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

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### 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. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

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 ... *LElogi de la Follia* del gran Desideri és així: un extracte concentrat de tot el Renaixement ... De que s'hagi traduït al català, *gaudeamus igitur*...<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> "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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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*

<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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”.<sup>7</sup> 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”.<sup>8</sup>

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

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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*.<sup>11</sup> 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*).<sup>12</sup> 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

<sup>9</sup> 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.

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

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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*.<sup>14</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

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

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

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> These translations are available in Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 8957.

pedagog de nació catalana” (another pedagog 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> 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.”

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Josep Pin i Soler, *Joan Lluís Vives*, Barcelona 1914.

<sup>21</sup> 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).<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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

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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."

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> Foster Watson, *The Spanish Element in Luis Vives*, Barcelona 1913.

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

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

<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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"<sup>31</sup> (the zenith of our contribution to European and Catholic humanism). The catalogue of old Catalan poetry by Jaume Massó Torrents's (1863–1943) included references to Latin texts by Carbonell and Pau.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

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

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup> 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).<sup>37</sup> 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

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> For critics like Martí de Riquer and Marçal Olivar (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*.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup>

## 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.<sup>41</sup> The volumes appeared as part of the collection *Poesía en la*

<sup>38</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> Antoni Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal. De providència. De arra ànima*, ed. M. de Riquer, Barcelona 1935, and Marçal Olivar, "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.

<sup>40</sup> 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).

<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

Once extolled—despite his Valencian origin—as the quintessential Catalan humanist, Juan Luis Vives was also domesticated by the Franco regime.<sup>44</sup> 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).<sup>45</sup> Likewise, in the mid-1940s Joan Estelrich presented the life, thought and

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> “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.

<sup>44</sup> 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).

<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> 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”.

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

<sup>48</sup> 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”.

<sup>49</sup> 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).

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

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