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Bohemian School Humanism and its Editorial Practices (ca. 1550–1610)

Komise pro obhajoby doktorských disertací v oboru: Klasická studia

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I. Introduction: Aims and Structure

The ways in which classical traditions and texts were handled in the Czech lands began to change significantly during the 1540s. This shift was affected by a number of factors, which were religious (the spread of Reformation), social (the strengthened position of burghers) and technical (the development of book printing). The dynamics of this transformation varied in different regions and confessional and scholarly groups. The present book deals with a special transmission of classical texts and editorial practice in Bohemian school humanism. Its main aim therefore is to follow neither the editorial approaches of some particular group of scholars nor to map all types of humanist editorial practice on Bohemian territory. It focuses only on approaches, characteristic for the literary field which formed around Prague University from the 1540s onwards and lasted for several decades (until the 1620s at least). They influenced not only teaching methods and manuals, but also humanist editions for educational purposes. School editions – so far at the margins of historical research – were *de facto* the only form of humanist editorial work in Bohemia. The volume therefore begins with an extensive study which explains how classical texts were handled in the period of interest. It is followed by biographical sketches of Bohemian humanist editors, arranged chronologically, and an edited part which includes humanist paratextual materials. Most often the humanist paratexts consisted of introductory or dedicatory Latin poems or a more or less extensive prefaces addressed either to the patron or to potential readers, that is, the pupils. Other paratexts included tables of content and indexes which were intended to facilitate the use of school editions in further writing. Another special type of paratextual material were also prefaces written by original (usually German) editors taken from earlier writings and reworked for local needs by the Bohemian humanists. Many prefaces and forwards often included otherwise rare metalinguistic reflections; they presented, among other things, the editor's method and motivations.

Modern Czech historians tended to devote more attention to the reception of individual classical authors in Bohemia (like Horace, Virgil or Lucretius). At the same time, the previous research has already stressed the differences between humanist writing in Bohemia and its ancient models. My work, however, surveyed several other key research questions: How were classical text treated in Bohemian editions for school needs? Were they considered, for instance, literary works with a clear form and message or were they divided into fragments and recycled in new and creative ways? How did Bohemian humanist authors reflected on their editorial work and did their reflections and approaches change in time? Last but not least, my question was whether there could be found a parallel between Bohemian and other regions, and if so, how Bohemian editors adapted their foreign models to new cultural and confessional environments.

II.   Conceptual Frameworks: Humanism as a Professional Role and Everyday Scholarly Practice

While anaylsing humanist editorial practice in Bohemia, I proceeded from the conception of P.O. Kristeller, who saw the decisive factor in the "professional role" of the humanists – in the sense of their rhetorical, editorial and literary competence based on their (more or less creative) handling of classical texts and traditions. According to Kristeller, it is analytically helpful, to see the humanists as a professional group, that is, as teachers or students dispoising of specific critical methods, grammar and historical and geographic knowledge, which they had acquired by working with classical texts. This literary competences were widely shared by the humanist scholarly community and often comprised sophisticated literary techniques and intertexts.

Mastery of humanist writing was considered an *ars* at the time – particularly the composition of metrical poetry ("a learned, highly specialized skill, entirely independent of the ability to comperehend or translate Latin texts", as Jane Stevenson put it), since an intuitive understanding of metre in Latin had disappeared in late antiquity. Knowledge of ancient, late Medieval and early modern Latin intertexts and the rules of how to relate them (in both prose and poetry) could only be acquired on the basis of time-consuming school exercises and through lifelong stylistic refinement. As is known, humanist educational methods did not always encourage creativity or originality. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton summarised the principles of humanist instruction based on drills and memorisation as "regimented note taking, rote-learning, repetition and imitation".

In one of his studies on P.O. Kristeller's work, Ronald Witt called attention to the importance of grammar in the shaping of the humanist as a professional role. According to Witt, the humanist system of education was based on two interdependent levels of grammatical and rhetorical studies. In connection with these, two types of rhetoric evolved: "oratory rhetoric", associated with contemporary political activities, and "literary rhetoric" concerning all literary works written according to the contemporary rules but not requiring oral presentation. Witt also distinguished two types of a humanist: the rhetor-orator who strove for clarity and action and the grammarian-poet who read ancient texts with an emphasis on their philological dimension, ancient realia, etc. Particularly the latter one is particularly relevant with regard to humanist educational and editorial practices in Central Europe and other Transalpine regions.

On the most basic level, the humanist process of education can be divided here into several phases. In the first one, reading and writing were taught on the basis of classical texts; in the second, the increasing corpus of ancient texts was used to teach grammar, syntax, vocabulary, rhetorical figures,

metrics and mythological and geographic information. Schools further concentrated on *exercitatio stili*, which included the imitation of an original (often a text by Cicero) in which some expressions and idioms could be left as in the original in order to avoid "slavish" adaptation. Classical texts were to be paraphrased line by line, a process in which the grammatical, syntactic and rhetorical elements in each individual sentence were examined, with special attention paid to metaphorics and the identification of persons, geographic and mythological data. In the final step, students were expected to produce "independent" works by using the above-mentioned literary techniques.

Central European humanists devoted special attention to excerpting and classifying text fragments. At the elementary level, students were to create journals or books of excerpts, in which quotes, expressions, phrases, rhetorical figures, etc., which were worthy of imitation were placed in thematic columns. When done rigorously, useful or unusual language fragments were recorded in one journal and systematically categorised in another for they could be look up easily in the future; the anthologies of excerpts were published in print, particularly in the period of late humanism, under such titles as *florilegia*, *thesauri* or *progymnasmata.* These manuals contained expressions and metrically correct phrases associated with individual classical poets and sometimes even embedded in new poems for illustration.

It may seem, as if teaching manuals and school editions together with everyday scholarly practice in general had been overshadowed by the great editorial enterprises of the humanist intellectual luminaries which fit much better into the story of "progress of the classical studies" (*Fortschrittgeschichte der Philologie*, as Jürgen Leonhardt has recently put it) that traditionally ignores "average" early modern intellectuals and their work. With some exaggeration, we might, along with Ian Green, describe humanist scholars active in the literary field of the University of Prague as "second-class citizens and 'denizens' of the republic of letters". But were not the overwhelming majority of those who had been gone through the humanist school system in the 16th century and produced neo-Latin texts as "calculated cultural products" (Wilhelm Kühlmann) such "second-class citizens"? It is precisely the "practical" orientation of school humanism in Bohemia which provides a stimulating model for interpreting humanist scholarly practices in other regions as well. What is important in this respect is not only that school editions of classical texts oriented toward the inculcation and training of literary competence were also used in more European countries. Moreover, classical texts were evidently handeled in similar ways also by humanist "culture heroes" and represented an integral part of their careers before becoming intellectual icons.

III.   School Humanism in Bohemia (c. 1540s–1620s)

Jozef Ijsewijn was among the first ones to note "considerable differences" in Neo-Latin literary production in the various regions of Europe. These differences may have also include various conceptions of imitation, literary techniques, and authorities. As far as Bohemia is concerned, I have demarcated this territory geographically with reference not to the concept of the so-called "national humanism" favoured in Czech historiography since the late 19th century, but to the type of writing shared by most local humanist authors. In Bohemia, the Catholic authors connected to the Viennese cultural circle remained rather isolated. The local Latin humanist literature did not widely pick up the threads of "Hasištejnský-type humanism" based by a humanist aristocrat who had been on a par with the scholars of Western European lands. There were several local humanist centres before the mid-1540s (at schools in German-speaking border regions, in Pilsen, and groups of authors working in South Bohemia and linked to the patronage of the Rožmberk family), but their influence on the development of humanist literature in the second half of the 16th century was also rather marginal. A major breakthrough in dealing with the classical tradition, which was to have a significant impact on the future, came with the experience gained by a group of Czech students at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg in the 1540s and 1550.

This transition period was, however, still partly influenced by the coexistence of two "Latin speech communities" and two incommensurable "linguistic universes", a framework established through the innovative research of Ann Moss into Humanism in the German lands. According to her, the first "scholastic" speech community was defined by its universalist and formalist approach to Latin, and it derived new words from overarching rules. The members of this community, thus, assumed that neither the meaning of specific words and phrases nor the rules of written Latin were determined by their use in ancient texts. The "Humanist" speech community, on the other hand, used Latin to communicate, and its members judged the quality and naturalness of their language by ancient models. They understood Latin to be a spoken and natural language (*naturalis sermo*), and hence criticised the scholastic jargon. The Humanist linguistic community also emphasised textual coherence, which took precedence over the valid argumentation and formal correctness stressed by scholastic writerses. Within the Humanist group, the reading and imitation of ancient texts underpinned much instruction. Each of these communities had its own dictionaries and language textbooks as well as editions. Moss observes, however, that up until 1530, scholarship in the empire and northern Europe was characterised by the intermingling of the two language communities and influenced by a combination of teaching manuals. Moss sees a turning point in the early 1550s when the Humanist language model had become entrenched in central Europe, and this largely accords with developments at the Utraquist University in Prague.

As we shall see, Bohemian school editions were a part of an educational system inspired by Melanchthon's model oriented toward the methodology and Ciceronian style (*genus atticum dicendi*). Students from Bohemia got acquainted in Wittenberg with a corpus of textbooks based on the dialectical method, both in the instruction of classical languages and – within the Master's degree – in the fields of medicine, natural philosophy, history and theology. Latin, in particular, was taught at the preparatory Faculty of Arts in a manner sufficiently intensive and thorough as to prepare students for successful careers. What was crucial here, was the perfect knowledge of both written and spoken Latin, based on the imitation of authors of the Golden Age, and to some extent also Greek (less frequently Hebrew too). The essential authority in this model was Cicero. Practically the entire process of humanist instruction in Bohemia was based on the elaboration of selected texts (mostly by Cicero, Terence, Horace and Virgil) which were used for etymological and rhetorical analyses and later as a source of "advanced" phrases and figures for student imitation. Excerpts were even placed within the instruction space; there is evidence of excerpts in Bohemia in the form of inscriptions on classroom walls.

What was crucial for further development was that the skills taught at the University of Wittenberg included not only declamation but also poetic composition, especially building on Virgil, Ovid and Horace (among contemporary poets, lectures were given e.g. on the poetry of Helius Eobanus Hessus, whom Bohemian poets later acknowledged as their model). There were many "great" humanist works in Bohemia in the mid-16th century; however the essential literary type as well as the means of communication among scholars and patrons was Latin occasional poetry. Poetry was considered a learned and teachable practice – "a practical accomplishment rather than an inspired act", as Kristian Jensen writes. As is known, the overwhelming majority of Bohemian school humanists wrote (sometimes even exclusively) occasional poetry. Their conception of occasional poetry and its purpose developed the Wittenberg model more than other intellectual traditions.

From the 1540s onwards, Bohemian humanists eventually adapted the Wittenberg experience for the needs of their own cultural milieu and transformed it into a distinctive scholarly and literary practice. The community of Latin writers associated with the university in Prague shared not only literary techniques but also a number of common themes, which built on the subjects taught and contributed to the formation of a collective identity (the history of education etc.). The Wittenberg model of instruction and humanist production had a significant impact in the Czech lands: over the following three to four decades, it substantially influenced the method of teaching at the university and town schools, the functioning of the communication network of local scholars, the Latin style used among non-Catholic authors, the way in which these authors handled the classical tradition and the topics they chose – not only when writing

in Latin but also in their vernacular production and when they translated into Czech. The influence of this type of Humanism can be traced until the end of the 1580s, some of its elements remains influential even later. Despite increasing internationalism and pluralism of intellectual life in the 1580s, however, one cannot fail to notice a surprising continuity with the situation in the middle of the century, in particular at the University of Prague and at the town schools it controlled. (The main areas cooperating with the university included Central, East and south-western Bohemia and a much smaller part of Moravia.)

Bohemian school humanism did not fully develop the „polyhistorisch-universalgelehrte Vielseitigkeit", which was typical for Protestant universities reformed according to Melanchthonian educational model. Instead of concentrating on ways in which valid and convincing arguments should be constructed and subjects given in their "natural appearance", Bohemian educational system consisted chiefly in the adoption and simplification of what was known as the *genus atticum dicendi* – a type of writing based on intertexts from the Golden Age of Latin literature. The surviving corpus of Latin texts from the second and the first centuries BC, defined concretely by the names of authors such as Cicero, Terence, Plautus, Caesar, and Livy, were thus considered obligatory in Melanchthonian instruction. The texts of these classics formed the foundation for learning Latin grammar, vocabulary and syntax; they represented a reservoir for quotations, phrases and figures of speech fit for being excerpted. Adherents to the Wittenberg style considered them to be usable universally and, at the same time, a sure way of avoiding stylistic affect; in poetic imitation, they offered a way to avoid Asianist tendencies in rhetorising poetry and relied on permissible classics, such as Virgil and Horace. The cultivation of Latin was not supposed to be an aim in itself; as a normative goal of instruction it was declared a *pietas litterata*.

As it was typical of other Central European lands affected by Melanchthon's school reforms, Bohemian humanist scholars did not discuss this sophisticated model (and its intertextual basis) in too much detail, they rather adapted a set of German teaching manuals and school editions of the Golden Age Latin writers which could be used as a basis for excerpting, rote learning and imitation.

IV. Editing Classical Authors for Educational Needs in Bohemia: Humanist Teaching Manuals and School Editions

As demonstrated in the edited part of the present book, Matthaeus Collinus and other members of the circle of poets supported by Jan Hodějovský

the Elder of Hodějov were responsible for the first instruction manuals and school editions of the classics, as well as the implementation of sophisticated school rules following the Wittenberg model, which prescribed the curriculum and compulsory reading for the town schools. This group of authors, who returned from their studies at imperial Protestant universities just after the middle of the century, established themselves in the literary filed of the University of Prague and cooperated in literary projects until the 1560s.

Within their school editions, classical texts were generally understood as an open space for further scholarly activities; they were considered a set a fragments suitable for further writing or conversation. At the same time, they were regarded as exemplary applications of generic and rhetorical rules in Latin. Bohemian humanists did not compare variations of ancient texts in their editions; neither did they attempt to reconstruct ancient texts in their "original" forms nor focused they on different readings and manuscripts. They did not try to emend texts or provide explanations or commentaries on matters of language or contents (Sturm's interpretations published by Ioannes Cocinus, which diverged from the mainstream in the Bohemian environment and approached the imperial standard, are the exception that confirms the rule). This approach to classics was related to the communication standards shared by school humanists, especially to practical skills of scholarly conversation, writing letters and occasional poems.

Around the middle of the century, several simple dictionaries were published by the members of the Hodějovský's group. Sebestianus Aerichalus, Matthaeus Collinus and Thomas Mitis put together elementary compendia and editions of Golden Age Latin writers for educational purposes, which were then used in schools administered by the University of Prague at least until the end of the century and which would eventually often see several editions – thanks precisely to their role in the curriculum. The corpuses in question were, in the first instance, conversational and grammatical manuals (for example, Collinus's *Elementarius libellus*, first published in 1550); with the exception of Collinus's and other editions of Aelius Donatus's grammar, these text, however, are no direct editions of ancient texts.

The earliest instruction manuals were written or edited by Matthaeus Collinus and his co-workers following the Wittenberg model and published at Jan Had's printing workshop from the beginning of the 1550s. They covered the entire scope of the basic curriculum, including primers, grammar and other essential texts, dictionaries, and anthologies of sentences and phrases. They were characterised by a somewhat low level of editorial work and clearly depended on on German originals. Although these books were simple, they had a major impact on Latin instruction for several decades.

A less sinfluential approach is represented by textbooks by Paulus Aquilinas, comprising conversation guides, books of sentences, dictionaries and even an adaptation of Melanchthon's grammar. Unlike other textbook

authors, however, Aquilinas did not build exclusively on imperial Protestant works. His *Elegantissimae colloquiorum formulae* of 1550 is a telling example of Humanist "excerpt reading", that is, the fragmentation of classical texts into "building blocks" usable in Latin conversation. Unlike later editions for school needs published directly by humanists working at the university of Prague who authors from Melanchthon's circle, Aquilinas published his books in Prostějov, Moravia, and chose as his model a work by the Flanders philologist Cornelius Graphaeus Schrijver, or Scribonius (1482–1558). His volume entitled *Regulae communes civilis vitae ... ex comoediis Terentii excerptae* published in 1550 can be regarded not only as a collection of excerpts which could be used for further exercises in writing, but also as a practical guide on how to create various "training" distichs on one theme, an important intellectual competence in the context of Bohemian school Humanism.

Matthaeus Collinus, on the other hand, used the Wittenberg model to prepare the dictionaries that were to be used as supplementary teaching material (*Nomenclatura rerum* 1555). In the next step, several anthologies appeared which included sentences (Publilius Syrus, Pseudo-Cato's *Disticha*, and the like) or phrases and expressions usable in further writing, excerpted from the letters of Cicero, the plays of Terence and Sophocles (translated into Latin), the poetry of Horace and Virgil. These school editions prepared by the members of the Hodějovský's group were often still being published in the course of the 1580s and 1590s (by the Melantrich's or Veleslavín's printing houses, for example).

The book *Argumenta in duas comaedias Terentii* by Sebastianus Aerichalcus appeared in Vienna in 1550 and summarised for school use the contents of Terence's comedies *Andria* and *Eunuchus*. Completely in accordance with Melanchthon's approach, Terence's comedies were considered here a source of information about human nature and behaviour and at the same time a source of suitable and pure rhetorical figures (*eloquentia, copia dicendi ac puritas orationis*).

Probably the most unique teaching manual, Collinus's *Harmoniae univocae*, appeared in 1555 in Wittenberg. It could have served as a collection of phrases and at the same time as a practical textbook of metrics. Inspired by the curriculum at the German Protestant universities, it provided a parallel intellectual current alongside Aquilinas' editions which predominated in the literary field of university in the second half of the 1550s (the later school editions were all published already in Prague). Collinus, in his own words, added generally known songs with the same metric scheme to Horace's *Odes*. This is a specific type of edition of Horace's poems and Lutheran church hymns for school use. The collection contains melodies divided into 26 groups in which every group presents one – mostly Horatian – metre which the pupils should, thanks to the melody, easily master and remember.

Students were confronted with the school edition of Cicero's letters entitled *Epistolarum Marci Tulii Ciceronis libri tres* (1577) right at the beginning of their studies at grammar school and later at the university. It was a basic source of phrases for later scholarly communication, and at the same time used in the earliest classes to explain grammar, various linguistic phenomena and classical realia. The manual also demonstrates close links between Bohemian school humanism and the Wittenberg university curriculum. Collinus probably used the Johannes Sturm's edition (revisited and published by Georgius Fabricius) for his teaching; he had commented on it while lecturing. His commentaries, additions and revisions were then taken into account by Thomas Mitis, who prepared the book for the public. He worked with his own notes from Collinus's university readings.

In the course of the 1560s also several influential German compendia were re-edited, which had been used originally directly in the framework of the Melanchthonian teaching model. In 1568, Thomas Mitis published an adaptation of a popular edition of Terence, which contained Melanchthon's and Erasmus's commentaries. This teaching manual is another telling example of a strong link of Bohemian school humanism to Melanchthonian model, which was moreover (as the second edition of 1581 testifies) still topical in the last two decades of the 16th century. Mitis's book is considerably better than standard editorial practices in Bohemia; it was probably the best school edition available in its time to Bohemian students. For Bohemian students, Mitis reworked the manual, popular throughout this period, *P. Terentii Afri Comoediae sex*, with expositions by Melanchthon and Erasmus (he could work with several of the numerous editions after 1545: Leipzig 1546, Cologne 1554, Nuremberg 1558, Basel 1559, Leipzig 1565, etc.). The edition contains extensive original prefaces. The concluding poem by Thomas Mitis shows that Terence was understood as an important authority "alongside Cicero".

Only few Bohemian humanists directly joined important editorial projects in France or German lands after 1550. Ioannes Cocinus was one of these exceptions. His volumes from the early 1570s in which he made available the school editions of his Strasbourg teacher, the renowned humanist philologist and pedagogue Johannes Sturm, strikingly differ from the editorial practices usual in the literary field of the university of Prague. These are not editions of quotations or excerpts taken from the body of the original classical work but rather editions of complete classical works which could be useful in the teaching of rhetoric and Greek. Another significant difference is that Sturm's editions are in Greek (not just in Latin translation, as was usual in Bohemia). Similarly, it is quite exceptional in the Bohemian context that Cocinus prepared for publication a thoughtfully edition series consisting of five extensive mutually connected volumes. The series consisted of the following volumes: *Aristotelis Rhetoricorum libri III* (1570); *Hermogenis Tarsensis … De ratione inveniendi oratoria libri III* (1570); *Hermogenis Tarsensis …*

Partitionum rhetoricarum liber unus (1570); *Hermogenis Tarsensis ... De dicendi generibus sive de formis orationum libri II* (1571); *Hermogenis Tarsensis ... De ratione tractandae gravitatis occultae liber* (1571). All the volumes of the edition series show a similar structure and graphic layout. The edition of Aristotle is set with two columns to the page (Greek and Latin); the editions of works attributed to Hermogenes contain a mirror-set Greek text with marginalia and its Latin translation. Latin commentaries (*scholae, scholia*) by Johannes Sturm which explain meanings of specific phrases and arguments. In brief, unlike most products of the Bohemian humanists, Cocinus's edition series is comparable with the "great" editorial achievments of humanist scholars which originated in the Western European intellectual centres. Cocinus's writings were for this reason published by the Strasbourg printing house of the Rihel family, where Sturm himself had published some of his works. His share was, however, more organisational and editorial – he put Sturm's texts together, revised them, provided the editions with forewords, made proofreadings etc. (in a similar way as other Sturm's period editors, such as Christophor Trettus Polonus, who published *De universa ratione elocutionis rhetoricae libri tres* in Strasbourg 1575). As far as major editorial interventions are concerned, Cocinus drew attention in the forewords to the fact that he had divided Aristotle's text into chapters on the model of Daniel Barbaro and added brief summaries of content. He had even rejected to let his name appear on the title page of the volumes. In his prefaces, Cocinus further focused on the literary field of the university of Prague and self-presentation in this context, just as on the Bohemian aristocratic patrons and literary circles in Bohemian towns. From this point of view Cocinus' publication does not endeavour to make itself part of international intellectual networks.

Back in Prague, the school edition in the 1570s and 1580s strikingly differed from the Cocinus's ones. They included a Latin translation of *Antigone* for teaching purposes, which was prepared by Petr Codicillus based on Veit Winsheim. *Antigone* illustrates of how humanists related to the University of Prague treated classical texts in the course of teaching and learning. The fact that often the Greek original was not used is telling on its own. Codicillus prepared a Latin translation of *Antigone* for his lectures and he probably counted also on a stage performance at the university (apparently it once had to be cancelled for fear of the plague). As Josef Král, a Czech classicist, showed at the end of the 19th century, Codicillus's translation actually adapted the work *Interpretatio tragoediarum ad utilitatem iuventutis quae studiosa est Graecae linguae* by Veit Winsheim (Frankfurt 1559). The Codicillus's preface was also inspired by Winsheim. This book thus shows how influential Melanchthon's Ciceronianism was at the University of Prague as late as in the 1580s. Not only because it was completely adequate for teaching needs to revise the work of a scholar under whom the Bohemian humanists had studied Greek in Wittenberg almost forty years earlier, but also because Melanchthon's basic

interpretational line was preserved: that is, in classical drama, examples were followed of how disrespect towards religion and the law leads to damage to the common good. Petrus Codicillus in his preface describes tragedy as a genre that shows the principles of social and political order given by natural law. Tragedies tell the stories of people – most often of rulers and town administrators who fail to obey the law as a result of flaws of character (e.g. fail to tame their desires or show contempt of justice) – and thus earn the punishment of the God. Historical works concerned with profane history (*historiae gentium*) just like the ancient tragedies are full of examples of offences that were punished, and readers and audiences are in this way instructed to control themselves and obey the laws.

Ioannes Cocinus's handwritten interpretation of Cicero's writing *De oratore* known as *Isagoge ad tres sermones Marci Tulii Ciceronis* (after 1578) is, in Bohemia, a relatively unusual example of the reception of a classical text. It is not a collection of quotations, phrases or examples of literary rules, but his interpretation is near to Bohemian humanist editorial practice in that his exposition is clearly committed to Ciceronianism. Due to its simplicity it was suitable for school use, too. Cocinus gave the contents of all three books of the work, in some cases very briefly. The whole exposition focused primarily on the rhetorical categories which are a theme of Cicero's writing (*natura, ars, exercitatio, memoria, periodi, gestus* etc.), and also on how Cicero's concept was connected to earlier rhetorical tradition – to Aristotle and Demosthenes, for instance. *De oratore* is described as the best source not only of a good style but also of examples of how to act for the good of the community, and offers allegedly far more valuable instruction than contemporary *formularii practicorum* in the field of law and administration (with which rhetoric was primarily related). If compared to Cocinus's texts that had been published, many mistakes and uncommon words could be found in *Isagoge*; probably it was a very early version.

Grammar manuals and dictionaries published in the 1580s and 1590s developed the Melanchthonian paradigm as well. A series of manuals by Georg Fabricius provided students with suitable phrases from plays by Plautus and Terence and from Cicero's letters. The school edition *Elegantiarum puerilium ex Marci Tulii epistolis libri tres* from 1581 contains quotations and phrases from Cicero's letters (all are precisely determined; abbreviations are even given for particular addressees from the group *Ad Familiares*). The whole edition is divided according to types of letters (praise, request, appeal, thanks, recommendation, etc.), making it possible to look up suitable phrases quickly.This edition was conceived as a set of excerpts which could be used in further writing of letters, one of the most frequent humanist genres. Daniel Adam of Veleslavín adopted the edition completely from the model of Georgius Fabricius, including the original paratexts, adding only Czech translations. This teaching manual is a clear evidence of the persistence of

Wittenberg approaches in the 1580s and 1590s. In several places Cicero's style was still described as the basic stylistic norm and the main intertext of humanist writing.

The edition *Elegantiarum e Plauto et Terentio libri duo* from 1589 contains turns of speech and conversational phrases from plays by Plautus and Terence. They are precisely determined (abbreviations are given for the individual plays) and translated into Czech. The whole edition is divided to make it as easy to use – the conversational phrases are arranged according to their communicative function (greetings, thanks, praise, promises, etc.). An index of specific conversational themes also made the book easier to use. Again, it is a collection taken over *en bloc* from Fabricius, to which only the Czech translations of individual phrases were added. Since the edition did not come out until the end of the 1580s, it again illustrates certain rigidity of literary standards and practices at the University of Prague.

The work *Ethica christiana* published by Troianus Nigellus in 1597 differed from other school editions from the literary field concerned, mainly because it presents late classical texts for students (all three books of the writing *De officiis ministrorum*, which St Ambrose had written around 388). Moreover, Ambrose's work was not divided into textual fragments. Nevertheless, the edition was designed for teaching purposes (*perutile opus juventuti ad discendum*) and dedicated to the patrons of the university. Unsurprisingly, Trojanus chose precisely that work by Ambrose which had significant intertextual relationships with Cicero's *De officiis* and was thus the most intelligible for the Bohemian environment. According to the paratexts, which did not reflect the actual editorial procedure, this edition was to offer students a reservoir of phrases and rules for further writing, as well as moral instruction. Like the poet Georgius Carolides, the editor somewhat paradoxically celebrated the victory of St Ambrose over the "sweet style" of the pagan Cicero, coming to the conclusion that the student has to master the piety of the one and the style of the other.

From the beginning of the 17th century, earlier school editions gradually went out of print, though school orders and probably also teachers themselves continued to use them. Similarly, teaching manuals published later (e.g. *Elementa declinationum et coniugationum pro classe ultima* of 1613) were still influenced by the older approach. Even after the university reforms in 1609, a version of Melanchthon's grammar was still being recommended as a basis for the lowest levels of grammatical instruction.

Even the *Argumentorum mythologicorum* of 1610 is still a telling example of Bohemian school humanist literary practice. It is a collection of school distichs which summarise and briefly interpret some of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Jan Valšovský might have compiled it as a sample to show that he had mastered a material common at grammar schools, and submitted it to his patron, the educated notary and burgher of Žatec, Sophonias Rosacius (it

seems to have been no coincidence that the same year Valšovský received a recommendation from the school in Žatec to study at the university). The collection could be useful for other students both as a model for exercises in elementary poetic skills and as basic information about a canonical text (that is suggested by Poeonius's poem on the title page). Valšovský was still influenced by the works of Melanchthon's son-in-law Georgius Sabinus – *Fabularum Ovidii interpretatio tradita in Academia Regiomontana a Georgio Sabino* (Wittenberg 1555) or *Ovidii Metamorphosis seu fabulae poeticae earumque interpretatio ethica, physica et historica Georgii Sabini* (Frankfurt an der Oder 1589). The fact, the collection was published in 1609, indicates a certain stability of the given literary field. Clumsy allusions to Ovid in the students' accompanying poems reveal a wider experience of *Metamorphoses*, evidently still part of the humanist instruction in Bohemia at the turn of the 17th century.

Shrnutí (1,5 strany česky)

Monografie předkládaná jako disertace se věnuje různým podobám nakládání s antickými texty v humanistických školních edicích, které vznikly v souvislosti s fungováním literárního pole pražské utrakvistické univerzity. Sleduje období od 40. let šestnáctého století, odkdy se prosazovalo nové pojetí klasické tradice, až do 20. let sedmnáctého století, kdy se začalo univerzitní literární pole rozpadat. Změna v přístupu k editování antických textů ve 40. letech souvisí s návratem první generace českých studentů z univerzity ve Wittenberku, odkud si – kromě vědomostí na poli přírodní filosofie či historie – přinesli specifické literární techniky používané při psaní latinské příležitostné poezie, epistolografie a dalších žánrů. Melanchthonské pojetí latiny se pak odrazilo i ve výuce psaní a konverzace na všech stupních studia v českých zemích a ovlivnilo jak učební příručky, tak edice klasických textů pro školní potřebu.

Autorka vychází z Kristellerovy definice humanismu jako „profesní role", jejíž součástí byly kromě vědomostí právě i rétorické a literární kompetence založené na specifické práci s klasickými texty. S odkazem na výzkumy Lisy Jardine a Anthonyho Graftona dokládá, že i v českém prostředí se humanistické výuce nevyhýbaly z moderního hlediska nekreativní postupy založené na excerpování, imitaci, memorování a drilu. Jakkoliv jsou humanistické školské edice projevem každodenní a „průměrné" učenecké praxe, představují ojedinělou ukázku toho, jak humanisté přemýšleli o klasické literatuře a jak se jejich přístup šířil mezi studenty. Současně se jedná o jeden z mála příkladů metalingvistické reflexe v českém prostředí této doby.

Předkládaná publikace obsahuje rozsáhlou studii o specifikách a vývoji školského humanismu v českých zemích, v níž autorka mimo jiné ukazuje, jak

výrazně edice rozvíjející německé protestantské vzory ovlivňovaly výuku latiny v českých zemích. Jejich kontinuální užívání můžeme vysledovat i po roce 1600, kdy se již ve „vyšší" latinské i vernakulární literatuře prosadila řada inovací daná mimo jiné internacionalizací a konfesijní pluralizací zdejšího intelektuálního života. Základ latinské výuky ve školském systému spravovaném univerzitou, jímž prošla drtivá většina autorů z českých zemí, však zůstával po mnoho desetiletí beze změny. Po úvodní studii následují biografické medailonky humanistických editorů, hlavní část knihy pak přináší kritickou edici paratextů z humanistických edic (jedná se o latinské předmluvy, dedikační dopisy či úvodní básně) s vysvětlujícími komentáři. Autorka na editovaných paratextech dokládá, jak přesně humanističtí editoři postupovali, jakou funkci a význam připisovali textům antických autorů, především pak latinských prozaiků a básníků tzv. zlatého období. Dále ukazuje, jak humanisté adaptovali učební příručky z německého prostředí pro potřeby českého školství, co z nich přebírali a co do nich doplňovali.

Pokud bychom měli tyto přístupy obecně shrnout, tak čeští humanističtí editoři chápali klasické texty jako „otevřené", tedy jako prostor pro vlastní aktivitu, a současně je považovali za rezervoár textových fragmentů použitelných v dalším psaní. Klasické texty pro ně dále představovaly vzor, jak v praxi používat gramatická a rétorická pravidla a antické reálie. Toto pojetí bylo celkově orientováno na tvůrčí praxi, tedy na další využitelnost intertextů a generických postupů při psaní dopisů nebo příležitostných básní a při učenecké konverzaci. Podle toho pak humanisté pohybující se v literárním poli pražské univerzity přistupovali k samotnému edičnímu procesu – klasický text nechápali jako koherentní celek nadaný určitým významem, ale jako zdroj pro „vytrhávání" menších či větších textových celků s potenciálem k dalšímu literárnímu využití. Nesrovnávali textové varianty a nezajímali se o problematiku různočtení a emendací, nezkoušeli ani rekonstruovat „původní" znění originálu. Jejich komentáře se většinou nesoustřeďovaly na jazykovou rovinu díla, ale na antické reálie.

Autory nejstarších školských edic vydaných krátce po roce 1550 byli básníci tzv. Hodějovského okruhu, především Matouš Collinus a dále autoři jako Tomáš Mitis či Šebestián Aerichalcus. Svébytnou editorskou linii představuje Pavel Aquilinas-Vorličný, jehož učební příručky rozvíjely i jiné zdroje než protestantské (patřil mezi ně např. flanderský filolog Cornelius Graphaeus Schrijver, známý jako Scribonius). Školské edice tohoto období zahrnovaly příručky sentencí (Publilia Syra či Pseudo-Katonova *Disticha*), frází a výrazů použitelných v další tvorbě, které byly vybrány Ciceronových dopisů (1577, 1581), Terentiových či Plautových komedií (1550, 1568, 1589), homérských a Vergiliových básnických eposů (1557) a Sofoklových tragédií přeložených do latiny (1583). Opakovaných vydání se tyto učební příručky dočkaly během 80. a 90. let šestnáctého století, a to v melantrišské nebo veleslavínské tiskárně. Vzhledem k významu příležitostné poezie vznikaly i edice zaměřené na získání

básnických kompetencí; autorka věnuje zvláštní pozornost Collinovu spisu *Harmoniae univocae* vydanému ve Wittenberku v roce 1555, který propojoval edici Horatiových *Ód* podle metrických typů s hudební složkou a luteránskými hymny. Pro komparaci edičních přístupů autorka používá ediční řadu Jana Kocína vydanou ve Štrasburku na počátku 70. let, v níž zpřístupnil zahraničnímu publiku Sturmovy edice a komentáře k Aristotelovým a Hermogenovým spisům o rétorice a vymknul se tak editorským standardům běžným v literárním poli pražské univerzity. Přetrvávání školských edičních postupů a motivací v 90. letech a později, kdy se již literární krajina v českých zemích znatelně proměnila, autorka ilustruje na edici spisu *De officiis ministrorum* sv. Ambrože (1597) a školské příručce o Ovidiových z pera Jana Valšovského *Proměnách* (1610).

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