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Coincidences and Differences between the Latin and the Spanish Poems, Treatises, and Epistles of Rudericus Carus (Rodrigo Caro)

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Rudericus Carus (Utrera, 1573–Seville, 1647) was an outstanding archaeologist and poet of the Spanish Golden Age, and he is well known for the historical treatises and the poems that he wrote in Latin and in the vernacular, particularly the Song to the Ruins of Italica.¹ He also used both languages in his letters and in his professional writings. Of course, this bilingual condition is not rare among other humanists.² But Carus adopted the legacy of Renaissance humanism more faithfully than any other writer of his time, particularly a sensibility and enthusiasm for antiquity. However, he is aware that the genuine principles of the Renaissance had already disappeared. This is quite clear from the following words written to the Aragonese scholar Andrés de Ustarroz on 23 May 1642:

Lástima tenga vm. de los que vivimos en esta última Bética, que siendo madre en todas las edades de tan ilustres ingenios, se halla en este infeliz tiempo tan prostrada, que en esta gran ciudad, lumbrera del mundo nuevo y viejo, no sé si se hallaran tres que traten estos estudios, y si alguno los trata, es o con vana

¹ This poem was translated into English by the American poet W. C. Bryant, and into Latin by T. Viñas and M. A. Caro. Cf. Tomás Viñas, Versiones latinas de poesías hispanas (Barcelona, 1927), xxix–xxx; Miguel Antonio Caro, La Canción a las ruinas de Italica. Introducción, versión latina y notas (Bogotá, 1947).
ostentación y sin provecho público, o con ignorancia de los verdaderos principios, que es exercitarse en el glorioso polvo de la antigüedad. 3

Humanistic Latin had already overcome the obsolete and useless controversies concerning Ciceronianism, 4 and a cultivated élite still tried to emulate in Latin the elegance of the classics, as much in the choice of words as in the variety of expression and the pleasant sonority of speech. Latin, besides being the basis of academic education, continued to be a language of literary prestige. In a Memorial written a few years before his death, Carus mentioned his poem Baetis urbs and a few other works in Latin, but he omitted his poetry and some books written in the vernacular, since they did not have such a high reputation. He also used Latin in some of his official submissions trying to institute new feasts in Seville, as well as in a few letters to Johannes Cintado, Franciscus de Bilches, and Josephus Fernández de Retes, among others who also wrote to him in the same language. 5 This use of Latin was not actually due to the need for communicating with learned scholars from other countries. It was rather the practice of a few people who sought to prolong the literary habits of humanism.

Carus’s Latin prose is both natural and elegant. One of his correspondents praised the style of one of his Latin books by calling it “Flemish Latin”. This is partly due to the influence exercised by authors such as Erasmus and Lipsius, as much in a direct way as through the teaching and works of García Matamórs, Arias Montanus, and other Spanish humanists. Carus knew that Latin would continue being the language of communication for academic and scientific purposes among European scholars, and he tried to use ancient words even to describe things that did not exist in antiquity. For instance, he suggested the name thermopolium for the chocolate shops that were already popular in Seville in the seventeenth century, since this word means, in Plautus’s comedies, a place where hot and generally sweet drinks are sold. 6

Carus wrote in Latin an interesting treatise on the ancient gods of Spain and Portugal, some annotations on the Spanish part of Nubiensis’ Geography, and a commentary on his own edition of the History of pseudo-Dexter and other spurious texts. All these works deal with the whole Iberian Peninsula and have a European scope. His annotated edition of the History of pseudo-Dexter, which had been written in fact by a Jesuit from Toledo, might have been printed in France by Johannes Bellerus, in the new Bibliotheca veterum patrum, but Franciscus Vivarius did it first. In 1642 he sent his work Veterum Hispanie Deorum Manes sive Reliquiae to the Low Countries to be printed. But this manuscript got lost, and only the original MS version of 1628 has

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3 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 8.389, f. 203; Ricardo del Arco y Garay, La erudición española en el siglo XVII y el cronista de Aragón Andrés de Ustarroz (Madrid, 1950), 336.

4 Cf. Juan M. Núñez, El ciceronianismo en España (Valladolid, 1993).

5 Carus wrote most of his letters in Spanish. The Biblioteca Capitular of Seville (BCS) contains the copy of many of them in MSS. 57–6–22 and 58–1–9, fols. 206, 236–252, 276–277, 290–292, etc.

6 On 3 May 1641, his friend Hieronymus Pancorvus told him that he had written a panegyric to chocolate, since he was very fond of it (BCS, Ms. 58–1–9, fol. 189r).
been preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, including his additions in the margins. It was bound together with his Latin notes on several Spanish place names in Nubiensis' Geography, following a Latin translation from Arabic which had been printed in Paris. His mythological treatise does not follow the allegorical tradition; on the contrary, this literary and scientific work is based on the study of Latin inscriptions, coins, and other archaeological remains, as well as on the texts of the ancient authors. It also contains some interesting comments on comparative religion, etymology and folklore. This book was therefore a pioneer work among modern studies of the ancient gods of Europe.

When a book was expected to be read by more people if it was written in Spanish, Rudericus did not even need to explain why he did it that way. This is the case with his treatises devoted to the antiquities of Utrera and the ancient Conventus Hispalensis, or to the illustrious figures of Seville and the ancient games, or dealing also with local and contemporary folklore. Since the ancient sources of these works were hardly understandable by most of his potential readers, he translated most of them into Spanish. These include Latin texts of more than forty authors from antiquity to the Renaissance. When the original was written in verse, he rendered it into Spanish verse too. He also translated into Latin verse a vernacular proverb, "A quien Dios quiso bien, en Sevilla le dio de comer", following the practice of Ferdinandus Arceus, who had translated a collection of Castilian proverbs into Latin, and printed his book in Salamanca in 1533, and also of Joannes de Mal Lara.

We know nearly fifty poems of Rudericus Carus. The number and range of his Latin and Spanish poems are similar, and they share the same literary theory, genres, and subjects. They also use the same rhetorical and poetic procedures to achieve the

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7 Five days before his death in August 1647, Carus bequeathed the manuscript of this work to the marquis of Estepa (†1658). Juan Lucas Cortés (†1701) owned it around 1676; after the auction of his books in 1702, it belonged to the Dutch philologist and poet Jacob Philip d'Orville (†1751), and his friend Pieter Bumman was able to publish an epigram (now Anth. Lat. Riese 873) from this manuscript in his Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1773), 2:458, where he recommended Carus's treatise on the ancient gods of Spain to be printed. Cf. Joaquín Pascual Barea, “Veterum Hispanicæ deorum manes sive reliquiae: noticias del tratado de Rodrigo Caro sobre la religión antigua en Hispania,” paper at the II Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos (Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, 2000), forthcoming.

8 In 1540, Francus Leardus wrote an epigram for Petrus Mexia's Silva de varia lección to explain that the author preferred to write it in Spanish so that it could be read by more people. Cf. Joachim Pascual Barea, "Le Banquier génois Franco Leardo, un poète latin de Séville dans la première moitié du XVIème siècle," in Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis, ed. Rhoda Schnur et al., MRTS 184 (Tempe, AZ, 1998), 475–483 (here 483, poem VI). Mexia's book was eventually translated into Latin by Mambrini de Sabrino, and published at Lyon in 1556.

9 Cf. Luis Gómez Canseco, Rodrigo Caro, un humanista en la Sevilla del seiscientos (Seville, 1986), 164–166.

necessary elegance of poetry. We find therefore many similarities, connections, and mutual influences between them. Due to the older tradition of Latin literature, it is not surprising that the structure, procedures, images, topics, and even some phrases and words of the Spanish poems had been used first in the Neo-Latin literature. Carus’s Latin poems, closer to ancient poetry in their language while contemporary in their subject-matter, frequently served as a bridge to adapt the classics to vernacular poetry. This is also true in the case of many other Renaissance poets, which illustrates the relationship between the poetry written in each language at that time.

Carus was aware of being a bilingual poet, and he collected some of his poems in a “quaderno [...] de sus versos en romance y en latín”. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo was eager to see the publication of Carus’s Latin and Spanish poetry, relating as it did to a great variety of genres of the humanistic tradition. Some of his Latin and vernacular verses celebrated ancient ruins and other archaeological remains, which come to life in a very special way in the naenia of “Cupido Pendulus”, in the “Song to the Ruins of Italica”, and in the humorous poem about the ruined tower of “La Membrilla”. The last-named poem is an autobiographical story, a Latin epistle in distichs from 1595, which was also addressed to his friend Joannes de Robles, a Latin poet and a Castilian writer and theorist. Carus wrote four religious poems in the vernacular and three in Latin: an ode and a hymn in imitation of Horace, and an epigram about a miracle by the Virgin; the ode is dedicated to the Virgin of Las Veredas of his native village, and the hymn to the skull of Euphrasiosyn, a relic of one of the eleven thousand martyrs of Cologne brought from the convent of the Beghards in Maastricht by the Spanish governor.

There are many coincidences in his Latin and Spanish poems belonging to the genre of the laus urbis. Baetis urbs sive Vetricula shares with the Spanish “silvas” devoted to Seville, Carmona, and Utrera, and even with the poem on the ruins of Italica, the same structure, literary resources, and contents, with slight variants depending on the particular features of each place. After the initial apostrophe, the five poems deal with the name and the foundation of each city, and all finish by mentioning their illustrious men and their martyrs and saints. While the ruins are the main topic in Italica, the situation of the three modern cities, the fertility of their lands and their other valuable products, are the central points in the other commendations of cities. Also lines 79–122 of the comic poem Membrilla include some of these elements: name and origin, natural wealth, patron saints and illustrious men, genius of the city, and so forth.

In Baetis urbs, the emulation of the classics is very carefully practised, even though a grammarian from the University of Salamanca, who had been the pupil of Sanctius, condemned the syntactic construction fraudata colonos. Through these three hundred

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11 BCS, MS. 58–1–9, fol. 72v. They might be those copied in 1645 from the autograph in MS. 57–3–24, fol. 45–57, under the title of Carmina Cl. V. Ruderici Cari.

and seven hexameters of classical elegance,\textsuperscript{13} Rudericus tried to recover the past of his hometown. But the city of \textit{Baetis} mentioned in the text of Strabo’s \textit{Geography} (3.2.1) might be indeed a misreading of \textit{Italica} in the Greek transcription of these names. In that case, the author of the best Spanish poem on the ruins of Italica also used the language of Virgil to describe its natural wealth (\textit{Baetis}, vv. 65–146), and to remember the exiling of the native Andalusian population and the new splendour brought by the Roman settlers according to Strabo (vv. 200–215):

\begin{quote}
[. . .] quam Caesar ademptam
priscis ruricolis Romano milite complet.
Huic diuisus ager ueteri migrante colono
diiisaeque domus alios uidere Penates.
Plebs, ciues, equites imitataque curia patres,
mores, iura, forum cedunt et sacra Quirino.
Totaque iam Baetim resonabant Roma per urbem
exiguam, nam magna decent te, Baetis, alumna
Aeneadum, aeterno quea iam praecellis honore
Romuleam priscumque audes ambire decorem
urbis patritiae dum Gaditana lacessis
moenia Balborum toties decorata trophaeis.
Hinc proceres uenere pii, hinc clara uirorum
militia atque toga praestantum fluxit origo,
quos non Cecropiae designarentur Athenae,
suspexit nam Roma suos [. . .]
\end{quote}

Carus’s laudatory poems in Latin belong to the genres of the Latin epicedium, epigram, and epitaph; they were also written for portraits and to recommend the books of some authors of his time. In his Castilian verses he used the sonnet, the \textit{esparsa}, the quatrain, and the song to praise different people. Wit is one of the most common features in all these Latin and vernacular poems.\textsuperscript{14} The following passage from Carus, who considered Góngora and Juan de Salinas the best authors of Spanish epigrams in his time, proves that literary theory concerning the Latin epigram was applied to the sonnet and other forms of vernacular verse:

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
En la poesía se inclinó [Salinas] a lo que comúnmente los españoles son inclinados, que es cifrar con viveza un conceto o muchos en pocos versos, ajustando de manera la propiedad de las voces que ninguna está ociosa. Así lo pide el arte, y esta virtud resplandece en el príncipe de los poetas epigramatarios, Marco Valerio Marcial, también español de la Celtiberia, a quien admiró la Antigüedad romana y admirarán los siglos. Nuestra edad conoció a D. Luis de Góngora, hijo de aquella madre de eternos ingenios, Córdoba. Sigúyoles el Dr. Juan de Salinas con tanta propiedad y sales, que en este género no les es inferior, estrechando su Musa a aquellos preceptos que enseñó Quintiliano, también español, en el lib. 6, c. 3 de las Institutiones oratorias: ‘dijo muchas gracias pero sin agrazivo de nadie’ [...] En lo que más resplendió su agudeza fue en las alusiones y equívocos, en que no es inferior a los demás, antes superior en la pureza de la habla castellana [...] 15

Some of Carus’ own epigrams have these qualities, and Peter Burmann considered one of them very elegant and comparable to those written in the finest age of these things (Anthologia Latina, Riese 873). The painter Francisco Pacheco asked him to write the epigrams for the portraits of two of the chief poets of the Spanish Golden Age, Fernando de Herrera and Fray Luis de León.16

For a work of Francisco Tamayo now preserved at the Hispanic Society of America, Carus wrote a poem in Latin and another in the vernacular with the same contents. There are consequently many coincidences and points of dependence between them. The sonnet has the same structure as the Latin epigram, and they even share the final play of words. (Among others, Arias Montanus and Mal Lara had written such preliminary poems.) Again, the contents of a Latin distich and a Spanish quatrain by Carus praising Pancorvus are very similar, this being the result of a reciprocal and simultaneous poetic translation:

IN HIERONYMI PANCORVI LAVDEM DISTICHON

— Panem coruus habet rostro. Cur mel fluit inde?
— Ingenio panis redditur ore fauus.

15 This praise for Salinas’ poems, dated 16 May 1646, is quoted by Henry Bonneville, Le poète sévillan Juan de Salinas (15627–1643): vie et œuvre (Paris, 1969), 4.

16 Francisco Pacheco, Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones de Sevilla, ed. Pedro Piñero Ramírez and Rogelio Reyes Cano (Seville, 1985) wrote about Fray Luis: “Para cumplimiento de su elogio y de mi deseo, no me contenté con menos, en honra de tan insigne varón, de que los versos latinos fuesen del licenciado Rodrigo Caro, y los castellanos de Lope de Vega en su Laurel de Apolo, con que se encarecen bastantemente” (69–71). In praise of Herrera, this father-in-law of Diego Velázquez wrote: “aunque muchos aventajados ingenios hicieron versos en su alabanza, me pareció poner aquí parte de un elogio de Pablo de Cápedes, por ser persona a quien estimó mucho Fernando de Herrera, después desta epigrama latina que el licenciado Rodrigo Caro ofreció a su retrato, digna de la erudición de su autor” (179). He praised Carus only as a Latin poet, since he certainly knew other good Spanish poets. Herrera and Fray Luis also wrote Latin poems.
REDONDILLA A JERÓNIMO PANCORVO

Cuervo es y pan celestial
trae en el pico, ¿cómo es miel?
Su ingenio es tal, que con él
lo que es pan, hace panal.

Many Latin poets wrote laudatory poems for Carus's own books too. Among them we can mention the professor of Antequera Joannes Aquiliarius, Joannes Corderus Chamizo from Villamartin, Laurentius de Castillejos, Joannes Baptistæ Porcellus from Medina, Petrus Amador de Lazcano, the cosmographer Antonius Morenus, Joannes Ximenius, the Jesuit Bernardus Carus, and Ferdinandus Bajo Orihuela.

There were many other authors of Latin poems in Seville. But Castilian poetry had already reached a decisive maturity, and writing Latin was relegated to the members of religious orders and a few scholars. Latin hardly kept a place of privilege in the literary competitions organized in Seville from 1531 onwards. First as a Spanish poet, and later with a Latin inscription, Rudericus took part in the Sevillian competitions celebrating St. Ignatius's beatification in 1610 and the proclamation of Mary's Immaculate Conception in 1616. Many graduates, bachelors, as well as students and teachers of the English College, wrote poems for these competitions in both languages and in different genres. Among them we find the poet Thomas Barton and a few other British names, such as Richard Curtis, Henry Salkeld, Robert Smith, Edward Hopton, William Ashton (Aston), Nicholas Hannington, William Maurice, Andrew Barnes, and perhaps also Francis Guillaude, Thomas Piget, and Henry Valinger. Their presence in Seville was due to the political exile imposed on Catholics by the religious persecution of the English Crown.

Rudericus Carus was a Latin humanist who lived at a time when Castilian already prevailed. This explains why he used both languages in his writings. In prose he preferred the vulgar tongue in his biographical and historical treatises about Utrera and Seville, or about the ancient games, thus interesting a public who for the most part did not understand Latin. He used Latin as an international language of culture in works of interest to other European scholars, such as his treatise on the ancient gods of Hispania, the History of pseudo-Dexter, and Nubiensis' Geography. As for his poems, he preferred Latin in the funeral compositions, but he used both languages in the commendations of cities and people, as well as in his poetry with a biographical, archaeological, or religious content. Carus also used Latin as the official language of the Catholic Church when he had to write a submission to the Vatican. Writing in Latin was also a humanistic entertainment in some of his poems and letters, particularly when this language better fitted the subject or the purpose in view. His case is

17 Cf. Francisco de Luque Fajardo, Relación de la fiesta que se hizo en Sevilla a la beatificación del glorioso San Ignacio . . . (Seville, 1610); idem, Relación de las fiestas de la cofradía de sacerdotes de San Pedro ad Vincula celebradas en su parroquial iglesia de Sevilla a la Purísima Concepción (Seville, 1616).
certainly an interesting example of the situation of the Respublica litterarum in seventeenth-century Spain.

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Rudericus Carus’s Works Quoted

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