

NEO-LATIN NEWS

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† It is with great sadness that we report the passing of Craig Kallendorf on January 31, 2023. Dr. Kallendorf was Professor of English and Classics at Texas A&M. He edited *Neo-Latin News* for twenty years, during which time he contributed more than two hundred reviews. He was an erudite and prolific scholar of Neo-Latin literature and especially of Virgilian reception. Dr. Kallendorf will be greatly missed by his students, colleagues, friends, and family.

◆ Isabella Walser-Bürgler, *Europe and Europeanness in Early Modern Latin Literature*. *Fuitne Europa tunc unita? (Latinity and Classical Reception in the Early Modern Period)* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2021). VII + 135 pages. \$94. Much research has been devoted to the notions of Europe and Europeanness from a historical or literary perspective. But the overwhelmingly rich Neo-Latin heritage has been too often overlooked, even if many readers will be familiar with some of Erasmus’s relevant views or statements, such as “Ego mundi civis esse cupio”. Isabella Walser-Bürgler thus fills a gap by focusing on what modern Latin sources can teach us about these topics.

Having outlined the traditional discourse on Europeanness and the questions that are usually tackled in this respect, Walser-Bürgler notes that the legacy of the ancient Roman empire (in law, administration, intellectual and literary life), the Romance languages, scions of ancient colloquial Latin, and Western Christendom with its focus on Latin as a liturgical language, are considered the pivotal elements explaining a certain degree of European unity. She then brings in Neo-Latin literature and modern Latin texts as paramount factors of unification: for

the idea of a common Europeanness was dealt with and propagated in a great variety of Latin texts (novels, dramas, poems, treatises and treaties, dissertations and orations, Latin correspondences, etc.) and the very vehicle of these texts itself, that is, the Latin language, also contributed to creating an ever stronger European awareness. Hence, exploring how notions of common European values are discussed in a representative selection of hitherto largely neglected texts written in different European countries (non-European authors do not seem to have reflected on Europeanness in Latin) is the scope of the present study. In a first step the author reminds the reader of the ubiquity, in Early Modern Europe, of Latin as the carrier of European culture and a means of supranational and almost universal communication. In the second chapter, Walser-Bürgler discusses the pre-Renaissance views of Europe, concluding that until the Middle Ages there was hardly a notion of cultural, political and ideological solidarity among the Europeans. The emergence of a crisis in European society (the exploration of new countries and continents, for instance) made cultural pluralism very perceivable, and opened Europeans' eyes to a sense of continental unity and togetherness, whereas the religious conflicts of the sixteenth century led Europeans to go in search for secular elements of Europeanness. The author then examines the main concepts of Europeanness one can find in Neo-Latin texts. The first is Europe's coherence as a 'respublica christiana', brought about by the Ottoman incursions and provoking a common position against an external enemy; here Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) is justly considered a crucial defender of Europe as a continent of 'socii'; the ensuing religious strife of the sixteenth century, however, made it clear that the Europeans did not manage to overcome their internal conflicts. Secondly, the author pays attention to the (sixteenth-century) idea of a possible 'European monarchy': some thinkers, indeed, pled in favour of a pan-European peace, believing that the unification of Europe under one dynastic power (a Habsburg ruler in the eyes of some Germans, the English king for an English humanist, etc.) could put an end to the internal European struggles. The many ongoing wars of the seventeenth century made this dream fall to pieces. From then on, intellectuals would rather pay attention to propagating the idea of a pluralistic and balanced concept of Europe, excluding the

superiority of one of the European nations and stressing the interdependency of Europe's various countries. These ideas were expanded, *i.a.*, by John Barclay in his *Icon animorum*. This was predicated on the notion of a European continent (almost always depicted as standing on the summit of civilisation) sharing the same culture, which goes back to early Italian humanism. Finally, Walser-Bürgler deals with the well-known concept of the *Respublica literaria* (thus called since the fifteenth-century humanist Francesco Barbaro), the only project of European integration that really came into being, as Walser-Bürgler remarks: Europe as a world of letters and texts, and as a community bringing together the intellectuals of Europe in an egalitarian, cooperating and (mostly) peaceful international network of shared values.

Walser-Bürgler has been working and publishing on these themes for a number of years now; therefore, no one could be better placed to author this concise, yet condensed and solid survey, which on every page gives evidence of a thoughtful approach and of a sound knowledge of modern scholarly literature. She enriches the current debates on Europe and Europeanness with a wealth of Neo-Latin texts, written by either well-known Neo-Latin writers such as Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), Erasmus, Vives, Comenius and Leibniz, or hitherto hardly explored authors of relevant treatises and poems (such as the physician Andrés Laguna or the poet Johann Joachim Rusdorf). She rightly pays much attention to the historical contexts in which certain texts and tendencies emerged. Some extracts from Neo-Latin sources, presented in Latin and in English translations (in the quote on p. 100, read 'quam Deus' instead of 'qua Deus'), give a very concrete life to these historical texts. A full list of primary and secondary literature rounds off the volume. *Tolle, lege!* (Dirk Sacré, K.U. Leuven)

◆ *Conversations Classical and Renaissance Intertextuality*, Edited by Syrithe Pugh. Manchester University Press, Manchester 2020. 272 pages. \$120. Effectively the Acta of a symposium entitled "Reviving the Dead" dedicated to classical reception in seventeenth-century English literature, this book is nevertheless a burgeoning foray into, and overview of intertextuality as used in and among classical Greek, Latin (including Italian) and English writers. The introduction or

'conversation' (1–30) by Syrithe Pugh unabashedly sets the stage for masterful analyses in and across linguistic (and departmental) borders by initially touching upon poetic competition, that is, *sodales* writing on like topics notwithstanding the obvious differences in time and space. Anacreon and Horace are her starting point, but in this very vein we might also think of Castiglione and Maddaeni de' Capodiferro, Spenser and Shelley (analyzed *infra*), and many others. She then explores the early-modern understanding of imitation by forcing scholarship to look again at two of Petrarch's many penfriends, namely Cicero and Seneca. From the discovery of Cicero's *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, *Ad Brutum* etc in the chapter library in Verona in 1345 to the top of Mont Ventoux, Pugh sees Petrarch as now authorized to enter into conversation with the ancients (to which we might also hasten to add with Posterity). The 'gossipy' nature of Cicero's familiar letters might have been teased out more clearly on her part, inasmuch as it the less solemn Cicero, compared to the author of the *Tuscolanae* and *Orationes* etc, who effectively authorizes Petrarch in this light, but the fact remains that this does indeed become the basis for Petrarchan, therefore, Humanistic, imitation. Similarly on Petrarch regarding that first *Epistola familiaris* (*Fam.* 24, 3) to Cicero. When intuiting the extremely personal meaning of the phrase that Petrarch inserts in the eschatocollon, that is, «... of the God whom thou never knewest», Pugh's argument might have emerged more strongly yet by extending her analysis to that other much-explored dimension in Petrarchan imitation (both indirect and indirect, filtering etc), the never-explicitly cited Dante. The fact that this very phrase is possibly the first ever translation into vernacular of a line from the *Comedy*, that is, *Inf.* I 131: «per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti», Petrarch emerges rather poignantly as familiar with Cicero as Dante is with Virgil. Pugh, however, goes on to make a strong argument for the importance of Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*, especially *Epist.* 79 describing the attempt to climb Mt. Aetna (though, unlike Lucilius, Petrarch is in the company of a significant other, his brother). She then rightly concludes that Petrarch's syncretic weave of sources (Christian and non-Christian) seeks to overcome conflict and contradiction, even concerning the Lucretian echoes. In a racey modern English translation of Seneca, what emerges with extreme clarity is the highly allegorical and literary

nature of Petrarch's ascent and, most importantly regarding Petrarch's companion in mountaineering exploits, the fact that arrival at the summit does indeed equate both styles of climbing (Gherardo representing traditional monasticism, Petrarch Humanism). On the former attempts, Philip of Macedon and Hannibal may possibly be, as Pugh asserts, the very opposite of the stoic sage as indeed they do seem to be in the *Natural Questions*, but placed by Petrarch in a triplet with the exiled Ovid, perhaps they more simply and tellingly represent here the strong desire to conquer or return to Rome or *Romanitas*. Despite the obvious strictures of space and thematic appropriateness within an Introduction, Pugh leaves the reader wanting to know more about the 'Senecan' nature of both Petrarch's Augustinus in the *Secretum* and the Augustinian Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, addressee of the *Fam.* IV 1, especially in light of the *sortes* at the summit, as it is this very 'Senecan' Augustine who, in her opinion, emerges as less the lens (as Alexander Lee posits) than a bridge between classical and Christian culture.

Philip Hardie, "Flying with the Immortals: reaching for the sky in classical and Renaissance poets", pages 31–54. The thread running through this chapter is not catabasis but 'soaring into the skies', in other words, how to procure lost-lasting fame after death. Typically this occurs on the lips of men (Ovid *met.*: Pers. *prol.*), in bronze (Hor.) or in flight (Enn. «volito vivus»), through which Hardie explains not only the plight of Lucretius (failed flight as in Ovid's Phaeton story), but also Raphael's *Parnassus* and Ingres. In this very light Hardie then discusses Spenser's *The Ruines of Time* on Sidney's death as a re-working of Virgil's fifth eclogue. A parallel then ensues with Dante's journey through the heavenly spheres and Ariosto's parody of the same, where Astolfo travels to the Moon on a hippogryph. Hardie ends his chapter discussing *Paradise Lost* as "criss-crossed by numerous ascents and descents" as in Jacob's ladder, sometimes even sideways, a foray, in other words, into Milton's own rich concept of intertextuality.

Stephen Hinds, "In and out of Latin: diptych and virtual diptych in Marvell, Milton, du Bellay and others", pages 32–55. Diptychs or 'poetic pairs' are the object of this delightfully learned chapter. Here Hinds explores near translations between Latin and English by the same author, a practice essentially developing from two-way transla-

tion exercises both at school and in diplomacy. Marvell's youthful homage to King Charles in his *Parodia*, that is, side-by-side texts, one the original Latin of a Horatian ode, the other its English translation, invites comparison whereby the English does not necessarily emerge as second fiddle. Indeed, such side-by-side texts set the preparatory stage of his more mature 'poetic pairs' (eg. *On a Drop of Dew*) not without pun, macaronic or otherwise. Hinds denounces the shortcomings of the *Cambridge Companion to Marvell* that almost completely omits and overlooks Marvell's Latin production (a state of affairs, I hasten to add, for many *auctores togati*, even in the Italian critical tradition). Emblematically, whereas *The Garden* is published, Marvell's *Hortus* is sadly not. Hinds postulates that Marvell did not first write in Latin then in English, but the two simultaneously, thus espousing interactive composition and code-switching, not to mention 'translationese', such as his 'Fragrant zodiac' (ex '*fragrantia*'?). The part of Marvell's poem lacking the corresponding Latin is due either to the decision made posthumously by his editors to leave it out or because he had decided not to compose it in the first place inasmuch as the cornucopia of fruits (apples, nectarenes, peaches and melons) might only have proven rather tedious in the Latin (*mala, mala, mala, mala*), a problem, however, that Pliny the Elder and Columella might have been able to help him solve. Concerning Milton, we might ask whether the 'lovely landscape' really does translate *locus amoenus*. Looking at Bold's and Power's translations into Latin of *Paradise Lost*, however, we can certainly notice just how closely Milton had tapped into the classical tradition, Hesiod and pastoral verse in particular in the first case, Virgil in the second.

Emma Buckley, "Reviving Lucan: Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, and *Lucans First Booke*", pages 56–91. Buckley adroitly establishes a parallel between Lucan's Caesar and Tamburlaine. No real surprise there inasmuch as Lucan readership was well attested indeed and not only in early modern England but also on the continent (cf. Dante's four *poeti regulati* in *Inf.* IV). Though somewhat misleading to present Amyclas as Scythian and not as Epirote, Buckley's chapter does nevertheless do justice to Marlowe's idea of Lucan, which is less intertextual *stricto sensu* than structural and thematic. The further discussion of May's *Continuations* is particularly enlightening in view of such a 'cult of Lucan'.

Helen Lynch, “Citizenship and suicide: Shakespeare’s Roman plays, republicanism and identity in *Samson Agonistes*”, pages 92–121. Lynch posits that Milton drew from the classics via the filter of Shakespeare’s Roman tragedies, whereby Milton’s Dalila is effectively Shakespeare’s Cleopatra, Samson Antony. The imitation is not, however, purely slavish. It is dictated, Lynch argues, by markedly republican agendas. The type of intertextuality at play here is less lexical than narrative, thematic and rhetorical where such parallels ultimately derive from Plutarch. Certain references to clothing, emasculation, ‘finding a sword’ corroborate Lynch’s contention, as does the comparison of both male leads to a phoenix.

Syrthe Pugh, “Adonis and literary immortality in pastoral elegy”, pages 122–79. Effectively a lesson in comparative studies based on intertextuality, Pugh compares Spenser’s *Astrophel* on the death of Philip Sidney to Shelley’s *Adonais* for John Keats on the basis of their common roots in the Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος traditionally (but erroneously) ascribed to Moschus. She thus seeks to tease out what imitation actually meant to the two English poets. Her ‘conversation’ begins with the pseudo-Moschus through Theocritus with enlightening treasures emerging, such as the assonance between Ἀδώνις and ἄδωνις, the Doric form of ‘nightingale’ and the very verb αἰίδω ‘I sing’. Pugh then moves on to the English poets via the direct association with Bion’s *Lament for Adonis* (both *Astrophel* and *Adonis* are killed by a boar) and contamination not only with Ovid (*met.*) and Thomas Watson (1585), but perhaps too with Spenser’s *The Faire Queene* (book III) and the inherent Lucretian legacy. Shelley’s debt to the pseudo-Moschus, on the other hand, is less obvious, entirely embedded as it is in his intertextual method and his concept of imitation ensuring immortality. The apparent digression on Statius *Silvae* 2,7 celebrating the birthday of the deceased Lucan and dedicated to his wife, Polla, proves instructive inasmuch as it subtly lies within the same tradition ultimately influencing Shelley under the aegis of the Muse Urania. (Rodney Lokaj, Università degli Studi di Enna, “Kore”)

◆ *Culture, Contention and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Ireland. Antonius Bruodinus’ Anatomical Examination of Thomas Carve’s Apologetic Handbook.* Ed. By Giacomo Fedeli, Luke McNerney and

Brian Ó Dálaigh. Cork: Cork University Press, 2022. xiv + 402 pages. €39. This erudite and absorbing book provides the texts and contexts of a learned and bitter dispute between two prominent seventeenth-century Irish clerics over Irish cultural identity and national ancestry. In the 1670s, Antonius Bruodinus and Thomas Carve, clashed regarding their divergent perspectives on Ireland's history and Gaelic heritage. Both clergymen, who had been living in exile in Europe for several decades, espoused opposing views on the matter, which were influenced by their distinct ethnic backgrounds as members of the Gaelic-Irish and Old-English communities, respectively. Bruodinus and Carve documented their dispute in several Latin publications, which also serve as evidence of the wider divisions within Irish society and the preoccupation of exiles with conceptions of Ireland's past. Bruodinus' contentions reflect the frequent contemporary debates in Ireland about identity, legitimacy, and authority. This literary debate, which forms the main thrust of this book, took place at a time when Gaelic-Irish and Old-English groups were attempting to establish common ground against the more recently established New English Protestant elite in Ireland. This book offers the first complete translation of Antonius Bruodinus' *Anatomicum examen, Inchiridii Apologettici, seu Famosi cuiusdam libelli, a Thoma Carve (verius Carrano) sacerdote Hiberni furtive publicati, quo Carrani imposturae, & calumniae religiose refutantur* (1671) and sheds light on the world of classical Gaelic scholarship before its decline in the seventeenth century. Bruodinus' writings document the networks established by Irish clerics (and especially Franciscans) spanning from Ireland to Louvain, Prague, and Rome, and crossing several linguistic, cultural, and ethnic boundaries. In the introduction, the editors argue that past historians have not given enough attention to Bruodinus' extensive writings and have unfairly portrayed him as a bellicose propagandist rather than a veritable scholar. They suggest that modern historians have been too quick to focus on his shortcomings and overlook the valuable insights that his writings provide into a number of coterminous fields of research including the world of classical Gaelic scholarship and the intellectual productivity of Irish clerics on the continent. Bruodinus is not a disinterested writer, and his personal agenda seems to have disqualified it from consideration by scholars of the past. It is diffi-

cult to deny, however, that his witty insults offer a welcome reprieve from detailed passages about the pedigree of various Irish clans or the meritorious claims of early modern landholding based on ancient fiefdoms. Bruodinus' saltiness cements the work firmly in the genre of invective rather than historiography: he misses no opportunity to take gratuitous shots at his opponent by highlighting Carve's ungrammatical Latin, historical inaccuracies, and logical inconsistencies.

Bruodinus is certainly a noteworthy figure due in part to his background in both classical Gaelic and Latin learning, and his broad scholarly interests. His writings reveal an impressive familiarity with traditional genealogies of prominent Gaelic families and a seemingly comprehensive knowledge of Irish history, poetry, and antiquities. Despite facing the challenges of exile in Prague and the damaging losses suffered by his family during the Commonwealth period, Bruodinus managed to attain a remarkable education and contribute to the intellectual historiography of Ireland. His writings about Ireland draw on numerous documentary sources and firsthand accounts that are no longer available; this provides a level of granular detail about the remote history and oral tradition of Ireland (and especially of Bruodinus' home region of Thomond), that would otherwise be impossible. The volume makes the *Anatomicum*, which has hitherto been largely neglected, accessible and appreciable. Furthermore, the editors have demonstrated the value of utilizing such writings to study the literary and cultural history of Ireland and the reception of Gaelic history in the seventeenth century.

The origin of the contention that arose between Bruodinus and Carve can be traced back to Carve's publication of his views about the Gaelic-Irish in his works, *Itinerarium R.D. Thomae Carve Trip- perariensis* (Mainz, 1639–46) and *Lyra seu Anacephalaeosis Hibernica* (Vienna, 1651). Bruodinus took issue with Carve's criticisms in his massive tome, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis* (Prague, 1669), which led to a heated dispute between the two. The disagreement quickly turned into tremendous philippics, including personal attacks and tribal or racial insults. Bruodinus specifically disagreed with Carve's claims that the Gaelic-Irish became civilized through their contact with the English.

Bruodinus wrote *Anatomicum* under the pseudonym Cornel O'Mollony, presumably to give the work a sense of impartiality. This was not a very convincing disguise, and readers familiar with the dispute could easily recognize Bruodinus' hand. The unusual book serves two purposes. First, it aims to refute Carve's arguments through lengthy and stylistic rebuttals. Second, it provides historical and genealogical information about the Clann Bhruaidealha (i.e., the clan of the Bruodines), seeking to prove their nobility and social status. Despite the distance from the events and the people he describes, Bruodinus' defense of Gaelic-Irish culture and his own family is apparent throughout the text. The level of detail he provides in listing families with whom the Clann Bhruaidealha intermarried demonstrates his preoccupation with proving their high social status and the general sensitivity of the Gaelic-Irish regarding their origins. In addition to his discussions of Gaelic culture and the Clann Bhruaidealha, Bruodinus also offers insights into the political and social climate of his time. He describes the political situation in Ireland during the Commonwealth period, as well as the impact of the Cromwellian conquest on Irish society. *Anatomicum* is a rich and varied work that offers a glimpse into the world of the Gaelic learned classes and the Irish diaspora in Europe in the seventeenth century. The wealth of information included on Irish history, culture, and society, makes it a valuable resource for scholars of Irish studies. Bruodinus' work highlights the intricacies and complexities of the Gaelic learned classes, their social and cultural status, and the important role they played in preserving and transmitting Gaelic knowledge and literature. He also sheds light on the Irish diaspora out of Ireland and the integral role of exiles in military and diplomatic affairs of Catholic Europe during a time of political and religious upheaval.

Bruodinus' style is characterized by frequent digressions, which include anecdotes about various learned families in Ireland. He does this in order to build a broader argument about the accomplishments, status, and connections to ancient nobility and, thus, to refute Carve's negative comments about Gaelic culture and to educate a foreign audience about the importance of the *literati* in Ireland. While Bruodinus mentions a great many people and places and conveys a number of interesting anecdotes about Gaelic culture and literary history, his

personal interest is manifest from his focus on the professional activities of the Clann Bhruaidealha, Bruodinus may have received classical Irish tutoring at a bardic school before he joined the Franciscan Friary of Quin. He was knowledgeable about poetic compositions in Irish and had a familial connection to the O'Briens of Thomond through his family's former role as chronicler-poets. Bruodinus defended the cultural achievements of the Gaelic-Irish and wrote in Latin, which allowed him to reach a wider audience beyond Irish émigrés and fellow Irish religious communities in Europe. He sometimes exaggerated his descriptions of people and places in Ireland to impress his foreign audience and compensate for Ireland's depressed state of affairs. His writing demonstrates a skillful sensitivity to the differences in syntax and orthography between Irish and Latin when rendering names into Latin.

The dispute between Bruodinus and Carve yielded unexpected results, revealing new information about the role and status of the Gaelic learned classes. Bruodinus felt compelled to defend the reputation of the Clann Bhruaidealha, as the family had lost property and influence and was vulnerable to criticism. The clash between the two scholars was a question of worldviews, with Carve dismissing Gaelic culture and the bardic poets. Modern readers may appreciate Bruodinus' enthusiasm and sarcasm with which he defends his kin and ancestry. The spectacle of two aging clerics hurling abuse at one another continued with a volley of booklets, but the literary feud which was at least as erudite as it was vicious finally came to an end when Thomas Carve died (c. 1672).

Overall, *Anatomicum* is a fascinating and valuable text for scholars of Irish history, culture, and literature. Bruodinus' Latin is interesting if only due to its nimble style, frequent use of common places from literature, and citations of obscure Irish lore. In general, the translator has rendered the Latin (the quality of which varies somewhat throughout) into clear English without doing damage to the original tenor or syntax. The generous footnotes, which demonstrate an astonishing amount of detailed research, provide helpful information on geography, language, culture, and religion; the footnotes alone make the work useful for readers from various fields including Irish History, Late-Humanism, History of Education, Ecclesial History of

Prague, Franciscan History, Neo-Latin Studies, and Irish Studies. This publication paves the way for a reevaluation of Bruodinus's work and others like it. The presentation of the historical context through the prefatory material is engaging and intriguing, but the introduction is slightly marred by a few unnecessary repetitions. The volume closes with three worthwhile appendices (Chronology, Irish Surnames, and List of Authors and Texts) and a comprehensive index. In conclusion, *Culture, Contention and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* offers an accurate translation and historical contextualization of Bruodinus' *Anatomicum* which allow the modern reader easy access to an essentially unknown text. Scholars will also profit from the various lines of new research collected in the learned footnotes and use this volume as a solid base for further study of Irish intellectual history, ethnography, and Neo-Latin literature. The editors of the Cork University Press are to be given credit for recognizing the relevance of this research to the scholarly profession. (Patrick M. Owens, *Academia Latinitati Fovendae*)