nombre y fueron utilizados en las escuelas hasta el siglo XIX. Ello explica que varias decenas de gramáticos, escritores y otros personajes presumieran de haber asistido a sus clases y se declararan públicamente sus discípulos y seguidores.¹⁹ Uno de los más fervientes fue el catedrático sevillano Pedro Núñez Delgado (ca. 1478–1535), quien le dedicó dos poemas en vida y uno a su muerte, refiriendo en un total de 61 dísticos sus múltiples méritos y retomando la imagen alegórica creada por Anglería: “La barbarie que fuera señora por años sin cuento / rechazóla tan solo él con su propio Arte”.²⁰

¹⁷ El poema impreso en Burgos en 1498 vuelve a publicarlo el propio Lebrija al final de su *Vafre dicta philosophorum* [Sevilla 1498–1500], respondiéndole con otro poema en que se hace eco de dicha imagen de debelador de la barbarie. También figura entre los *Opera* de Anglería, Sevilla 1511, fol. I.

¹⁸ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Recognitio Commentarii Introductionum suarum*, Salamanca 1495, fol. i viij”. Hay edición y traducción de 2022 por Eustaquio Sánchez Salor y otros a partir de la última impresión revisada por el autor poco antes de su muerte: *Introductiones in Latinam grammaticen*, Alcalá de Henares 1523.

¹⁹ Félix G. Olmedo, *Nebrija (1441–1522): Debelador de la barbarie, comentador eclesiástico, pedagogo, poeta*, Madrid 1942, pp. 63–69; J. Gil, *Antonio de Lebrija*, pp. 26–28, 59–60, 95–98 y 104, n. 1.

²⁰ Pedro Núñez Delgado, *Epigrammata*, Sevilla 1537; id., *Epigramas*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción anotada e índices a cargo de Francisco Vera Bustamante, Alcañiz y Madrid 2002, epigramas XV, XIX y XXX (pp. 100–111, 134–141 y 224–231), espec. pp. 102–103 (vv. 9–10): *Solus hic innumeros quae iam dominata per annos / Barbariem fuerat, reppulit arte sua*. Salvo esta, son más las restantes traducciones de las citas latinas.

Haciéndose eco en gran medida de las propias palabras del humanista en el prólogo al diccionario de español a latín sobre los diez años que pasó en Italia estudiando los autores latinos²¹, y del referido encomio poético de Anglería, el humanista italiano Paulo Jovio (1483–1552) destacaba en 1546 en un tono hiperbólico cómo “brilló el ingenio de Antonio de Lebrija, equiparable a los gramáticos de la Antigüedad”, quien

con sus escritos y su docencia levantó con fuerza a la juventud al antiguo esplendor de las letras, amonestando y corrigiendo a sus predecesores. Pues consta que él, exiliándose voluntariamente por su afición a las letras, recorrió las universidades de casi toda Italia, y reunió los tesoros de la lengua griega y latina dignos de un noble deseo con los que enriquecer a su tierra patria. [...] Por consiguiente, en pocos años se logró que cualquiera que aborreciera el estudio de las letras no fuera considerado lo bastante noble, y que el propio Antonio triunfara con gloria por restablecer las letras en su primitivo estado, de la misma manera que Fernando por conquistar Granada y expulsar a los moros.²²

Sin embargo, de sus viajes por Italia solo nos consta su estancia en el Colegio de los Españoles de Bolonia entre enero de 1465 y 1470, gracias a una beca proporcionada por el obispado de Córdoba, y aunque pudo haber llegado un par de años antes, aún faltarían al menos otros dos para completar los diez que él mismo declara haber pasado en Italia.²³ Es posible por tanto que hubiera redondeado la cifra, entre otras razones para no parecer menos que Alfonso de Palencia (1423–1492), el cronista real y secretario de latín ya difunto cuyos diccionarios trataba de hacer olvidar, quien sí había vivido al menos diez años en Florencia y Roma desde 1441 bajo el magisterio de Jorge de Trebisonda y con el apoyo y amistad del cardenal Besarión y de varios humanistas italianos. Por otra parte, si bien aprovechó enseguida su estancia para embeberse de los autores latinos antiguos y del espíritu del humanismo, había ido a estudiar Teología, y hasta los 34 años en que contrajo matrimonio hacia 1479, fue un clérigo que debía de disfrutar de alguna de esas rentas eclesiásticas que afirma no haber ido a buscar a Italia.

²¹ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Dictionarium ex Hispaniensi in Latinum sermonem*, Salamanca ca. 1495: “Assí que en edad de diez y nueve años io fue a Italia, no por la causa que otros van, o para ganar rentas de iglesia, o para traer fórmulas del derecho civil y canónico, o para trocar mercaderías, mas para que por la lei de la tornada después de luengo tiempo restituiesse en la possessión de su tierra perdida los autores del latín, que estavan ia muchos siglos avía desterrados de España. Mas después que allí gasté diez años en los prender [...]”.

²² Paulus Jovius, *Elogia doctorum virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium*, Amberes 1557, pp. 138–139: *Antonii Nebrissensis ingenium emicuit, par antiquis grammaticis, [...] scribendo et docendo iuventutem, admonitis castigatisque natu maioribus, ad antiquum decus literarum vehementer erexit. Constat enim eum, literarum amore sponte exulantem, fere totius Italiae gymnasia collustrasse, collegisseque dignos nobili voto Graecae Latinaeque linguae thesauros, quibus terra patria ditaretur. [...] Paucis itaque annis effectum est ut nemo, qui literarum studium reformidaret, satis nobilis haberetur, ipseque Antonius non secus de restitutis postliminio literis quam Ferdinandus Granata capta Maurisque pulsus gloriose triumpharet.*

²³ Juan Gil, “Nebrija en el Colegio de los españoles en Bolonia”, *Emérita* 33 (1965), pp. 347–350; Pedro Martín Baños, *La pasión de saber: Vida de Antonio de Nebrija*, Huelva 2019, pp. 105–115; J. Gil, *Antonio de Lebrija*, pp. 21–24.

En cuanto a los tesoros de la lengua griega con que enriqueció su patria, es cierto que trató sobre la correcta acentuación de las palabras griegas en latín²⁴, y desde 1507 publicó unas nociones elementales en un tratadito *De litteris Graecis* sobre las letras del alfabeto y su pronunciación. Pero el maestro de griego en Salamanca desde finales del siglo XV fue el ya mencionado Arias Barbosa, quien había sido discípulo de Poliziano en Florencia. Y cuando traslada a versos latinos las *Vidas y sentencias de los filósofos ilustres* de Diógenes Laercio, no lo hace directamente del griego, sino que se vale de la traducción al latín de Ambrosio Traversari²⁵, y en sus obras gramaticales y lexicográficas revela cierta inseguridad al transcribir términos griegos.²⁶

De Lebrija pervivió ante todo su imagen de restaurador en España de la lengua y literatura latinas de época clásica, siguiendo el ejemplo de Lorenzo Valla en Italia.²⁷ Así, Francisco de Támara, catedrático de Humanidades en Cádiz y traductor de obras de Cicerón, de Jenofonte y de algunos autores modernos, a pesar de haber sido “tantos y tan doctos los varones que de cincuenta años a esta parte se han mostrado y señalado en su doctrina y obras escritas”, en 1553 solo se siente obligado a hacer mención de Erasmo y

de nuestro buen maestro, Antonio de Lebrija, el qual podemos dezir que en nuestra España fue padre de la lengua latina, y extirpó y desterró la barbarie que tantos tiempos en ella se avía enseñoreado.²⁸

Ese mismo año, el catedrático complutense Alfonso García Matamoros (1490–1572) reedita con correcciones su propio comentario a la sintaxis o libro cuarto de la gramática de Lebrija que había publicado en 1539²⁹, y escribe una apología de la erudición española en la que, aunque alaba a Lebrija como orador y erudito, y sobre todo por su incansable lucha contra la barbarie mediante la renovación de la lengua latina, pone en entredicho sus méritos como historiador:

²⁴ Antonius Nebrissensis, *De vi ac potestate litterarum*, Salamanca 1502 (hay edición, traducción y facsímil por Antonio Quilis y Pilar Usabel, Madrid 1987); id., *De dictionum peregrinarum et quarundam aliarum accentu opus utilissimum*, Salamanca 1499 (apéndice a sus *Introductiones*); id., *Repetitio tertia de peregrinarum dictionum accentu*, [Salamanca 1507]; id., *Relectio nona*.

²⁵ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Vafre dicta philosophorum* [Sevilla 1498–1500]. Hay edición y traducción de Valeriano Yarza Urquiola en 2020.

²⁶ J. Gil, *Antonio de Lebrija*, pp. 92–94.

²⁷ Francisco Rico, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros: el canon de gramáticos nefastos en las polémicas del humanismo*, Salamanca 1978, pp. 22–27, 33–55 y 99–101.

²⁸ Francisco de Támara, *Tabla y repertorio de todas las personas y cosas memorables que han sido desde el principio del mundo hasta el año presente de MDLIII*, Amberes 1553, fol. 173, impresos a continuación de su traducción de Juan Carrión, *Suma y compendio de todas las crónicas del mundo desde su principio hasta el año presente*, fol. 145–173.

²⁹ Alphonsus Garsia Matamoros, *In Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Grammatici quartum librum scholia*, Valencia 1539; id., *Methodus constructionis, sive Scholia in quartum librum Antonii Nebrissensis, mendis omnibus, quibus scatebant, diligenter expurgata*, Alcalá de Henares 1553.

Antonio de Lebrija, quien, mientras vivió, llevó a cabo una guerra implacable y cruel con los bárbaros tras haber agotado con gran ansiedad como por una larga sed todas las letras y disciplinas en las que entonces florecía Italia, [...] orador brillante, de mucha y variada lectura; pero la historia que escribió sobre los hechos llevados a cabo por el muy alto rey Fernando, la expuso en un estilo ciertamente sencillo y humilde y con poco cuidado.³⁰

Tampoco Juan Lorenzo Palmireno (1524–1579), al igual que otros muchos maestros de ese siglo, fue partidario de seguir enseñando la gramática con las *Introducciones* del nebricense, si bien le reconoce que, cuando

estaba España en poder y tiranía de bárbaros grammáticos, dolióse della, pasó en Italia, truxo con toda curiosidad lo que pudo. Y assí como Emanuel Chrysóloras truxo el griego a Italia, assí Antonio de Nebrissa el latín a España.³¹

3. La imagen de Antonio de Lebrija en el siglo XVII según Rodrigo Caro y Nicolás Antonio

En torno al 1600, Rodrigo Caro (1573–1647) compuso poesías en latín y en castellano en las que resulta evidente la huella de los poemas latinos de Lebrija.³² Lo elogió luego entre los principales sabios de la Universidad de Salamanca en una obra en latín con la que él mismo aspiraba a continuar la labor filológica de esos humanistas españoles.³³ Y al describir la villa de Lebrija en su tratado sobre las antigüedades de Sevilla y del *conventus Hispanensis* menciona

al insigne y memorable varón Antonio de Lebrija, restaurador de las letras de España, coronista de los Reyes Católicos; la casa de su nacimiento es tenida en veneración por tal hijo. Fue muy conocido y estimado de todos los ingenios de su tiempo, y aún es admiración en

³⁰ Alphonsus Garsia Matamorus, *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione, sive De viris Hispaniae doctis narratio apogetica*, Alcalá de Henares 1553; id., *Pro adserenda hispanorum eruditione*, edición, estudio, traducción y notas de José López de Toro, Madrid 1943, pp. 198–201: *Antonius Nebrissensis, qui litteris ac disciplinis omnibus, quibus eo tempore florebat Italia, tamquam ex longa siti avidissime haustis, atrox, quoad vixit, et crudele bellum cum barbaris gessit [...] praeclarus orator, multae et variae lectionis; sed historiam, quam de rebus gestis a Ferdinando augustissimo rege conscripsit, tenui ac deiecto quidem stilo parumque diligenter est prosequutus.*

³¹ Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, *El latino de repente*, Valencia 1573, 2ª parte, p. 172.

³² Rodrigo Caro, *Poesía castellana y latina e inscripciones originales*, estudio, edición crítica, traducción, notas e índices de Joaquín Pascual Barea, Sevilla 2000, pp. 22, 137–230, 250–252.

³³ Joaquín Pascual Barea, “Minerva en Hispania: elogio de la ciencia española en el contexto de Europa en el tratado de Rodrigo Caro sobre los antiguos dioses (1628–1641)”, en: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis: Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Vienna 2015)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, Franz Römer, Leiden y Boston 2018, pp. 523–524 y 527–528.

el nuestro. Pondré aquí por memoria suya el Cenotaphio que le hizo Pedro Myrteo; y pudiera poner los elogios de otros muchos extranjeros y españoles.³⁴

En la segunda mitad del seiscientos, Nicolás Antonio (1617–1684) dedicó una breve biografía y una bibliografía más extensa a “*Antonius de Lebrixa, vulgo Nebrissensis dictus*” a partir de sus propias obras y las de otros autores, y comenta la mayor parte de su vasta producción editorial. En algunos casos se muestra demasiado crédulo con algunas de sus fuentes, como el poema encomiástico de Pedro Mártir de Anglería, y el elogio de Paulo Jovio ya referidos sobre los supuestos viajes del joven Lebrija por toda Italia a lo largo de diez años, y encarece su conocimiento de las lenguas latina, griega y hebrea y de otras disciplinas teniendo en cuenta los tratados que publicó al respecto:

Cuenta Jovio en sus *Elogios* que este recorrió casi todas las universidades de esta [Italia], y lo confirma Pedro Mártir de Anglería en un epigrama dirigido al mismo. Y verdaderamente esta peregrinación le procuró en el regazo unos frutos tan ricos de erudición de las lenguas latina, griega y hebrea, y de todas las artes liberales [...]. Regresó enriquecido con estas artes después de concluir un decenio en el extranjero.³⁵

4. La imagen de Antonio de Lebrija en el siglo XVIII como lingüista e historiador

El polígrafo Gregorio Mayans i Siscar (1699–1781) editó las

Reglas de Ortografía en la Lengua Castellana, que compuso el eruditísimo Maestro Antonio de Lebrija, por parecerme que son las más bien fundadas, más secillas [sic] i más fáciles de practicar que quantas he visto impresas.³⁶

Transcribe además varios de sus poemas latinos a continuación de sus propias reflexiones sobre dichas *Reglas*. También transmite esos poemas y otros textos del

³⁴ Rodrigo Caro, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrissima ciudad de Sevilla y Chorographia de su convento iuridico o antigua chancilleria*, Sevilla 1634, fol. 119v. Teniendo en cuenta que Caro conocía bien la obra y labor del nebricense, creo que el ambiguo sintagma “letras de España” no se refiere a la lengua y literatura castellanas, sino más bien a las letras en general en España.

³⁵ Nicolaus Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve sive Latina sive populari sive alia quavis lingua scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia*, Roma 1672, t. I, pp. 104–109: *Huius omnia fere gymnasia collustrasse eum refert Iovius in elogiis, confirmatque Petrus Martyr Anglariensis in epigrammate ad eundem scripto. Quae sane peregrinatio fructus adeo uberes illi in sinum detulit Latinae, Graecae Hebraicaeque linguarum, ingenuarumque omnium artium eruditionis [...] His artibus locuples reversus est, post decennium peregre factum.*

³⁶ Gregorio Mayans, *Reglas de ortografía en la lengua castellana, compuestas por el maestro Antonio de Lebrija*, Madrid 1735, p. xxvi; Antonius Nebrissensis, *Reglas de orthographía en la lengua castellana*, Alcalá de Henares 1517.

humanista en un trabajo posterior en latín, que incluye una extensa información biográfica y bibliográfica sobre el “padre de los literatos y de las letras en España” (*literarum in Hispania et literatorum parente*).³⁷ Entretanto, después de la primera edición de 1492, hacia 1744–1747 volvió a imprimirse su *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, que también contribuyó a crear una nueva faceta de Lebrija como lingüista del español.³⁸ A ello contribuyeron asimismo su diccionario de latín a castellano³⁹ y el de castellano a latín mencionado más arriba, que en realidad estaban destinados a facilitar que los hablantes de castellano comprendieran los textos latinos y pudieran escribir en latín. Desde entonces ha prevalecido esta imagen de nuestro gramático como campeón de la lingüística española, a pesar de que su dedicación a esta lengua, aunque pionera y meritoria, había constituido una labor marginal en el conjunto de su actividad.

El oficio de cronista real y las obras que compuso Lebrija sobre la Historia de España justificaron que la Real Academia de la Historia encargara en 1793 al académico Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799) su elogio, que leería en sesión pública tres años después.⁴⁰ Muñoz lo presenta como un héroe en su esfuerzo por desterrar la barbarie de España, y como el restaurador de la Teología exegética, comentando con admiración sus obras sobre prácticamente todos los saberes, pues considera que

desde las primeras letras hasta lo más sublime de las ciencias, apenas dejó intacto algún artículo del vasto cuerpo de la enciclopedia: todos los especuló con atención prolija, y mejoró los más de ellos con feliz suceso.

Trata Muñoz de refutar que su incompleta Historia de los Reyes Católicos y la de la Conquista de Navarra, editadas póstumamente⁴¹, fueran poco más que una versión latina de la *Crónica de los muy altos y esclarecidos Reyes Cathólicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel* de Hernando del Pulgar (ca. 1430–ca. 1493) a partir de una copia manuscrita, y de la *Historia de la conquista del reino de Navarra por el Duque de Alba* de Luis Correa, impresa en Salamanca en 1513. Sí reconoce que “acaso parecerá imperdonable haber él reimpresso la ridícula colección de fray Juan Nani o Anio de Viterbo⁴², origen de muchas fábulas que han contaminado nuestra historia antigua.” Pues “aquel valor heroyco que manifestó en tantas ocasiones, y retuvo en su corazón y en su pluma hasta la última vejez, echámoslo de menos en el presente caso, caso dignísimo de su triunfante espada.” También le reprocha que “se prestó al oficio de

³⁷ Gregorio Mayans, *Specimen Bibliothecae Hispano-Majansianae*, Hannover 1753, pp. 4–39.

³⁸ Desde entonces sí ha conocido múltiples ediciones hasta la de Carmen Lozano en 2011.

³⁹ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Lexicon ex sermone Latino in Hispaniensem*, Salamanca 1492.

⁴⁰ Juan Bautista Muñoz, *Elogio de Antonio de Lebrija, leído en junta pública de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid 1796, pp. 5–49.

⁴¹ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Rerum a Fernando et Elisabe*.

⁴² El tratado *Berosus Chaldeus de origine et successionem regnorum* aparece editado por Lebrija entre una serie de *Opuscula antiquitatis plena*.

editor en obras que reprobaba”, como los *Libri minores*⁴³, y “un opúsculo de cronología en versos la mayor parte bárbaros”,⁴⁴ Intenta justificar que en esos casos se hubiera dejado arrastrar por las circunstancias y el interés personal, sin mostrar el coraje que manifestó en otras ocasiones para defender sus principios y convicciones. Sin embargo, tampoco Muñoz se muestra como un historiador riguroso al transmitir algunas noticias infundadas sobre Lebrija, como que “él solo viajó a Italia sin otro fin e interés más de adquirir riquezas literarias para derramarlas entre sus patricios”, sin mencionar su intención de seguir la carrera eclesiástica estudiando Teología; que allí “discurre por las escuelas más célebres, oye a los maestros más acreditados”, cuando solo consta que estudió en Bolonia, y Galeotto Marzio de Narni (1427–1490) es el maestro más conocido del que el propio Lebrija da cuenta; o, entre otras noticias que carecen de base documental y que aparentemente nunca sucedieron, que los Reyes Católicos decidieran

adoptar aquella ingeniosa empresa de su invención que contiene el nudo gordiano asido a la coyunda con la letra TANTO MONTA⁴⁵, designarlo preceptor del príncipe heredero, mandarlo coronar con la láurea debida a los príncipes del Parnaso.⁴⁶

5. La faceta de Antonio de Lebrija como político en el siglo XIX

El latinista Hemeterio Suaña y Castellet señaló que Lebrija se interesó “como el que más por los medros y engrandecimiento de su patria, a lo cual le tocó contribuir en no insignificante parte con su vida laboriosa”, por lo que

su indisputable mérito como gramático y restaurador de las letras en España queda en cierto modo oscurecido por el brillo y esplendor de sus relevantes dotes como insigne repúblico y hombre de gran corazón y levantados pensamientos.⁴⁷

Este compromiso político de Lebrija ha sido abordado en ocasiones desde distintas perspectivas ideológicas, según destaquen el patriotismo que rezuman muchos de

⁴³ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Libri minores*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción de Marco A. Gutiérrez, Salamanca 2009. Incluyen *Disticha Catonis*, *De contemptu mundi*, *Fabulae Aesopi*, *Floretus*, *Quinque claves sapientiae*.

⁴⁴ Antonius Nebrissensis, *Carmina ex diversis auctoribus... in calendarii rationem collecta*, [Burgos 1512].

⁴⁵ Rebate dicha atribución Juan Gil, “Alejandro, el nudo gordiano y Fernando el Católico”, *Habis* 16 (1985), pp. 229–242; id., *Antonio de Lebrija*, pp. 47–48. La de preceptor del príncipe lo fue por Lemus, como señalo al comienzo del sexto apartado.

⁴⁶ Esto último parece haber quedado en un deseo no cumplido por parte de Lebrija, según comento en: J. Pascual Barea, “La ambición de poeta regio de Antonio de Lebrija”.

⁴⁷ Hemeterio Suaña y Castellet, *Elogio del Cardenal Cisneros, seguido de un Estudio Crítico-Biográfico del Maestro Elio Antonio de Nebrija, uno de los más insignes profesores de la Academia Complutense*, Madrid 1879, pp. 93–97.

sus escritos, o bien su postura heterodoxa frente a ciertas tradiciones⁴⁸, e incluso ambas actitudes a la vez. Así, el intelectual conservador Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (1856–1912), partidario del catolicismo tradicional español, lo ensalza como “padre de la filología castellana” y como “restaurador de las letras humanas en España”, al tiempo que le reprocha que “por su genio áspero, mordaz y vanidoso solía ponerse en discordia con sus compañeros”, como revela una carta dirigida al cardenal Cisneros “que es lo más desenfadado y mordicante que hemos leído”.⁴⁹ De hecho, también su desacuerdo con el cardenal acerca de los criterios de traducción al latín de la Sagrada Escritura le llevó incluso a abandonar su colaboración en la magna empresa de la Biblia Complutense promovida por su patrono. Sin embargo, Menéndez Pelayo desvirtúa la realidad histórica al afirmar que el proceso contra su *Quinquagena* “se estrelló en la rectitud y buena justicia de los inquisidores generales D. Diego de Deza y Cisneros”⁵⁰, cuando había sido precisamente Deza el instigador de la persecución contra Lebrija por dedicarse a corregir la versión latina de la Biblia. El proceso que sufrió no tuvo mayores consecuencias gracias a que Deza fue reemplazado por el Cardenal Cisneros, aunque el retraso provocado en esa publicación impidió el reconocimiento que habían merecido sus logros pioneros en el ámbito de la filología bíblica.

6. Las diversas facetas de Antonio de Lebrija en la primera mitad del siglo XX

Pedro Lemus y Rubio (1869–1926) dedicó al humanista andaluz un artículo biográfico y otro bibliográfico⁵¹ en los que refuta primero el supuesto nombramiento como preceptor del príncipe Juan mencionado en el apartado anterior, al tiempo que dio a conocer varios documentos de un archivo parroquial de Lebrija y del Archivo Histórico Nacional relacionados con quien consideraba que era “el más grande de los humanistas españoles”.

Con motivo del cuarto centenario de su muerte, la ciudad de Lebrija publicó un volumen dando noticia de los actos conmemorativos, lápidas, discursos, poemas,

⁴⁸ El más claro testimonio de esta actitud es su *Apología earum rerum quae illi obiiciuntur quod in quosdam Sacrae Scripturae locos commentationes grammaticas edidit*, [Logroño 1507]. Hay edición y traducción de 2014 por Baldomero Macías Rosendo.

⁴⁹ La publicaron Roque Chabás, “Epístola del maestro de Lebrija al Cardenal quando se avisó que en la interpretación de las dicciones de la Biblia no mandase seguir al Remigio sin que primero viesen su obra”, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 8 (1903), pp. 493–496, y, a partir de una copia anterior, Carlos Gilly, “Otra vez Nebrija, Erasmo, Reuchlin y Cisneros”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 74 (1998), pp. 257–340, espec. pp. 308–315.

⁵⁰ Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid 1880, pp. 46–47, 169 y 694–696.

⁵¹ Pedro Lemus y Rubio, “El maestro Elio Antonio de Lebrija 1441?–1522”, *Revue Hispanique* 22 (1910), pp. 459–508, espec. pp. 470–471; id., “El maestro Elio Antonio de Lebrija. II (Notas bibliográficas)”, *Revue Hispanique* 29 (1913), pp. 13–120.

conferencias, conciertos, ceremonias religiosas y otros actos de homenaje a su excelso hijo. Además de algunos artículos publicados en la prensa durante 1922 en su honor, contiene un breve discurso en latín del padre escolapio Jerónimo de Córdoba (1863–1933), y un “Discurso” de José Ignacio Valentí nombrándolo “padre de la filología castellana”. Entre los ponentes, el historiador Joaquín Hazañas y la Rúa (1862–1934), rector de la Universidad de Sevilla, trató sobre todo acerca de las estancias de Lebrija en Sevilla, magnificando el referido testimonio de Nicolás Antonio al referir su “conocimiento profundo de las lenguas hebrea, árabe, griega y latina, y de sus respectivas literaturas”.⁵²

Sin embargo, según un documento del 27 de noviembre de 1511, “el señor maestro Antonio de Librija dijo que él no entiende mucho las lenguas hebraica, caldea e arábiga”.⁵³ La frase de Lebrija debe entenderse en el contexto de una oposición a la cátedra de lengua hebrea a la que aspiraba, entre otros, Alfonso de Zamora, quien poseía un dominio de esa lengua muy superior al suyo. Lebrija tuvo al menos la competencia suficiente para publicar diversos tratados gramaticales y lexicográficos sobre las letras, la pronunciación, el acento y los nombres tanto comunes como propios de la lengua hebrea que aparecen en el Nuevo Testamento, así como para remitir al texto original del Antiguo Testamento en sus anotaciones críticas sobre la Biblia en las que había estado trabajando desde los últimos años del siglo XV⁵⁴, y de las que ya había adelantado *Sacra lemmata quinque* hacia 1513. Aún menor debieron de ser los conocimientos que tuvo nuestro humanista de la fonética y vocabulario de la lengua árabe, a la que atribuyó el origen de algunos fonemas y palabras de la lengua castellana, no siempre de forma acertada.

Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977), en su magna obra sobre Erasmo y España publicada durante la Guerra Civil española, coincide en definir a Lebrija como un heterodoxo enfrentado al catolicismo tradicional, si bien lo hace desde una postura liberal y progresista: “Il incarne, au seuil du XVI^e siècle espagnol, l’effort autonome de l’humanisme pour restaurer l’antiquité toute entière, profane et sacrée”. Añade que fue “l’héritier des audaces de Laurent Valla en matière de philologie sacrée, peut-être de son attitude critique à l’égard des traditions de l’Église”; y que como humanista cristiano, “il n’est pas seulement le précurseur de l’érasmisme espagnol, il devance Erasme lui-même”.⁵⁵

La ideología franquista, aunque siguió la línea de pensamiento de Menéndez Pelayo, eliminó su faceta de humanista rebelde y defensor de la libertad de expresión y pensamiento, y de la razón y la verdad frente al principio de autoridad, convirtiéndolo

⁵² *Homenaje de Lebrija a su excelso hijo Elio Antonio de Nebrija, en el IV centenario de su muerte, 1922*, Sevilla 1926, pp. 91–94, 183–189 (p. 187), 117–126 (p. 122).

⁵³ P. Martín Baños, *La pasión de saber*, p. 416.

⁵⁴ Antonius Nebrissensis, *De litteris Hebraicis cum quibusdam annotationibus in Scripturam Sacram*, Alcalá de Henares ca. 1515; id., *In quinquaginta Sacrae Scripturae*; Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez, *Corpus Hebraicum Nebrissense. La obra hebrea de Antonio de Nebrija*, Madrid 2000, pp. 96–239 y 271–317.

⁵⁵ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l’Espagne: Recherches sur la vie spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, París 1937 (trad. Antonio Alatorre, México y Buenos Aires 1950, pp. 25–40).

en un emblema del nacional-catolicismo y de los ideales imperialistas y heroicos del régimen. En su honor, el Instituto de Filología Clásica del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas fue nombrado “Antonio de Nebrija” en febrero de 1940, sancionando la grafía Nebrija, monstruoso híbrido latino-español, en lugar de la correcta Lebrija que había prevalecido hasta principios de siglo.⁵⁶

El padre jesuita Félix González Olmedo (1880–1968) publicó en 1942 una monografía sobre Lebrija, cuyo nacimiento él había establecido en 1441, aunque en otra de 1944 declara que lo había hecho “sin pensar en el centenario”. En cualquier caso, ofreció una cumplida biografía, en la que comenta cuatro de sus principales facetas y las obras asociadas a cada una de ellas: la de debelador de la barbarie difundida desde el siglo XV gracias a las distintas ediciones de su gramática latina; la de comentador eclesiástico mediante sus correcciones al texto latino de la Biblia y sus ediciones de los himnos y otros textos litúrgicos y de autores cristianos como Sedulio y Prudencio⁵⁷; la de pedagogo a través del referido tratado *De liberis educandis* compuesto en 1509 y basado en Quintiliano y otros autores de la Antigüedad; y la de poeta latino, que cultivó a lo largo de su vida pero sobre todo entre 1486 y 1493. Olmedo se sirve de documentos originales de archivos y bibliotecas, además de las obras de Lebrija y de autores coetáneos, si bien formula algunas hipótesis sin argumentos sólidos e incurre en algunas inexactitudes. Mantiene un tono panegirista a lo largo de toda la obra, que concluye reclamando “el monumento que España tiene que levantar al gran filólogo, y para el cual ofrezco yo este modesto sillar”⁵⁸, al que añadiría otros unos años después para enaltecer a quien consideraba la “verdadera encarnación del Humanismo español y una de las grandes figuras del Renacimiento”⁵⁹.

Con motivo del quingentésimo aniversario del nacimiento del humanista, fijado tradicionalmente en 1444 a partir de su propio testimonio en relación a la batalla de Olmedo en el prólogo a su *Dictionarium* de español a latín impreso hacia 1495, la *Revista de Filología Española*, editada bajo los auspicios del referido Instituto “Antonio de Nebrija”, le dedicó un número monográfico en 1945. Esta y otras publicaciones de esos años aportan diversas novedades biográficas sobre las casas en las que vivió en Lebrija, Salamanca y Alcalá, sobre su labor como historiador, o sobre sus relaciones con el humanista Pedro Mártir de Anglería, con el arzobispo Juan de Zúñiga o con el cardenal Cisneros. Debido a los múltiples intereses de nuestro humanista, también proliferaron los estudios relativos a sus gramáticas de las lenguas latina y castellana, a sus ediciones de autores clásicos y cristianos y de textos litúrgicos y escolares, a sus escritos sobre Teología, Derecho, y otras disciplinas,

⁵⁶ J. Gil, *Antonio de Lebrija*, p. 13.

⁵⁷ Antonius Nebrissensis, *In Sedulii Paschale*, Logroño 1510; hay *Comentario al Carmen Paschale y a dos himnos de Sedulio*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción de Valeriano Yarza Urquiola, Salamanca 2011; Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Libelli cum commento Antonii Nebrissensis*, Logroño 1512; hay estudio, edición crítica y traducción de Felipe González Vega, Salamanca 2002.

⁵⁸ F. G. Olmedo, *Nebrija (1441-1522)*, p. 241.

⁵⁹ F. G. Olmedo, “Nuevos datos y documentos sobre Nebrija”, *Razón y Fe* 128 (1943), pp. 121–135; id., *Nebrija en Salamanca (1475-1513)*, Madrid 1944, p. 28.

y a la fortuna editorial de sus libros. Sobre estos tuvo lugar en Sevilla en mayo de 1946 una Exposición Bibliográfica dividida en dieciséis apartados, comenzando por los de “Nebrija y la lengua castellana” y “Nebrija, gramático latino”⁶⁰, en un orden inverso a la importancia que tuvieron una y otra lengua en el quehacer del gramático a lo largo de su vida.

En el estudio biográfico de Pedro Urbano González de la Calle (1879–1966), publicado durante su exilio en Colombia, hallamos una actitud crítica hacia quien consideraba el “padre de la Lingüística española”. Aunque no las refuta abiertamente, cuestiona la sinceridad de algunas indicaciones autobiográficas de Lebrija, así como de las frases encomiásticas de Pedro Mártir de Anglería y Paulo Jovio sobre su prolongada estancia en Italia y su vasta erudición, y pone de manifiesto el ansia de gloria y petulancia del humanista. Como profesor de latín, valora positivamente sus comentarios precisos sobre la mejor manera de traducir, o sobre los testimonios de los autores antiguos acerca de las riquezas naturales de Hispania que ya no se hallaban en su época. Y tal vez proyectando su propia experiencia personal, frente al chauvinismo imperante en España, escribe acerca de la marcha de Lebrija desde Salamanca a Bolonia que,

si la más gloriosa Universidad de su patria no satisfacía los legítimos anhelos de cultura sentidos por el brioso escolar andaluz, no deberá extrañarnos que se buscara fuera lo que no se hallaba en el ambiente nacional.⁶¹

Antonio Odriozola (1911–1987), quien al finalizar la Guerra Civil había abandonado la carrera de Derecho para quedar confinado en Pontevedra como archivero y bibliotecario, califica irónicamente su labor bibliográfica como “una no usada y pintoresca (huelga decir que tampoco lo creo recomendable) descentralización administrativa”. A pesar de sus limitaciones, publicó dos estudios en los que deshace numerosos errores de Haebler y otros bibliógrafos, y proporciona datos interesantes sobre la autoría, datación y fortuna editorial de varios libros de Lebrija o editados por él, como la *Aurea expositio hymnorum* y otras obras de carácter histórico y lingüístico, señalando tanto la “egregia inteligencia” como la “arrogancia” del nebricense.⁶²

Desde su exilio americano, Américo Castro (1885–1972) menciona en 1948 a Lebrija a propósito del maestro Juan de Zúñiga, quien en 1486 reunió en Extremadura “una corte del Renacimiento, en donde, muy a la española, se mezclaban los teólogos de la orden dominicana con astrónomos hebreos y con humanistas formados en Italia”;

⁶⁰ *Commemoración del V Centenario de Elio Antonio de Nebrija. Exposición del Libro Nebricense, Sevilla, XXIII Mayo MCMXLVI. Catálogo*, [Sevilla] 1946.

⁶¹ Pedro Urbano González de la Calle, “Elio Antonio de Lebrija” (Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis). Notas para un bosquejo biográfico, *Thesaurus* 1 (1945), pp. 80–129, espec. pp. 81–86 y 100.

⁶² Antonio Odriozola, “Algunos problemas bibliográficos que plantean las obras de Nebrija”, *Bibliografía Hispánica* 4 (1945), pp. 213–241, espec. pp. 213, 215 y 235; id., *La caracola del bibliófilo nebricense. Extracto seco de bibliografía de Nebrija en los siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid 1947.

aunque señala que “no fue un humanista a la manera italiana, sino a la española, y según una forma de vida que, como la hebreo-islámica, dependía de la creencia en un futuro”, y por tanto “compuso su Gramática no por fríos motivos científicos; se determinó a ello en vista de un futuro espacial e imperial, llevado de su creencia y confianza mesiánicas [...]”.⁶³ Unos años más tarde manifestará abiertamente su intuición de que el “padre de la lingüística española” era “casi seguramente de casta hebrea”, ofreciendo una nueva y controvertida imagen de nuestro humanista que permite entender muchos de los rasgos de su personalidad y biografía. Esa supuesta ascendencia, aunque no ha podido ser demostrada con documentos como en el caso de Santa Teresa y Juan Luis Vives, se ha visto apoyada desde entonces por otros muchos indicios, si bien las publicaciones, congresos, exposiciones y otros actos dedicados a nuestro humanista desde 1950 hasta hoy quedan ya fuera del presente análisis.

7. Conclusiones

De las principales facetas profesionales que ostentó Lebrija en vida, permaneció la de gramático de que hizo gala hasta 1513, aunque desde el siglo XVIII ha prevalecido el interés por la dedicación puntual que prestó a la lengua castellana frente a su auténtica y constante vocación de filólogo latino. Su labor como historiador, de la que hizo gala desde 1509 hasta su muerte, ha merecido un juicio poco favorable desde el siglo XVI. Aunque se han señalado otras facetas de Lebrija como comentarista eclesiástico, pedagogo o político, su dedicación a la Retórica apenas mereció atención hasta 1950, y la mayor parte de sus poemas latinos ni siquiera hoy día cuentan con un estudio, edición y traducción dignos.

Bibliografía

- Anglus Mediolanensis, Petrus Martyr, *Opera*, Sevilla 1511.
- Antonius, Nicolaus, *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve sive Latina sive populari sive alia quavis lingua scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia*, Roma 1672.
- Bataillon, Marcel, *Erasmus et l'Espagne: Recherches sur la vie spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, París 1937 (trad. Antonio Alatorre, México y Buenos Aires 1950).
- Caro, Rodrigo, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla y Chorographia de su convento iuridico o antigua chancilleria*, Sevilla 1634.
- Caro, Rodrigo, *Poesía castellana y latina e inscripciones originales*, estudio, edición crítica, traducción, notas e índices de Joaquín Pascual Barea, Sevilla 2000.

⁶³ Américo Castro, *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos*, Buenos Aires 1948, p. 203 y 589.

- Carrión, Juan, *Suma y compendio de todas las crónicas del mundo desde su principio hasta el año presente*, Amberes 1553.
- Castro, Américo, *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos*, Buenos Aires 1948.
- Chabás, Roque, “Epístola del maestro de Lebrixa al Cardenal quando se avisó que en la interpretación de las dicciones de la Biblia no mandase seguir al Remigio sin que primero viesen su obra”, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 8 (1903), pp. 493–496.
- Commemoración del V Centenario de Elio Antonio de Nebrija. Exposición del Libro Nebrissense, Sevilla, XXIII Mayo MCMXLVI. Catálogo*, [Sevilla] 1946.
- Del Valle Rodríguez, Carlos, *Corpus Hebraicum Nebrissense. La obra hebrea de Antonio de Nebrija*, Madrid 2000.
- García Matamoros, Alphonsus, *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione, sive De viris Hispaniae doctis narratio apologetica*, Alcalá de Henares 1553.
- García Matamoros, Alphonsus, *In Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Grammatici quartum librum scholia*, Valencia 1539.
- García Matamoros, Alphonsus, *Methodus constructionis, sive Scholia in quartum librum Antonii Nebrissensis, mendis omnibus, quibus scatebant, diligenter expurgata*, Alcalá de Henares 1553.
- García Matamoros, Alphonsus, *Pro adserenda hispanorum eruditione*, edición, estudio, traducción y notas de José López de Toro, Madrid 1943.
- Gil, Juan, “Alejandro, el nudo gordiano y Fernando el Católico”, *Habis* 16 (1985), pp. 229–242.
- Gil, Juan, *Antonio de Lebrija: El sabio y el hombre*, Sevilla 2021.
- Gil, Juan, “Nebrija en el Colegio de los españoles en Bolonia”, *Emérita* 33 (1965), pp. 347–350.
- Gilly, Carlos, “Una obra desconocida de Nebrija contra Erasmo y Reuchlin”, en: *El erasmismo en España: ponencias del coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo del 10 al 14 de junio de 1985*, ed. Manuel Revuelta Sañudo y Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, Santander 1986, pp. 194–218.
- Gilly, Carlos, “Otra vez Nebrija, Erasmo, Reuchlin y Cisneros”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 74 (1998), pp. 257–340.
- González de la Calle, Pedro Urbano, “Elio Antonio de Lebrija” (Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis). Notas para un bosquejo biográfico”, *Thesaurus* 1 (1945), pp. 80–129.
- González-Vega, Felipe, “Poesía de la imagen y representación del tiempo. Unos poemas inéditos de Nebrija en un folleto de calendas romanas”, *Minerva* 24 (2011), pp. 31–57.
- Homenaje de Lebrija a su excelso hijo Elio Antonio de Nebrija, en el IV centenario de su muerte, 1922*, Sevilla 1926.
- Jovius, Paulus, *Elogia doctorum virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium*, Amberes 1557.
- Lemus y Rubio, Pedro, “El maestro Elio Antonio de Lebrixa 1441?–1522”, *Revue Hispanique* 22 (1910), pp. 459–508.
- Lemus y Rubio, Pedro, “El maestro Elio Antonio de Lebrixa. II (Notas bibliográficas)”, *Revue Hispanique* 29 (1913), pp. 13–120.
- Lorenzo Palmireno, Juan, *El latino de repente*, Valencia 1573.
- Martín Baños, Pedro, “Estudio, edición y traducción de un inédito burlesco de Antonio de Nebrija: la *Malleoli Ascalaphi Cisterciensis Ordinis Commodatarii vita*”, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 31 (2011), pp. 255–291.

- Martín Baños, Pedro, *La pasión de saber: Vida de Antonio de Nebrija*, Huelva 2019.
- Mayans, Gregorio, *Reglas de ortografía en la lengua castellana, compuestas por el maestro Antonio de Lebrija*, Madrid 1735.
- Mayans, Gregorio, *Specimen Bibliothecae Hispano-Majansianae*, Hannover 1753.
- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid 1880.
- Muñoz, Juan Bautista, *Elogio de Antonio de Lebrija, leído en junta pública de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid 1796.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Apologia earum rerum quae illi obiiciuntur quod in quosdam Sacrae Scripturae locos commentationes grammaticas edidit* [Logroño 1507].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Apologia*, estudio de Pedro Martín Baños, edición y traducción de Baldomero Macías Rosendo, Huelva 2014.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Artis rhetoricae compendiosa coaptatio ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano*, [Alcalá de Henares] 1515.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Carmina ex diversis auctoribus... in calendarii rationem collecta*, [Burgos 1512].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Comentario al Carmen Paschale y a dos himnos de Sedulio*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción de Valeriano Yarza Urquiola, Salamanca 2011.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De dictionum peregrinarum et quarundam aliarum accentu opus utilissimum*, Salamanca 1499 (apéndice a sus *Introducciones*).
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De liberis educandis libellus*, en: Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *La educación de los hijos*, estudio, edición, traducción y notas por León Esteban y Laureano Robles, Valencia 1981.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De litteris Graecis*, [Logroño 1507].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De litteris Hebraicis cum quibusdam annotationibus in Scripturam Sacram*, Alcalá de Henares c. 1515.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De vi ac potestate litterarum*, Salamanca 1502.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *De vi ac potestate litterarum*, edición, traducción y facsímil por Antonio Quilis y Pilar Usábel, Madrid 1987.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Dictionaryum ex Hispaniensi in Latinum sermonem*, Salamanca ca. 1495.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Epithalamium en honor de las bodas de la Infanta Isabel de Castilla y el Príncipe Alfonso de Portugal*, introducción, edición, traducción, notas e índices de Ruth Martínez Alcorlo, Madrid 2013.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Epithalamium in nuptiis clarissimorum Lusitaniae principum Alphonsi ac Helisabetha...*, Salamanca 1491.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, Salamanca 1492.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, edición de Carmen Lozano, Barcelona 2011.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *In quinquaginta Sacrae Scripturae locos non vulgariter enarratos Tertia Quinquagena*, Alcalá de Henares 1516.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *In Sedulii Paschale*, Logroño 1510.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Introducciones in Latinam grammaticen*, Alcalá de Henares 1523.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Introducciones Latinae*, Salamanca 1481.

- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Introductiones Latinae. Recognitio*, introducción, edición, traducción y notas de Eustaquio Sánchez Salor et al., Cáceres 2022.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Lexicon ex sermone Latino in Hispaniensem*, Salamanca 1492.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Libri minores*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción de Marco A. Gutiérrez, Salamanca 2009.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Libri minores de novo correcti*, [Logroño, ca. 1511–1512].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Opuscula antiquitatis plena*, Burgos 1512.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Recognitio Commentariiue Introductionum suarum*, Salamanca 1495.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Reglas de orthographía en la lengua castellana*, Alcalá de Henares 1517.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Relectio de numeris in qua numerorum errores complures ostendit qui apud auctores leguntur*, Alcalá de Henares 1521.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Relectio nona de accentu Latino aut Latinitate donato*, Sevilla 1513.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Repetición sexta sobre las medidas*, introducción, traducción y notas de Jenaro Costas Rodríguez, Salamanca 1981.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Repetitio septima de ponderibus*, [Alcalá de Henares ca. 1516].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Repetitio sexta de mensuris*, [Salamanca 1510].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Repetitio sexta de mensuris. Repetitio septima de ponderibus. Repetitio octava de numeris*, introducción, edición crítica y traducción de David Paniagua, Salamanca 2019.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Repetitio tertia de peregrinarum dictionum accentu*, [Salamanca 1507].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Rerum a Fernando et Elisabe Hispaniarum foelicissimimis regibus gestarum decades duas, necnon Belli Navariensis libros duos*, Granada 1545.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Retórica*, introducción, edición crítica y traducción de Juan Lorenzo, Salamanca 2006.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Sacra lemmata quinque*, Alcalá de Henares ca. 1513.
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Vafre dicta philosophorum* [Sevilla 1498–1500].
- Nebrissensis, Antonius, *Vafre dicta philosophorum, Glossemata y commentum*, introducción, edición crítica y traducción de Valeriano Yarza Urquiola, Salamanca 2020.
- Núñez Delgado, Pedro, *Epigramas*, introducción, edición crítica, traducción anotada e índices a cargo de Francisco Vera Bustamante, Alcañiz y Madrid 2002.
- Núñez Delgado, Pedro, *Epigrammata*, Sevilla 1537.
- Ocón, Pedro de, *Nonarum, Iduum et Kalendarum libellus*, Salamanca 1511.
- Odriozola, Antonio, “Algunos problemas bibliográficos que plantean las obras de Nebrija”, *Bibliografía Hispánica* 4 (1945), pp. 213–241.
- Odriozola, Antonio, *La caracola del bibliófilo nebricense. Extracto seco de bibliografía de Nebrija en los siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid 1947.
- Olmedo, Félix G., *Nebrija (1441–1522): Debelador de la barbarie, comentador eclesiástico, pedagogo, poeta*, Madrid 1942.
- Olmedo, Félix G., *Nebrija en Salamanca (1475–1513)*, Madrid 1944.
- Olmedo, Félix G., “Nuevos datos y documentos sobre Nebrija”, *Razón y Fe* 128 (1943), pp. 121–135.
- Pascual Barea, Joaquín, “La ambición de poeta regio de Antonio de Lebrija”, *Well-Wrought Snapshots: Pragmatics and Aesthetics in Neo-Latin Occasional Poetry (1450–1800)*, ed. Ingrid A. R. De Smet and Marc Laureys, en prensa.

- Pascual Barea, Joaquín, “Minerva en Hispania: elogio de la ciencia española en el contexto de Europa en el tratado de Rodrigo Caro sobre los antiguos dioses (1628–1641)”, en: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis: Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Vienna 2015)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, Franz Römer, Leiden y Boston 2018, pp. 521–529.
- Prudentius Clemens, Aurelius, *Libelli cum commento Antonii Nebrissensis*, Logroño 1512.
- Prudentius Clemens, Aurelius, *Libelli cum commento Antonii Nebrissensis*, estudio, edición crítica y traducción de Felipe González Vega, Salamanca 2002.
- Rico, Francisco, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros: el canon de gramáticos nefastos en las polémicas del humanismo*, Salamanca 1978.
- Suaña y Castellet, Hemeterio, *Elogio del Cardenal Cisneros, seguido de un Estudio Crítico-Biográfico del Maestro Elio Antonio de Nebrija, uno de los más insignes profesores de la Academia Complutense*, Madrid 1879.
- Támara, Francisco de, *Tabla y repertorio de todas las personas y cosas memorables que han sido desde el principio del mundo hasta el año presente de MDLIII*, Amberes 1553.

JOAQUÍN PASCUAL BAREA

- 🏠 Universidad de Cádiz
 @ joaquin.pascual[at]uca.es
 🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9981-0780>

Joaquín Pascual Barea has published several books and many papers on Neo-Latin literature from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, especially concerning poetry, drama, rhetoric, mythography, the classical tradition, metrics, and the poems and other works of Rodrigo Caro, Juan de Quirós, Bartolomé Bravo, Benito Arias Montano, Garcilaso de la Vega and other authors. He was co-editor of the fifteen volumes of the four congresses on *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico* held in Alcañiz between 1990 and 2005, and of the *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini* of those held in Bonn in 2003 and in Budapest in 2006.

Alejandro Coroleu 

Neo-Latin Studies in Catalonia (ca. 1830–ca. 1960)

TERMINUS

Vol. 26 (2024)

Iss. 3–4 (72–73)

pp. 363–379

[https://ejournals.eu/
en/journal/
terminus](https://ejournals.eu/en/journal/terminus)

Abstract

As with other parts of Europe, in Catalonia attention to Neo-Latin literature has increased exponentially in the last five decades. Research groups related to the field are proliferating, the discipline has been incorporated into undergraduate and postgraduate curricula, and in recent years new translations of key Neo-Latin texts have also been appearing in a steady stream, aimed both at a scholarly audience and a broader readership. This interest has an important precedent in the period from 1830 to 1960, when several studies on Catalan Neo-Latin were produced and a considerable number of Catalan versions of local, Italian and northern European Neo-Latin poets and prose writers were published. In this essay the author attempts to demonstrate that interest in Neo-Latin literature during those one hundred and thirty years had a broader significance and that attention to the Catalan Neo-Latin corpus as well as translations of, and studies on, Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, Johannes Secundus, Erasmus, Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives issued at the time should be regarded as a further contribution, however modest, to the construction of cultural identity in modern Catalonia. This is a little-studied topic which has gone unnoticed to scholars of both Neo-Latin studies and modern Catalan literature.

Keywords

Neo-Latin literature, Italian humanism, Catalonia, translations, cultural prestige, national identity

1. Introduction¹

On 21 January 1910 the literary critic, philosopher, and journalist Eugeni d'Ors (1881–1954) devoted his column in the Barcelona daily *La Veu de Catalunya* (The Voice of Catalonia) to the imminent publication of a Catalan translation of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*:

Us anunciava, dies endarrere, la probable vinguda de Miquel Àngel a Terrassa, aviat ... Em crec en situació de poder anunciar avui com a no llunyana la vinguda de Desideri Erasme, a Barcelona. Si el primer arribarà per via de cursos d'Universitat popular, el segon vindrà per via de traducció. Mans hàbils l'han feta. Mans curoses en preparen l'edició. Molt bé. Fins avui el que sobretot ens donaven els nostres bibliòfils era Edat Mitjana. Ja és hora que el Renaixement també hi passi ... Tot el mal de Catalunya ve de no haver-lo viscut, el Renaixement. Sense haver viscut el segle XVI, no es pot viure plenament lo contemporani ... *L'Elogi de la Follia* del gran Desideri és així: un extracte concentrat de tot el Renaixement ... De que s'hagi traduït al català, *gaudeamus igitur*...²

Eugeni d'Ors's words on Erasmus and the Renaissance encapsulate the spirit of the so-called *Noucentisme* (the movement of the new century), a new concept of national culture developed by conservative Catalanism after 1906 which dominated cultural life in Catalonia in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Every day, d'Ors, the ideologue of the tendency, wrote another instalment of his column in *La Veu de Catalunya* on the nature of this cultural movement, focusing on the values of decency, urbanity, and civility, key *Noucentista* concepts heavily indebted to classical antiquity.³ It is at this point that cultural life came to be regarded officially for the first time as an essential component in the political future of Catalonia. Hence the emergence of an efficient programme of cultural institutionalisation, which, in

¹ Because so many of my characters are less well-known to a non-Catalan readership, I have given dates and brief biographical information for scholars and Neo-Latin writers (except when the character is sufficiently famous). For the benefit of a wider academic audience, I have also provided English translations of practically all passages in Catalan and Spanish.

² "Several days ago, I announced you Michelangelo's imminent coming to Terrassa, near Barcelona Today I believe I can announce Erasmus's coming to Barcelona in the not-too-distant future. The former will arrive by way of adult-education courses; the latter, by means of a translation. Skilful hands have undertaken it; careful hands are preparing the edition. Very good. To date everything given to us by bibliophiles has been the Middle Ages. It is time the Renaissance also be included. ... All the ills of Catalonia arise from the lack of a Renaissance in our land. It is impossible to live fully in our contemporary age if one has not fully lived in the sixteenth century. Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* is this: a compendium of the entire Renaissance. We must therefore rejoice over this new translation", Eugeni D'Ors, *Glosari (1910–1911)*, ed. X. Pla, Barcelona 2003, pp. 24–25.

³ See Eduard Valentí, *Els clàssics i la literatura catalana contemporània*, Barcelona 1973; Jaume Vallcorba, *Noucentisme, mediterraneisme i classicisme: apunts per a la història d'una estètica*, Barcelona 1984; and Gabriella Gavagnin, *Classicisme i Renaixement: una idea d'Itàlia durant el Noucentisme*, Barcelona 2005. For a general introduction on *Noucentisme* and its classical foundations see Josep Murgades, "El Noucentisme", in: *Història de la literatura catalana. Literatura contemporània II*, ed. J. Marrugat, Barcelona 2020, pp. 386–427.

addition to creating a network of cultural foundations, schools, and libraries, aimed at protecting and preserving the archaeological, historical, and literary heritage of Catalonia. From achievement then domination of semi-devolved government in the form of the *Mancomunitat* (1914–1925), *Noucentisme* also promoted the reform and standardisation of the Catalan language, a project launched by the recently founded Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1907. It would be wrong, however, to regard the achievements of *Noucentisme* and of the political structures behind it as emerging in a vacuum. Rather, they were the result of a continuous political and cultural process which gained momentum in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Under the influence of literary Romanticism, since the 1830s the *Renaixença* (Renaissance) revival movement contributed to the recovery of Catalan as a language suitable for literary expression albeit still lacking standard rules for spelling and usage. And from the early 1890s the *Modernisme* movement attempted to create a genuinely European culture out of what was felt a purely local and regional one.

Considered a moral duty for Catalan intellectuals of the age, translation was central to this active campaign destined to create a standard literary language and to build a cultural canon. In Catalonia fertile interaction at the time between translation practice and the political and cultural milieu is best exemplified by the prominent role accorded to translation of ancient texts in the 1890s and the first three decades of the twentieth century. This enterprise culminated in the launch in 1922 of an ongoing collection of Catalan translations of Latin and Greek classics in bilingual editions published by the Fundació Bernat Metge upon the French model of the Guillaume Budé volumes.⁴ To a lesser degree, translation of Neo-Latin authors into Catalan also contributed to the construction of cultural identity in modern Catalonia. In what follows I would like to examine interest in Neo-Latin literature, local and international, in Catalonia between ca. 1830 and ca. 1960, that is, the timespan comprising from the birth of the *Renaixença* movement to the immediate aftermath of *Noucentisme*, including the first two decades after the end of the Spanish Civil War in April 1939.

1. Early interest in Neo-Latin (1830–1890)

At the end of the eighteenth century a number of Catalan scholars writing in Spanish began to sketch out the outlines of the economic and political history of Catalonia from the Middle Ages onwards. The pre-Romantic Enlightenment also saw interest in medieval Catalan classics rekindled and several literary historians of the time were determined to restore knowledge of early Catalan literature as part of a broader plan to revive Catalan as a literary language. A mature example of this is the *Memorias*

⁴ On the collection see Montserrat Franquesa, *La Fundació Bernat Metge, una obra de país (1923–1938)*, Barcelona 2013 and, more recently, Raül Garrigasait, *Els fundadors. Una història d'ambició, clàssics i poder*, Barcelona 2020.

para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes (Notes to help compile a critical dictionary of Catalan writers) by Fèlix Torres Amat, Bishop of Astorga (1772–1849).⁵ In Torres Amat's vast catalogue pride of place is understandingly given to authors writing in the vernacular but several Catalan Neo-Latin writers also feature. These include the grammarian and jurist Joan Ramon Ferrer (?–1490), the historian and Bishop of Girona Joan Margarit (ca. 1424–1484), the royal chronicler, antiquary and bibliophile Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434–1517) as well as the poet and scholar Jeroni Pau (ca. 1458–1497). From this quadrumvirate the writer who merited most attention from contemporary literary critics and historians was undoubtedly Carbonell and around that time a project to print his Latin and Catalan works developed. It did not coalesce until 1864, when the *Renaixença* was already in full swing. The edition, by Manuel de Bofarull (1816–1892), was based on documentation held at the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona, of which Bofarull had been director since 1849.⁶ Still prefaced in Spanish, Bofarull's edition was enthusiastically reviewed in 1866 by Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818–1884), a professor at the University of Barcelona and the first scholar to amass a solid knowledge of old Catalan literature, who portrayed Carbonell as “a cultivated Renaissance writer”.⁷ In 1889 one of Milà's most outstanding pupils, Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856–1937), published *El renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana* (The Classical Renaissance in Catalan literature), the speech he gave to mark his admission to the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona (Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Barcelona). Rubió i Lluch used the text to point out that the history of early Catalan literature also had roots in the classical tradition and its subsequent revival in Renaissance Italy. In Rubió i Lluch's comprehensive survey the pervasiveness of the classical tradition in medieval and Renaissance Catalan letters is seen as a multilingual process also involving Latin writers, best represented by Ferrer, Pau and Carbonell, whose connections with Italian Latin humanism confirm that “our Renaissance is Italian in nature, rather than classical”.⁸

⁵ Fèlix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes*, Barcelona 1836.

⁶ Manuel de Bofarull, *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell, ilustrados y precedidos de su biografía documentada*, Barcelona 1864. As an example of what Bofarull's cousin Antoni de Bofarull (1821–1892) describes as “latín gramatical no clásico” (non-classical grammatical Latin), Carbonell (together with Jeroni Pau) is praised for the quality of his Latin style in Bofarull's own *Historia crítica (civil y eclesiástica) de Cataluña*, vol. 6, Barcelona 1877, pp. 557–558.

⁷ Manuel Jorba, *Lobra crítica i erudita de Manuel Milà i Fontanals*, Barcelona 1989, p. 234. Albeit from an overtly Castilian standpoint, Carbonell and Pau elicited equally positive responses from the Andalusian literary historian José Amador de los Ríos (1818–1878), the author of the first general history of Spanish literature written in Spain (*Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid 1861–). In his survey of literary culture under the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1394–1458), King of Aragon and Sicily (r. 1416–1458) and of Naples (r. 1443–1458), Amador de los Ríos refers to Carbonell's *De viris illustribus Catalanis*, a collection of fifteen biographies aimed at mapping out the state of Latin literature in the Catalan-speaking lands at the time, and commends Pau's elegant Latin style (Amador de los Ríos, *Historia*, vol. 6, 1865, pp. 407–415).

⁸ Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *El renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana*, Barcelona 1889, p. 94. Around that time Emili Grahit (1850–1911) vindicated the work of Joan Margarit in a series of articles published in *Revista de Gerona* between 1883 and 1885.

2. Catalan translations of Neo-Latin texts (1880–1939)

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a market for cultural products in Catalan quickly developed. Alongside a considerable output of literary and critical works written in Catalan, translations from other literary traditions contributed to the full recognition of Catalan as a literary language. In this context several Catalan translations of Neo-Latin texts were also produced. In 1880 the Impremta de la Renaixensa publishing house issued a Catalan translation of Johannes Secundus's *Basia* (1511–1536).⁹ First printed in 1539, Secundus' cycle of nineteen kisses influenced both later Neo-Latin and vernacular poets throughout Europe over almost two centuries. The nineteenth century witnessed translations of Secundus' booklet into German, English, French, Spanish, and Catalan, the latter by Joan Montserrat i Archs (1845–1895), who rendered the poems in prose, and by Francesc Matheu (1851–1938), who turned Montserrat's translation to verse.¹⁰ These are not unimportant names for Montserrat produced Catalan translations of Homer, Pindar, Horace, and Catullus, and Matheu is the author of short lyrics in Catalan within the Catullan and Anacreontic traditions, very much in vogue at the time. The 1880 edition includes a learned preface in which Secundus' life and works are reviewed and a full description of editions and translations of the *Basia* is provided. In the Catalan version the erotic tone of the original is tuned down and several mythological episodes are censored or altogether excluded, perhaps to appease fear from right-thinking readers.

Despite opposition from conservative quarters, in Catalonia contemporary literary taste must have been conducive to texts such as Secundus' *Basia*. In 1899 Antoni Bulbena i Tosell (1854–1946) launched his own *Biblioteca eròtica i priàpica*, which included translations of two pieces from Poggio Bracciolini's *Liber facetiarum*.¹¹ Known for his great manuscript discoveries in the first decades of the fifteenth century, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) penned 273 jokes, in which he mocked priests, monks, women, and rustics. In 1904 Bulbena published *De una dona qui acusava son marit* (*De adolescentula quae virum de parvo priapo accusavit*) and *Del marit tancat en lo colomer*, also entitled *De una dona qui enganyava son marit* (*De muliere quae virum defraudavit*).¹² Bulbena's choice of texts is no coincidence for both short fictions had been included in an edition of Aesop in Catalan from 1576. Six years after his first

⁹ Jan Everaerts (Johannes Secundus), *Los petons*, transl. J. Montserrat and F. Matheu, Barcelona 1880. On this edition see Carola Duran Tort, "Los petons de Joan Segon. Un llibre insòlit dins la bibliografia catalana del segle XIX", in: *El segle romàntic. Actes del Col·loqui sobre el Romanticisme*, ed. M. Jorba, A. Tayadella, and M. Comas, Vilanova i la Geltrú 1997, pp. 307–322.

¹⁰ On Montserrat i Archs see the entry by Maria Àngels Verdaguer i Palerols, in: *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*, ed. M. Bacardí and P. Godayol, Vic 2011, pp. 359–360.

¹¹ On the controversies surrounding Bulbena's enterprise see Albert Domènech, "Pecat amagat és mitg perdonat.... La polèmica entre mossèn Gudiol i Antoni Bulbena arran de les edicions bibliòfiles de llibres eròtics", *SCRIPTA: Revista internacional de literatura i cultura medieval i moderna* 3 (2014), pp. 250–290.

¹² Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, *De una dona qui acusava son marit* and *Del marit tancat en lo colomer*, transl. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1904.

translations of Poggio, Bulbena published a selection of sixty *Facetiae*, “per primera vegada en català directament traduïdes” (for the first time translated from the original into Catalan).¹³ The volume is modelled on the French translation of Poggio’s text of 1876, and it also includes one of Poggio’s letters to his fellow humanist Niccolò Niccoli.

The most prolific translator of Neo-Latin texts at the time was Josep Pin i Soler (1842–1927). “A Catalan in search of humanists” (as described by Louise Johnson), from 1910 to 1920 Pin i Soler produced a series of translations for his own *Biblioteca d’humanistes*.¹⁴ Underlying Pin i Soler’s collection in ten volumes was an attempt to offer translations of six authors until then not available in Catalan: three works by Erasmus in four volumes (*Praise of Folly* in 1910; a selection of the *Colloquia familiaria*, in two volumes of 1911 and 1912; and a translation of the *De civilitate morum puerilium* also of 1912), Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1912), Juan Luis Vives’ collection of dialogues written as a textbook of basic Latin vocabulary and grammar (*Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, 1915), Richard de Bury’s *Philobiblon* (1281–1345) published in 1916, the dialogues of Antonio Agustín (1516–1586), originally written in Spanish (1917), as well as a selection of works by Machiavelli in two volumes (1920 and 1921).¹⁵ Volume eleven was to be devoted to Catalan versions of Latin texts by the sixteenth-century Castilian humanist Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523–1600), professor of Greek and Rhetoric at the University of Salamanca.¹⁶

Pin i Soler’s choice of Neo-Latin writers includes three first-rate humanists, Erasmus, Thomas More, and Juan Luis Vives (Joan Lluís Vives in Catalan), who were selected as prominent examples of Christian humanism. Pin i Soler’s editions go beyond the mere rendering of the original Latin and constitute scholarly enterprises in their own right. Two volumes—Vives’s dialogues and Erasmus’s *Llibre de civilitat pueril* (*De civilitate morum puerilium*)—offer bilingual texts and a basic apparatus criticus. All editions, particularly that of the *Praise of Folly*, which is in some way programmatic, include lengthy prefaces, with abundant information on the authors translated and thorough discussion of the most up-to-date bibliography, at times not devoid of some eccentric remarks on Pin i Soler’s part. In the preliminary note to his version of the *De civilitate morum puerilium* Pin i Soler accounts for the inclusion of this work in his collection on two grounds: Erasmus’ text belongs to an illustrious tradition of pedagogical treatises running from antiquity to the Renaissance including Plutarch, Cato, and Vives, “altre

¹³ Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, *Faceties llépoles: afegida la descripció dels banys de Baden en lo XVen segle*, transl. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1910, p. 1.

¹⁴ Louise Johnson, “A Catalan in Search of Humanists: Josep Pin i Soler’s Translation of More’s *Utopia* (1912)”, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas More’s Utopia*, ed. C. Shrank and P. Withington, Oxford 2023, pp. 428–443.

¹⁵ Here I provide a list of Pin i Soler’s translations chronologically arranged (all editions were published in Barcelona): Richard de Bury, *Lo Philobiblon*, 1916; Antoni Agustín, *Diàlechs*, 1917; Erasme de Rotterdam, *Elogi de la follia*, 1910, *Col·loquis familiars*, 1911 and 1912, *Llibre de civilitat pueril*, 1912; Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1912; Joan Lluís Vives, *Diàlechs*, 1915; and Niccolò Maquiavel [Machiavelli], *Lo príncep*, 1920, and *Traduccions (Castruccio Castracani, Belfagor, Mandràgola, Clizia, Lase d’or, Poesies diverses)*, 1921.

¹⁶ These translations are available in Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 8957.

pedagog de nació catalana” (another pedagogue of Catalan nation, p. xv), and the book has not yet been translated into Catalan. Pin i Soler somehow attempts to redress the balance in what he regards as a serious shortcoming on the part of Catalan culture. As for the *Colloquia familiaria*, a manual of elegant Latin speech for every occasion, the value of the collection lies, according to Pin i Soler, in the lively Latin it conveys:

La major part dels Col·loquis que no hem traduït tracta matèries d'un interès molt mediocre per a lectors dels nostres dies. Més interessants resulten, en canvi, els textos que tracten sobre religió, sobre la pau i la guerra, sobre l'amistat, sobre l'educació, sobre els infants i les dones, sobre el matrimoni, les supersticions.¹⁷

Rather natural and faithful but not letting the Latin get in the way of the Catalan phrase, Pin i Soler's translations earned considerable exposure in the local press of the time, both in Catalan and Spanish.¹⁸ Of all his versions the one which elicited most praise was the translation of Vives' dialogues. The medievalist Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888–1961) published an enthusiastic review in the fortnightly *La Revista*, in which he only noted “unes petites inexactituds que perfilant molt, podríem assenyalar-s'hi, i d'en tant en tant certs castellanismes i paraules insòlites” (two or three inexact renderings and from time to time the use of some Spanish or unusual words).¹⁹ Pin i Soler had been working on this author for some time: Vives had been the topic of his acceptance speech as new member of the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona in February 1914, and Pin i Soler was very well acquainted with the latest bibliography on Vives, as attested by the large documentation collected in the Fons Pin i Soler, held at the Biblioteca de Catalunya.²⁰ As noted in the preface to his edition of 1915, Pin i Soler translated Vives' twenty-five dialogues,

per fomentar l'anomenada del nostre compatriota, el preclar filòsof Joan Lluís Vives; per poder contribuir al record de la seva virtut i ciència; perquè fins els infants que van a primeres lletres vegin el nom de Joan Lluís Vives i estimin el seu record. Confio que el nostre homenatge a Vives sigui una altra pedreta del patriòtic monument que entre tots hem d'aixecar en honor i reverència de la gloriosa llengua catalana, que vulgui Déu sigui parlada fins a les més llunyanes generacions.²¹

¹⁷ Erasme, *Col·loquis familiars*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1911, p. xxxv: “the bulk of the *Colloquies* which have not been translated by us deals with subjects of very little interest to present-day readers; by contrast, the texts chosen by us deal with religion, peace and war, friendship, education, children and women, marriage and superstitions.”

¹⁸ On the quality of Pin i Soler's translations see Joan Cavallé and Joaquim Mallafre, “Pin i Soler, editor i traductor dels humanistes”, in: *Actes del Simposi Pin i Soler*, ed. F. Roig and J. M. Domingo, Tarragona 1994, pp. 167–191.

¹⁹ Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, “Resseña a una traducció dels *Diàlechs* de Joan Lluís Vives”, *La Revista*, 30 Dec. 1915, p. 13. On Nicolau d'Olwer see Victòria Alsina, *Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888–1961), humanista*, Barcelona 1987.

²⁰ Josep Pin i Soler, *Joan Lluís Vives*, Barcelona 1914.

²¹ Joan Lluís Vives, *Diàlechs*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1915, p. lx: “to promote the reputation of our fellow countryman, the illustrious philosopher Joan Lluís Vives; to contribute to the memory of

4. Juan Luis Vives and Catalan Neo-Latin (1900–1939)

Pin i Soler was not the only Catalan scholar who at the time showed interest in Juan Luis Vives. As a matter of fact, since the early years of the twentieth century several intellectuals—who had fully adopted Catalan as their language of scholarly communication—had been vindicating his life and works. In the preliminary note to the inaugural volume of the journal *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* of 1907 Ramon d'Abadal (1888–1970) portrayed Vives as a follower of the philosopher and theologian Ramon Llull (1232–1315) and the Franciscan writer Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1330–1409).²² Leaving aside Pin i Soler's contributions, in the 1910s and 1920s interest in Vives' thought and writings increased. In 1913 the Institut d'Estudis Catalans published *The Spanish Element in Luis Vives* by Foster Watson (1860–1929), professor of education at University College Wales and the author of several English translations of Vives' pedagogical treatises.²³ Five years later Eugeni d'Ors' *Biblioteca Filosòfica* issued a Catalan translation of another work by Watson, this time a monograph on Vives and English humanism.²⁴ In 1929 the everyman's library collection *Barcino* published a Catalan translation of Vives' *Ad veram sapientiam introductio* by Joan Avinyó, reprinted four years later.²⁵ The volume opens with some preliminary remarks in which Vives' Jewish background is silenced and his ideas are presented as an example of a line of Catalan thought running from the Middle Ages to the late nineteenth century. In May 1930 a session *in memoriam* Foster Watson was held at the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona where Henry de Vocht's edition of a selection of Vives' letters was presented (Leuven 1928). Vives also constitutes the cornerstone to Tomàs Carreras i Artau's *Introducció a la història del pensament filosòfic a Catalunya* (Barcelona 1931). The Catalanisation of Vives culminates in Francesc Almela's biography of 1936, in which Vives is described as a key figure for the development of the values and social norms embodied in the Catalan 'seny', a form of ancestral wisdom involving well-pondered perception of situations, level-headedness, awareness, integrity, and right action.²⁶

Let us now turn to Renaissance Catalan Neo-Latin, best represented by the four fifteenth-century writers mentioned above (Joan Ferrer, Joan Margarit, Pere Miquel

his virtue and erudition; to make sure primary-school children see the name of Joan Lluís Vives and treasure his memory. I hope that my homage to Vives will be a small stone of the patriotic monument which we should all erect in honour and reverence of the glorious Catalan language. God willing it shall be spoken for the generations to come."

²² Ramon d'Abadal, "L'esperit dels nostres estudis", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 7–13. Initiated by Rubió i Lluch in 1904, the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* were a course of university studies in Catalan running in parallel with the official ones in Spanish.

²³ Foster Watson, *The Spanish Element in Luis Vives*, Barcelona 1913.

²⁴ Foster Watson, *Les relacions de Joan Lluís Vives amb els anglesos i amb l'Anglaterra*, transl. J. Palau Vera, Barcelona 1918.

²⁵ Joan Lluís Vives, *Introducció a la saviesa*, transl. J. Avinyó, Barcelona 1929 and 1933.

²⁶ Francesc Almela, *Joan Lluís Vives*, Barcelona 1936.

Carbonell, and Jeroni Pau). Despite Nicolau d'Olwer's negative opinion in the above-mentioned review of Vives, in which he dismissed them as "una turba d'humanistes secundaris" (a band of second-rate humanists), attention was quickly paid to these Latin authors by *Noucentista* literary historians.²⁷ One of the first to do so was Antoni Rubió i Lluch in an outline of Catalan literature for the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* compiled in 1917.²⁸ In the 1920s the studies undertaken by his son Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (1887–1982), since 1932 a university lecturer who suffered reprisals after the Spanish Civil War, helped rehabilitate Carbonell's Latin output.²⁹ Moreover, from a letter of January 1946 addressed to his patron Francesc Cambó (1876–1947) we know that as early as 1925 Joan Estelrich (1896–1958), the first director of the Fundació Bernat Metge and a scholar of Juan Luis Vives in his own right, announced his intention to launch a sequel to the Bernat Metge library.³⁰ Estelrich's plan was to publish a collection of Catalan Renaissance writers, which would have begun with Vives, "figura màxima de la nostra aportació a l'humanisme europeu i catòlic" (the zenith of our contribution to European and Catholic humanism).³¹ The catalogue of old Catalan poetry by Jaume Massó Torrents's (1863–1943) included references to Latin texts by Carbonell and Pau.³² In addition, in two articles published in 1934 a disciple of Rubió Balaguer, Martí de Riquer (1914–2013), drew attention to the Latin poetry of the Majorcan Ferran Valentí (1415/20–1476), a student of Leonardo Bruni, who also translated Cicero's *Paradoxa* into Catalan in the mid fifteenth century, and to the *oeuvre* of Benet Garret (ca. 1450–1514), better known as il Cariteo after he relocated to Naples in 1467.³³ The corpus of Renaissance and Baroque Latin poetry written in the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat near Barcelona did not go unnoticed to critics either. In 1893 the priest and Latinist Jaume Collell (1846–1932) published *La Musa latina en Montserrat*, a selection of Spanish translations of the Latin verse produced at the abbey between 1500 and 1700. We know that Pin i Soler had intended to devote volume twelve of his *Biblioteca d'humanistes* to Catalan translations of similar texts (Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 4489). Although the plan remained unfulfilled, at least Antoni Brenac's foundational *Saxia*, a poem relating

²⁷ Nicolau d'Olwer, "Ressenya a una traducció dels *Diàlechs* de Joan Lluís Vives", p. 12.

²⁸ Antoni Rubió i Lluch, "Resum de la història de la literatura catalana", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 10 (1917–1918), p. 201.

²⁹ Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, "Un bibliòfil català del segle XV: En Pere Miquel Carbonell", *Revista de Catalunya* 6 (1926), pp. 136–142 and "Els autors clàssics a la biblioteca de Pere Miquel Carbonell, fins a l'any 1484", in: *Miscel·lània Crexells*, Barcelona 1929, pp. 205–222.

³⁰ Sílvia Coll-Vinent and Alejandro Coroleu, "Joan Estelrich and the Reception of Joan Lluís Vives in Interwar Europe", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis: Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. A. Steiner-Weber and F. Römer, Leiden and Boston 2018, p. 204.

³¹ Joan Estelrich, *Homo hominis amicus: Investigació sobre el problema de l'humanisme com a introducció als estudis vivesians* (typed text), Biblioteca de Catalunya, Fons Joan Estelrich, Vives, case I/1–2.

³² Jaume Massó Torrents, *Repertori de l'antiga literatura catalana (La poesia)*, Barcelona 1932, pp. 38–39.

³³ See Lola Badia, Lluís Cabré, and Sílvia Coll-Vinent, "Publicacions de Martí de Riquer (1931–1936)", in: *Martí de Riquer i els valors clàssics de les lletres: Vocació literària i filologia, en el centenari del seu naixement*, Barcelona 2014, pp. 82–84.

the discovery of the Virgin's image in Montserrat and the subsequent foundation of a shrine written before 1555, was published in Catalan in 1927.³⁴ In the early 1930s the Latinity of the Jesuit Josep Finestres (1688–1777), an epigraphist and professor of Law at the University of Cervera, also elicited scholarly attention.³⁵

Earlier in this essay I described the 1880 translation of Johannes Secundus' *Basia* as the first Catalan version of a Neo-Latin writer. This is only partly true for the first translation of a Neo-Latin text ever undertaken in Catalan was the work of Bernat Metge (ca. 1350–1413), a prominent member of the royal chancery in the medieval Crown of Aragon and the creator of a rich and cultivated prose in Catalan. In 1388 Metge wrote his *Historia de Valter e de Griselda*, an adaptation (in fact, a translation within an epistolary frame) of Petrarch's *Griseldis* (*Seniles*, 17,3–4), in turn a free translation into Latin of the hundredth and final story in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (10,10). No fewer than eight editions of Metge's translation of Petrarch were published in Catalonia between 1881 and 1910.³⁶ The widespread dissemination of Metge's translation of Petrarch must be related to contemporary scholarly interest in other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century partial Catalan translations of some of Petrarch's Latin texts (passages from the *Africa* and *De remediis utriusque fortunae* as well as several letters).³⁷ By the early 1920s the *Noucentista* canonization of Metge was complete. As noted above, in 1922 his name inspired an ongoing collection of Catalan translations of Latin and Greek classics in bilingual editions, and, two years later Metge's masterpiece *Lo somni* (*The Dream*, 1399) inaugurated a scholarly series of editions of medieval Catalan texts, launched significantly under the title of *Els nostres clàssics*, which has also reached the twenty-first century.

Metge's transformation by *Noucentista* intellectuals into a fully-fledged humanist is contemporaneous with the investigations of a series of distinguished scholars in the first four decades of the twentieth century, who coined the term 'Humanisme català' to denote an alleged early vernacular humanism at the centre of Catalan letters of the

³⁴ See Jaime Collell, *La Musa latina en Montserrat. Antologia de poetas latinos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Barcelona 1893, and Antoni Brenac, *Saxia. Poema heroic-descriptiu de la muntanya de Montserrat*, ed. and transl. A. Ramon i Arrufat, Montserrat 1927.

³⁵ See, for example, Ignasi Casanovas, *Josep Finestres: estudis biogràfics, estudi preliminar, elogi funeral, vida i escrits, documents*, Barcelona 1932, and Josep Finestres, *Epistolari*, ed. I. Casanovas, Barcelona 1933–1934. The University of Cervera, near Lleida, was founded in 1717 by Philip V of Spain, who sought to compensate the town for its supportive stance during the War of the Spanish Succession, whilst banning the six existing universities in the Principality and disbanding or transferring their faculties to the new institution.

³⁶ See, for example, Bernat Metge, *Lo Somni den Bernat Metge: ab gran diligencia revist e ordenat: afegida novament la historia Valter e de la pacient Griselda per lo mateix Bernat Metge arromançada*, ed. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1891.

³⁷ Bernat Metge, *Lo 'Llibre dels Mals Amonestaments'; lo 'Llibre de Fortuna y Prudencia'; la 'Historia de Valter y Griselda'; y 'Lo Somni', hont se tracta de la immortalitat de l'ànima, de la sobtosa mort del Rey en Johan, de coses infernals y de costumes de homens y de fembres*, ed. R. Miquel i Planas, Barcelona 1910; Ernest Moliné i Brasés, "La Letra de Reyals Costums del Petrarca", *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 345–351; and Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, "Flors de Petrarca *De remeys de cascuna fortuna*", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 21 (1936), pp. 651–666.

late Middle Ages.³⁸ For critics like Martí de Riquer and Marçal Olivari (1900–1994) humanist interests in the Crown of Aragon around 1400 were manifest in the personal correspondence of the officials of the royal chancery, in the corpus of Catalan translations of a handful of Latin authors commissioned by the royal household, and in the activity of Metge and of the Dominican friar Antoni Canals (ca. 1352–1419), who translated a brief excerpt from Petrarch's *Africa* into Catalan as well as Seneca's *De providentia* and Valerius Maximus' *Facta ac dicta memorabilia*.³⁹ Yet, brilliant and ground-breaking as it was, *Noucentista* scholarship accorded too much prominence to the classical inclination of several late fourteenth-century Catalan writers, who, though sensitive to Italian cultural innovations, failed to endorse fully the spirit of the *studia humanitatis*. One of the first to point out the shortcomings—both cultural and in their mastery of Latin prose—of chancery officials of the period was Rubió i Balaguer in a response to Riquer's *L'Humanisme català* of 1934 (see below n. 39). As noted by Rubió i Balaguer, when applied to the Catalan-speaking lands, the term 'humanism' should be reserved to the activity of the group of the four Latin writers operating in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Ferrer, Margarit, Carbonell, and Pau) whom we have already encountered.⁴⁰

5. The final years (1940–1959) and conclusions

In the first twenty years of Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), Catalan resisted first in exile and in secret. After 1945, when hopes of the dictatorship being toppled by an Allied victory in World War II evaporated, pragmatism became the watchword, both for those who became allied to the regime to a greater or lesser degree, and those who steadfastly opposed it but saw no other option, as they sought ways to publish works either in Catalan or on the cultural history of Catalonia. Neo-Latin studies were not immune to all these circumstances, as exemplified by two editions of Petrarch and Angelo Poliziano's verse published in Barcelona in 1940. These are bilingual editions of a selection of Petrarch and Poliziano's poems translated (for obvious reasons) into Spanish.⁴¹ The volumes appeared as part of the collection *Poesía en la*

³⁸ See Lola Badia, "L'humanisme català: formació i crisi d'un concepte historiogràfic", in: Badia, *De Bernat Metge a Joan Roís de Corella. Estudis sobre la cultura literària de la tardor medieval catalana*, Barcelona 1988, pp. 13–38.

³⁹ Antoni Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal. De providència. De arra ànima*, ed. M. de Riquer, Barcelona 1935, and Marçal Olivari, "Notes entorn de la influència de l'*Ars dictandi* sobre la prosa catalana de cancelleria de finals del segle XIV", in: *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'estudis literaris, històrics i lingüístics*, vol. 3, Barcelona 1936, pp. 631–653.

⁴⁰ See Jordi Rubió i Balaguer's discussion of Latin humanism in his "Humanisme i decadència?", *Revista de Catalunya* 15 (1934), p. 424, a response to Martí de Riquer, *L'Humanisme català: 1388–1494*, Barcelona 1934. It is, however, fair to stress that in his monograph Riquer had also devoted several paragraphs to Catalan Neo-Latin and to the work of Ferran Valentí (pp. 18 and 70–74 respectively).

⁴¹ Angelo Poliziano, *Poesía*, ed. and transl. J. Farran y Mayoral, Barcelona 1940, and Francesco Petrarca, *Poesía*, ed. and transl. J. Farran y Mayoral, Barcelona 1940.

mano (1939–1941), launched by Juan Ramón Masoliver (1910–1997) and modelled in turn on Josep Janés' own poetry collection in Catalan *Oreig de la Rosa dels Vents* of 1938: indeed, one of the volumes which had been planned by Janés was a selection of Petrarch's poetry.⁴² Both volumes of 1940 walk, therefore, in the footsteps of the *Noucentista* tradition referred to throughout my essay, albeit in Spanish. As a matter of fact, the anthologies were issued by José Farran y Mayoral (1883–1955), who—then signing as Josep Farran i Mayoral—had translated Lucian's dialogues and Aristotle's *Poetics* into Catalan, for the collection *Publicacions de La Revista* and for the Fundació Bernat Metge respectively, two decades earlier. Although both editions include only versions of vernacular poetry, we know that Farran i Mayoral intended to prepare Spanish translations of Petrarch and Poliziano's Latin verse. As he notes in the preface to his translation of a selection of Poliziano's Italian poetry,

[...] hubiéramos querido insertar en este tomito algunas poesías griegas y algunas latinas de Poliziano. Pensándolo mejor, para mayor unidad del volumen, hemos renunciado a nuestro propósito. Las poesías latinas de Petrarca, las griegas y latinas de Poliziano bien merecían que en sendos tomitos de esta colección se diera selección y traducción de ellas. Por nuestro esfuerzo no quedaría.⁴³

Once extolled—despite his Valencian origin—as the quintessential Catalan humanist, Juan Luis Vives was also domesticated by the Franco regime.⁴⁴ Rather tellingly, in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, all the allegedly Catalan attributes of Vives disappear at the hands of the very same scholars who had created them back in the early 1930s: in the preface to the catalogue published for the bibliographical exhibition held in 1940 at the Biblioteca Central (formerly Biblioteca de Catalunya) to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of Vives' death, Carreras i Artau omits any reference to Catalonia, and significantly the Valencian humanist becomes “el motor ideal del Imperio español” (the ideological engine power of the Spanish Empire).⁴⁵ Likewise, in the mid-1940s Joan Estelrich presented the life, thought and

⁴² Manuel Llanas, “Dues col·leccions de poesia a banda i banda de l'abisme de 1939”, in: *Literatura comparada catalana i espanyola al segle XX: gèneres, lectures i traduccions (1898–1951)*, ed. M. M. Gibert, A. Hurtado Díaz and J. F. Ruiz Casanova, Lleida 1997, p. 40.

⁴³ “In this booklet we would have wanted to include several Greek and Latin poems by Poliziano. On reflection, to guarantee the unity of the volume, we have decided not to do so. Two further books within this collection should feature Petrarch's Latin verse and Poliziano's Greek and Latin poems. We would certainly spare no effort in this regard”, Poliziano, *Poesía*, p. 20.

⁴⁴ As an example, Wenceslao González Oliveros's Spanish translation of Vives' *De communione rerum* was published in 1937 in Franco-occupied Valladolid under the outlandish title *Humanismo frente a comunismo: la primera monografía anticomunista publicada en el mundo, obra de un pensador español, el universalmente célebre humanista Juan Luis Vives que nació, bajo el signo del Yugo y las Flechas, el mismo año en que España descubrió el Nevo Mundo* (Humanism against Communism: the first anti-communist monograph ever published, the work of a Spanish thinker, the universally famous humanist Juan Luis Vives, who was born, under the sign of the Yoke and Arrows, in the very same year when Spain discovered the New World).

⁴⁵ See Felipe Mateu y Llopis, *Catálogo de la exposición bibliográfica celebrada con motivo del IV Centenario de la muerte de Luis Vives en la Biblioteca Central de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1940, p. 6.

works of Vives in a series of papers delivered in Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia.⁴⁶ The documentation collected in the Fons Joan Estelrich held at the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona shows how, around that time, Estelrich intended to publish a monograph on Vives in Catalan entitled *Homo hominis amicus: Introducció als estudis vivesians*, which was to be issued by Editorial Alpha, a publishing house owned by his patron Francesc Cambó.⁴⁷

Though interrupted by the hiatus of the Civil War and the first decade of the Franco regime, interest in Catalan Neo-Latin resumed in the 1950s in a series of publications in Catalan and Spanish.⁴⁸ Attention to this corpus was in some cases subsumed into more general narratives, for example into the three-part history of Catalan literature by Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (1949–1958) forming part of a *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* edited in Spanish, into the *Història de la literatura catalana* prepared in Catalan by a disciple of Rubió i Balaguer, Joan Ruiz Calonja (1923–2010), or into Madurell and Rubió i Balaguer's extensive investigation of the early history of the printing press in Barcelona.⁴⁹ Individual Neo-Latin authors merited attention from established scholars like the Latinist Josep Casas Homs (1894–1979), who devoted his efforts to Joan Ferrer's treatise on pronouns and Jeroni Pau's historical account in praise of Barcelona.⁵⁰ But they also elicited interest from young graduates who had been trained by Martí de Riquer (and indirectly by Rubió i Balaguer) at the University of Barcelona in the 1950s, thus continuing the task undertaken by their masters before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. This survey should conclude with Maria Antònia Adroher's examination of Carbonell's Latin manuscripts and Josep Maria Morató i Thomàs's work on Ferran Valentí, a *de-sideratum* of Riquer back in 1934.⁵¹

⁴⁶ See, for example, the titles of the series of papers delivered at the University of Valencia (Cátedra Luis Vives) in February 1946, under the general title *Introducción a los estudios vivesianos*: "Cuestiones de metodología – El hombre y su tiempo – El hombre y su obra – Los elementos del pensamiento de Vives – Las actitudes fundamentales de Vives – La posición de Vives dentro del movimiento renacentista – Posiciones de Vives ante los temas peculiares de su tiempo – Las síntesis vivesianas y el humanismo cristiano".

⁴⁷ Estelrich, *Homo hominis amicus: Investigació sobre el problema de l'humanisme*.

⁴⁸ As for the 1940s, I have only been able to record an essay by Rubió i Balaguer under the title "Pere Miquel Carbonell, bibliòfil", in: *De l'Edat Mitjana al Renaixement. Figures literàries de Catalunya i València*, Barcelona 1948, pp. 123–135, a reprint of Rubió i Balaguer, "Un bibliòfil català del segle XV".

⁴⁹ Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, "Literatura catalana", in: *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, ed. G. Díaz-Plaja, vol. 3, Barcelona 1953, pp. 727–930 (a brief discussion of Margarit and Carbonell's Latin corpus is included on pp. 882–883); Joan Ruiz Calonja, *Història de la literatura catalana*, Barcelona 1954, pp. 168, 203 and 252; and José María Madurell Marimón and Jorge Rubió y Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona, 1474–1553*, Barcelona 1955, pp. 58 (Ferrer), 61–62 (Pau) and 493 and 496 (Margarit).

⁵⁰ Josep Maria Casas Homs, "Tratado de los pronombres de Juan Ramón Ferrer", *Scrinium* 8–10 (1953), pp. 9–13, and Casas Homs, *Barcino de Jeroni Pau: Història de Barcelona fins al segle XV*, Barcelona 1957.

⁵¹ Maria Antònia Adroher Ben, "Estudios sobre el manuscrito *Petri Michaelis Carbonelli adversaria 1492* del Archivo Capitular de Gerona", *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 11 (1957), pp. 109–162, and Ferran Valentí, *Traducció de les Paradoxa de Ciceró. Parlament al Gran e General Consell*, ed. J. M. Morató i Thomàs, Barcelona 1959. On Morató i Thomàs see the entry by Victòria Alsina in: *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*, p. 362.

As with other parts of Europe, in Catalonia attention to Neo-Latin literature has increased exponentially in the last five decades. Research groups related to the field are proliferating, the discipline has been incorporated into undergraduate and postgraduate curricula, and in recent years new translations of key Neo-Latin texts have also been appearing in a steady stream, aimed both at a scholarly audience and a broader readership. This interest has an important precedent in the period from 1830 to 1960, when several studies on Catalan Neo-Latin were produced and a considerable number of Catalan versions of local, Italian and northern European Neo-Latin poets and prose writers were published. In this essay I have attempted to demonstrate that interest in Neo-Latin literature during those one hundred and thirty years had a broader significance and that attention to the Catalan Neo-Latin corpus as well as translations of, and studies on, Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, Johannes Secundus, Erasmus, Thomas More, and Juan Luis Vives issued at the time should be regarded as a further contribution, however modest, to the construction of cultural identity in modern Catalonia.

Bibliography

- Abadal, Ramon d', "L'esperit dels nostres estudis", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 7–13.
- Adroher Ben, Maria Antònia, "Estudios sobre el manuscrito *Petri Michaelis Carbonelli adversaria 1492* del Archivo Capitular de Gerona", *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 11 (1957), pp. 109–162.
- Agustín, Antoni, *Diàlechs*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1917.
- Almela, Francesc, *Joan Lluís Vives*, Barcelona 1936.
- Alòs-Moner, Ramon d', "Flors de Petrarca *De remeys de cascuna fortuna*", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 21 (1936), pp. 651–666.
- Alsina, Victòria, *Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888–1961), humanista*, Barcelona 1987.
- Alsina, Victòria, "Josep Maria Morató i Thomàs", in: *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*, ed. M. Bacardí and P. Godayol, Vic 2011, p. 362.
- Amador de los Ríos, José, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid 1861–.
- Badia, Lola, "L'humanisme català: formació i crisi d'un concepte historiogràfic", in: Lola Badia, *De Bernat Metge a Joan Roís de Corella. Estudis sobre la cultura literària de la tardor medieval catalana*, Barcelona 1988, pp. 13–38.
- Badia, Lola, Lluís Cabré, and Silvia Coll-Vinent, "Publicacions de Martí de Riquer (1931–1936)", in: *Martí de Riquer i els valors clàssics de les lletres: Vocació literària i filologia, en el centenari del seu naixement*, Barcelona 2014, pp. 70–137.
- Bofarull, Antoni de, *Historia crítica (civil y eclesiástica) de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1876.
- Bofarull, Manuel de, *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell, ilustrados y precedidos de su biografía documentada*, Barcelona 1864.
- Brenac, Antoni, *Saxia. Poema heroic-descriptiu de la muntanya de Montserrat*, ed. and transl. A. Ramon i Arrufat, Montserrat 1927.
- Bury, Richard de, *Lo Philobiblon*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1916.

- Canals, Antoni, *Scipió e Anibal. De providència. De arra ànima*, ed. M. de Riquer, Barcelona 1935.
- Carreras i Artau, Tomàs, *Introducció a la història del pensament filosòfic a Catalunya*, Barcelona 1931.
- Casanovas, Ignasi, *Josep Finestres: estudis biogràfics, estudi preliminar, elogi funeral, vida i escrits, documents*, Barcelona 1932.
- Casas Homs, Josep Maria, “*Tratado de los pronombres de Juan Ramón Ferrer*”, *Scrinium* 8–10 (1953), pp. 9–13.
- Casas Homs, Josep Maria, *Barcino de Jeroni Pau: Història de Barcelona fins al segle XV*, Barcelona 1957.
- Cavallé, Joan, and Joaquim Mallafrè, “Pin i Soler, editor i traductor dels humanistes”, in: *Actes del Simposi Pin i Soler*, ed. F. Roig and J. M. Domingo, Tarragona 1994, pp. 167–191.
- Collell, Jaime, *La Musa latina en Montserrat. Antologia de poetas latinos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Barcelona 1893.
- Coll-Vinent, Silvia, and Alejandro Coroleu, “Joan Estelrich and the Reception of Joan Lluís Vives in Interwar Europe”, in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis: Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. A. Steiner-Weber and F. Römer, Leiden and Boston 2018, pp. 197–205.
- Domènech, Albert, “Pecat amagat és mitg perdonat.... La polèmica entre mossèn Gudiol i Antoni Bulbena arran de les edicions bibliòfiles de llibres eròtics”, *SCRIPTA: Revista internacional de literatura i cultura medieval i moderna* 3 (2014), pp. 250–290.
- Duran Tort, Carola, “Los petons de Joan Segon. Un llibre insòlit dins la bibliografia catalana del segle XIX”, in: *El segle romàntic. Actes del Col·loqui sobre el Romanticisme*, ed. M. Jorba, A. Tayadella, and M. Comas, Vilanova i la Geltrú 1997, pp. 307–322.
- Erasme de Rotterdam, *Coloquis familiars*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1911 and 1912.
- Erasme de Rotterdam, *Elogi de la follia*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1910.
- Erasme de Rotterdam, *Llibre de civilitat pueril*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1912.
- Estelrich, Joan, *Homo hominis amicus: Investigació sobre el problema de l'humanisme com a introducció als estudis vivesians* (typed text), Biblioteca de Catalunya, Fons Joan Estelrich, Vives, case I/1–2.
- Everaerts, Jan (Johannes Secundus), *Los petons*, transl. J. Montserrat and F. Matheu, Barcelona 1880.
- Finestres, Josep, *Epistolari*, ed. I. Casanovas, Barcelona 1933–1934.
- Franquesa, Montserrat, *La Fundació Bernat Metge, una obra de país (1923–1938)*, Barcelona 2013.
- Garrigaisait, Raül, *Els fundadors. Una història d'ambició, clàssics i poder*, Barcelona 2020.
- Gavagnin, Gabriella, *Classicisme i Renaixement: una idea d'Itàlia durant el Noucentisme*, Barcelona 2005.
- Johnson, Louise, “A Catalan in Search of Humanists: Josep Pin i Soler's Translation of More's *Utopia* (1912)”, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas More's Utopia*, ed. C. Shrank and P. Withington, Oxford 2023, pp. 428–443.
- Jorba, Manuel, *Lobra crítica i erudita de Manuel Milà i Fontanals*, Barcelona 1989.
- Llanas, Manuel, “Dues col·leccions de poesia a banda i banda de l'abisme de 1939”, in: *Literatura comparada catalana i espanyola al segle XX: gèneres, lectures i traduccions (1898–1951)*, ed. M. M. Gibert, A. Hurtado Díaz, and J. F. Ruiz Casanova, Lleida 1997, pp. 39–47.

- Madurell Marimón, José María, and Jorge Rubió y Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona, 1474–1553*, Barcelona 1955.
- Maquiavel [Machiavelli], Niccolò, *Lo príncep*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1920.
- Maquiavel [Machiavelli], Niccolò, *Traduccions [Castruccio Castracani, Belfagor, Mandràgola, Clizia, Lase d'or, Poesies diverses]*, trans. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1921.
- Massó Torrents, Jaume, *Repertori de l'antiga literatura catalana (La poesia)*, Barcelona 1932.
- Mateu y Llopis, Felipe, *Catálogo de la exposición bibliográfica celebrada con motivo del IV Centenario de la muerte de Luis Vives en la Biblioteca Central de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1940.
- Metge, Bernat, *Lo 'Llibre dels Mals Amonestaments'; lo 'Llibre de Fortuna y Prudencia'; la 'Historia de Valter y Griselda'; y 'Lo Somni', hont se tracta de la immortalitat de l'ànima, de la sobtosa mort del Rey en Johan, de coses infernals y de costumes de homens y de fembres*, ed. R. Miquel i Planas, Barcelona 1910.
- Metge, Bernat, *Lo Somni den Bernat Metge: ab gran diligencia revist e ordenat: afegida novament la historia Valter e de la pacient Griselda per lo mateix Bernat Metge arromançada*, ed. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1891.
- Moliné i Brasés, Ernest, "La Letra de Reyals Costums del Petrarca", *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 345–351.
- More, Thomas, *Utopia*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1912.
- Murgades, Josep, "El Noucentisme", in: *Història de la literatura catalana. Literatura contemporània II*, ed. J. Marrugat, Barcelona 2020, pp. 386–427.
- Nicolau d'Olwer, Lluís, "Ressenya a una traducció dels *Diàlechs* de Joan Lluís Vives", *La Revista*, 30 Dec. 1915, pp. 12–13.
- Olivar, Marçal, "Notes entorn de la influència de l'*Ars dictandi* sobre la prosa catalana de cancelleria de finals del segle XIV", in: *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'estudis literaris, històrics i lingüístics*, vol. 3, Barcelona 1936, pp. 631–653.
- Ors, Eugeni d', *Glosari (1910–1911)*, ed. X. Pla, Barcelona 2003.
- Petrarca, Francesco, *Poesía*, ed. and transl. J. Farran y Mayoral, Barcelona 1940.
- Pin i Soler, Josep, *Joan Lluís Vives*, Barcelona 1914.
- Poggio Bracciolini, Gian Francesco, *De una dona qui acusava son marit*, transl. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1904.
- Poggio Bracciolini, Gian Francesco, *Del marit tancat en lo colomer*, transl. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1904.
- Poggio Bracciolini, Gian Francesco, *Facecies llépoles: afegida la descripció dels banys de Baden en lo XVen segle*, transl. A. Bulbena, Barcelona 1910.
- Poliziano, Angelo, *Poesía*, ed. and transl. J. Farran y Mayoral, Barcelona 1940.
- Riquer, Martí de, *L'Humanisme català: 1388–1494*, Barcelona 1934.
- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, "Els autors clàssics a la biblioteca de Pere Miquel Carbonell, fins a l'any 1484", in: *Miscel·lània Crexells*, Barcelona 1929, pp. 205–222.
- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, "Un bibliòfil català del segle XV: En Pere Miquel Carbonell", *Revista de Catalunya* 6 (1926), pp. 136–142.
- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, "Humanisme i decadència?", *Revista de Catalunya* 15 (1934), pp. 469–483.
- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, "Literatura catalana", in: *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, ed. G. Díaz-Plaja, vol. 3, Barcelona 1953, pp. 727–930.

- Rubió i Balaguer, Jordi, “Pere Miquel Carbonell, bibliòfil”, in: *De l’Edat Mitjana al Renaixement. Figures literàries de Catalunya i València*, Barcelona 1948, pp. 123–135.
- Rubió i Lluch, Antoni, *El renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana*, Barcelona 1889.
- Rubió i Lluch, Antoni, “Resum de la història de la literatura catalana”, *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 10 (1917–1918), pp. 199–206.
- Ruiz Calonja, Joan, *Història de la literatura catalana*, Barcelona 1954.
- Torres Amat, Fèlix, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes*, Barcelona 1836.
- Valentí, Eduard, *Els clàssics i la literatura catalana contemporània*, Barcelona 1973.
- Valentí, Ferran, *Traducció de les Paradoxa de Ciceró. Parlament al Gran e General Consell*, ed. J. M. Morató i Thomàs, Barcelona 1959.
- Vallcorba, Jaume, *Noucentisme, mediterraneisme i classicisme: apunts per a la història d’una estètica*, Barcelona 1984.
- Verdaguer i Palerols, Maria Àngels, “Joan Montserrat i Archs”, in: *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*, ed. M. Bacardí and P. Godayol, Vic 2011, pp. 359–360.
- Vives, Joan Lluís, *Diàlechs*, transl. J. Pin i Soler, Barcelona 1915.
- Vives, Joan Lluís, *Introducció a la saviesa*, transl. J. Avinyó, Barcelona 1929 and 1933.
- Vives, Juan Luis, *Humanismo frente a comunismo: la primera monografía anticomunista publicada en el mundo, obra de un pensador español, el universalmente célebre humanista Juan Luis Vives que nació, bajo el signo del Yugo y las Flechas, el mismo año en que España descubrió el Nuevo Mundo*, transl. W. González Oliveros, Valladolid 1937.
- Watson, Foster, *Les relacions de Joan Lluís Vives amb els anglesos i amb l’Anglaterra*, transl. J. Palau Vera, Barcelona 1918.
- Watson, Foster, *The Spanish Element in Luis Vives*, Barcelona 1913.

ALEJANDRO COROLEU

✉ ICREA–Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
 @ alejandro.coroleu[at]uab.cat
 ID <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1286-2508>

Alejandro Coroleu is ICREA Research Professor at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He has written extensively on Neo-Latin literature, including the books *Printing and Reading Italian Latin Humanism in Renaissance Europe* (2014) and *Latin Political Propaganda in the War of the Spanish Succession and its Aftermath, 1700–1740* (2024), co-authored the volume *The Classical Tradition in Medieval Catalan, 1300–1500* (2018), and published Catalan and Spanish translations of Lorenzo Valla and Leon Battista Alberti. He is currently Vice-President of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies.

External Reviewers in 2024

Guillermo Alvar Nuño—Universidad de Alcalá, Spain

Anthony A. Barrett—University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, Canada

Enikő Bekes—Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for
Literary Studies, Hungary

Agnieszka Borysowska—University of Szczecin, Poland

Tomasz Chachulski—The Institute of Literary Research of the Polish
Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Farkas Gábor Kiss—Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Giuseppe Germano—Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Italy

Agnès Guiderdoni—University of Louvain, Belgium

Byron Ellsworth Hamann—Ohio State University, USA

Albert Lloret—University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA

Ireneusz Łuc—Uniwersytet Marii Curi-Skłodowskiej, Lublin, Poland

James McNamara—Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin
Studies, Innsbruck, Austria

Outi Merisalo—University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Maria Paredes—Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Wiesław Pawlak—Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, Poland

Jan Pišna—Strahov Monastery Library, Czech Republic

Federica Rossetti—Universität Innsbruck, Austria

Valerio Sanzotta—Università La Sapienza, Roma, Italy

Ewa Skwara—Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

Piotr Urbański—Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

Kristi Viiding—University of Tartu, Estonia

Gregor Vogt-Spira—Universität Marburg, Germany

Managing Editor and Proofreading

Agnieszka Lipińska

Typesetting

Paweł Noszkiewicz

Jagiellonian University Press

Editorial Offices: Michałowskiego 9/2, 31-126 Kraków

Phone: 12 663 23 80

Print and Binding

Drukarnia Elpil