

JÁNOS ZSÁMBOKY (SAMBUCUS) AND HIS THEORY OF LANGUAGE

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Although János Zsámboky,¹ the famous 16th century Hungarian humanist published almost fifty books (works of classical authors in addition to his own), only a few of these were written in vulgar languages.² Zsámboky wrote his diary³ in Latin and among his emblematic⁴ and poetical⁵ works one only finds texts in Latin or in Greek. Although he wrote a few letters in German, Hungarian, and Italian, these concern business, legal, and family matters, and were thus not written with any artistic intent.⁶ This is a great pity in the case of a personality who played such a significant role in the history of European, as well as Hungarian humanism as did Zsámboky, especially considering that during the years of his peregrination he spent longer periods in two major European cultural centres where the question of national languages was the question of the day. Paris and Padua set excellent examples for 16th century Europe both in theory and in practice. Since Zsámboky was highly respected by humanists in Hungary, a detailed analysis of his theory of language is of special importance.

Zsámboky's library

Based on the evidence of a list⁷ that fortunately survives of the books comprising Zsámboky's library, it would seem that Zsámboky paid special attention to the debate about the national language. He procured the most important works written in vulgar languages. One tenth of the collection, which alto-

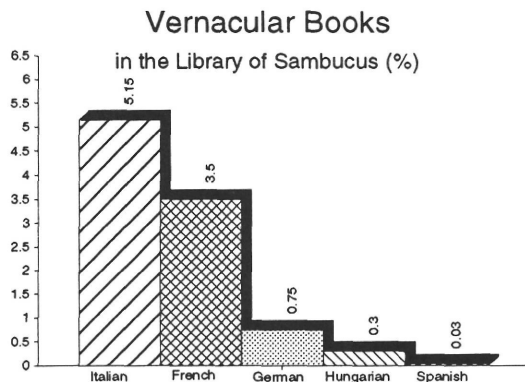


Figure 1

gether contains 3,327 volumes of manuscripts and printed material, consists of texts written in national languages. The majority of this ten percent is in Italian (5.15%) and in French (3.5%). Quite surprisingly, books written in German or in Hungarian⁸ represent a relatively small proportion of his library (0.75% and 0.3%) (Fig. 1). Among the volumes in *Italian* we find works of such writers as Dante, Petrarca, Castiglione, Bembo, Aretino, the Spanish writer Guevara, Boccaccio and Ariosto; we also know about certain unidentified cantilenas in Italian. He also procured the works of the most renowned *French* writers. Among these we find the poetry of Theodor Bèze, Clement Marot, and Ronsard. In addition to the Italian he might have read a French translation of *Amadis de Gaula*, a romance-novel originally written in Spanish. Besides a Latin and a German version and the original, he also knew Boccaccio's *Decameron* in French. Of the volumes in German a work by Sebastian Brandt and a manual of court etiquette stand out. Among the *Hungarian* works we find Heltai's translation of the New Testament, Tinódi's *chronicle*, and a work about the siege of Szigetvár by Ferenc Tóke of Hahót.

In Zsámboky's library, which was rightly famous all over Europe, works in the field of language theory can also be found. He knew Bembo's *Prose*, in which the author discusses the equality of the tongue of Tuscany with the language of the Latins; he knew Sperone Speroni through his *Dialogue*, which refers to classical languages as mere ink and paper; he had a work by Joachim Perion discussing the relationship between French and Greek; he had another by Charles Bouelles lauding Latin at the expense of French; he knew Konrad Gessner's *Mithriades*, which mentions written Hungarian; and, although it is not one of the books on the list, he must have known Du Bellay's *Deffence*. In addition to these he had several volumes on rhetoric and grammar written in vulgar languages.

Zsámboky and Paris

Zsámboky was quite young, only 11 years of age, when he began studying Greek under Georg Riethamer in Vienna (1542–1543).⁹ Thereafter Zsámboky, who had started out as a Hellenist, sought, whenever possible, the instruction of the best Grecians. Such as Joachim Camerarius in Leipzig (1543–1545?), Melancton in Wittenberg (1545), Veit Amerbach in Ingolstadt (1549), and Johannes Sturm in Strassburg (1550). It was probably Sturm who recommended Zsámboky to be admitted to the Paris college

where the most renowned Hellenist of the age, Jean Dorat held his professorship (1551).¹⁰ The name of the twenty year old youth probably did not sound entirely unfamiliar to Paris scholars, since by that time he had already published a few works of his own;¹¹ in addition, some of his former teachers, many of them quite famous, may also have acted as his patrons. These circumstances must have helped him considerably in making contact with the most significant Paris scholars. Inspired by Guillaume Budé,¹² Adrien Turnèbe¹³ founded a society of highly trained Grecians in Paris; some of the original members were Pierre Danes,¹⁴ Denys Lambin,¹⁵ Robert Estienne¹⁶ and his son Henry, Étienne Dolet,¹⁷ Pierre de la Ramée,¹⁸ and Dorat, who has already been mentioned. Each of these young scholars was in close contact with the most renowned Italian humanists of the age.¹⁹

Zsámboky and Dorat

Of all the humanists mentioned above it was Dorat, also known by his humanist name as Auratus, whom Zsámboky first contacted.²⁰ Dorat taught Homer,²¹ Callimachus,²² "Orpheus",²³ Sophocles,²⁴ Euripides,²⁵ Pindar,²⁶ Hesiod, Anacreon, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Theocritus at the Collège de Coqueret. Of the Latins he interpreted Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid,²⁷ and two Neo-Latins: Marullus²⁸ and Macrinus²⁹ (Jean Salmon). Of the Greek poets he chose to set Pindar as the best model for his students; of the Latins, he chose Horace. Dorat, who educated the greatest poets and philologists of the age, and whose lectures were extremely popular, always explained the phenomena of Latin literature in terms of their relations to their Greek models.³⁰ Dorat, who was called the father of French comparative linguistics and criticism, held that Greek culture as a whole was superior to Latin.³¹ His theory was adapted and further developed by his most renowned pupils (Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf), who renounced the ideas of servile imitation and the primacy of Latin, and they began to emphasize the ideas of emulation (*æmulatio*) and the importance of the French language. This fulfilled Budé's prophecy, which implied that within the near future the French shall cease to imitate the classical authors, and they shall start competing with them as rivals, or "æmuli".³²

Dorat was the first French humanist to receive a poem from Zsámboky. The poem *Friendship*, published in 1552, shows how well Zsámboky knew and how deeply he appreciated Dorat's Latin imitations of Horace.³³ Their

friendship, first documented by this poem, was probably born in 1551, on the occasion of Zsámboky's first visit to Paris. In September of the same year Zsámboky gave public lectures at an unidentified Paris college.³⁴ Since at the time Dorat was his only contact, there is a considerable chance that this college was Dorat's Collège de Coqueret.³⁵ Although Dorat left Coqueret in 1552 and joined the Collège Royale³⁶ as "lector de grec", there was no break in their friendship; in fact, in December 1560 Zsámboky found himself in the company of Dorat again.³⁷ In 1564 he honours his friend and professor with an emblem.³⁸ This is how Zsámboky remembers Dorat's poetry and poetical commentary when explaining Horace:

I have great hope in Dorat, who does not only compare the learning of the Greeks and that of the Latins, but also shows us whatever other purposes these Latin examples may be suited for.³⁹

Zsámboky often emphasizes the importance of following the great examples of the Greek both in arts and in the sciences:

Noone should boast of his erudition who neglects the learning of the Greeks, for this is the origin of the wisdom without which noone can find the secret meaning of the antique authors.⁴⁰

Dorat's influence seems to be detectable in his attitude towards Latinity. Zsámboky, just like Dorat, considers Greek culture more original and of greater value than the culture of the Latins.⁴¹ This is why he considers them most worthy of imitation: "... we must take our best models from the Greek".⁴² He also considers their dramatic literature superior.⁴³ He places Aristophanes, Pindar, Homer, Æschylus and Sophocles — each of them analyzed in depth by Dorat in his lectures — on a much higher pedestal than any of the Latin authors.⁴⁴ Although Zsámboky propagates the superiority of Greek literature and although he valiantly defends the language of the Greek against its adversaries,⁴⁵ still, in the matter of language he considers Latin superior to Greek. His personal conviction that — in his own words — "... the Latin language is richer than the language of the Greek"⁴⁶ was not his only reason. His insistence on Latin, the language that is so "flowing and as pure as a virgin",⁴⁷ has much more deeply-rooted reasons.

Nature (*natura*) and art (*art, artificium*)

It is in Zsámboky's statements concerning the relationship of these two, art and nature, that we must look for the basis of his theory of language. Collecting his statements related to the topic may serve to give us a fairly clear idea of his views. This is what he writes in his *De imitatione ciceroniana*:⁴⁸

Nature is the mother of all, she creates and perfects all things, which in turn share in her in equal proportions and with proper variety; so fertile she is, that in the meantime she appears to struggle with herself, and while she seems to procreate and polish certain things with great studiousness and accuracy, others, as if fatigued and in oblivion of herself, she seems to attend but negligently, as though she was both in deficiency and in superabundance. This can be observed in other things as well, not only in things that are born and pushed forth from the depth of the earth or in animals that are deprived of reason, but also in the most coveted glory of eloquence, in which she is as manifold as there are things in which she, according to her very nature, can disseminate herself. Thus in this greatest gift of hers, with which she distinguishes us from other living creatures, she can appear in as many forms as there are persons and personalities. This variety or gradualness, although it is not without defect and although it causes no small hardship, can still greatly invite us to study and to achieve the award by enticing us with eternal fame and with the remembrance of our posterity. If the virtue of eloquence, as every other thing, were equally perfect in each and every one of us, there would be no variety or gradualness for us to seek and strive for, and in such a state of nature this uniformity or equality would bring forth much discomfort.

When interpreting this quotation, we must be quite cautious not to jump to the conclusion that, for reasons recalling Lucretius (*De rerum natura* II. 1150–53. and V. 826–27), Zsámboky considered nature mostly infertile. Had he held this opinion, we would have to think of him as a radical Aristotelian not unlike Christophorus Preyss Pannonius,⁴⁹ a pupil of Melancton, who prophesied the infertility of Nature, and whom Zsámboky knew well. Speaking of Nature's capricious ways of creation, Zsámboky never claims that she is exhausted or infertile. On the contrary, Zsámboky believes, nature is not at all infertile; in fact, at times she creates imperfect things precisely because she is too fertile, is involved in the creation of too many things at the same time, and does not have enough time to bring everything to complete perfection. His friend Lambin is of a similar opinion

when he writes in his famous commentaries to Lucretius that "... certainly, our Earth does seem exhausted; yet it is far from being infertile".⁵⁰

All this we have considered important to mention because, as we shall see, it is exactly due to nature's sometimes erroneous, sometimes defective ways of creation that Zsámboky considered it of utmost importance that man (i.e. the artist) intervenes in the process of creation.

In the core of Aristotle's teaching about φύσις — ζων λόγον ἐκόν — lies the question whether language was given to man by god, that is, to what extent it is part of φύσις, and to what extent it is to be treated as θεσις,⁵¹ a creation of human intelligence. Zsámboky adopts a generally accepted idea that has been around ever since Dante⁵² and which implies that language is a divine gift and was granted to man along with his soul; on the other hand, he goes one step further and claims that, although the faculty of speech, just like the mind and the soul, are gifts from god (φύσις), we must treat it as a device (θεσις) and we must develop it to a higher level:

Justinian says somewhere in *Kingdoms* that [...] it is the miracle and the power of that divine and heavenly gift, that most important, one and main thing [i.e. the idea of perfect eloquence], that commands our quills and lives, not to attain and abuse it, but to admire and use it as the most perfect and complete form of eloquence which we have been granted in order to accomplish our work. This is the teaching of Plato and Aristotle ...⁵³

His emblem dedicated to Dorat also bears witness to his intention to reconcile Plato and Aristotle.

Whatever there may be within us, it is from the high heavens; it was granted to us to help us and we must receive it with a kind heart! (...) It is good to know what the truth is; it is good to know who had created all from nothing in order to grant man a face and a mind so that he can observe the stars of the sky.⁵⁴

Here the concepts of *face* and *mind* are congenial with that of language and are just as teleological in their nature as was eloquence in the previous quotation. Degenerate and untamed as they are, cast among Nature's other underdeveloped, malformed, unshapely or confused creations, languages await their measure and their regulator. Nature, which exists in its original chaos, in the confusion of languages, must be formed and shaped by the help of elevated style (θεσις). This is the task of the creative artist, the poet-craftsman; so polishing Nature is art itself. This thought of Sperone

Speroni,⁵⁵ an Aristotelian disciple of Pomponazzi, is adopted by both Du Bellay, and Zsámboky. According to Du Bellay languages, even though they have been created by nature, are unable to develop on their own, without the help of man who treats them with the craftsmanship of the artist.⁵⁶ Zsámboky believes that “in the chaos of (vulgar) languages”⁵⁷ “nature, rough and unhewn as she often is, must be refined and polished”⁵⁸ by practice and elevated style. As he writes in his interpretation of Horace’s *Ars poetica*, “... beauty takes its origin from great things combined in order; the mere excellence of things is just as useless as is abundance in confusion or formless and disorderly chaos”.⁵⁹ In another emblem of his, it is again *θεσις* — practice (exercitatio) and diligence (labor) — Zsámboky emphasizes: “There is no such grand or grave fault in nature that diligence and effort could not polish.”⁶⁰

The *pictura* of his emblem (*Fig. 2*) dedicated to Lambin⁶¹, however, is just as eloquent. Here the allegorical figure of poetry is shown with Apollo’s solar symbol, the wreath of bay leaves on her head;⁶² the divine inspiration, *enthesma divinum* radiates upon her from above. In her left she holds a measuring rod and a pair of scissors, which are the attributes of the artist who forms nature with the help of the divine measure;⁶³ on her right we see the perfect forms of the natural world, demonstrating how “nature is distinguished by the forms”.⁶⁴ (The palette and the brushes are references to Horace’s *ut picta poesis*.) On her left we see ΧΑΟΣ itself, all the things that await the poet, whose mission is to continue god’s great work and to elevate things from their formless state by forming them with the help of measures, rules, and normative models, that is, by making them articulate.

Zsámboky, as we can see, adopts, on the one hand, the Neoplatonic idea of the divine inspiration of the creative artist; on the other hand, however, he combines it with the Aristotelian notion that no important and



Figure 2

Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 50.

valued work of art can be created without practice and hard work. The following excerpt serves to illustrate this well:

... not even the smallest fragment of that little sparkle (i.e. the divine emanation) which is still present in our souls should ever be neglected; rather, we have to rekindle it with diligence and striving.⁶⁵

Latin as pillar, measuring rod and scissors

To survey, to make rules, to create order — these are the aspirations of the *poeta doctus*; none of these, however, can be achieved without normative models or examples (*exempli*). These examples or models — or, applying Zsámbock's symbols, the measuring rod and the scissors — can only play their roles efficiently, if they meet the requirements of constancy and permanence.⁶⁶ In this respect Zsámbock follows a generally accepted idea that has been around ever since Dante⁶⁷ and which implies that while the vulgar is "impermanent and subject to mutability", Latin is "permanent and resists mutability". He also acknowledges that it is only in comparison with the vulgar that Latin seems to be, to some degree, permanent; therefore, when dealing with the question, he must inevitably come to terms with the concept of language as it exists in history. Zsámbock tries to give an answer in terms of *res* (the human and the material world) and *verba* (the linguistic means used to refer to them).⁶⁸ He adopts the generally accepted idea that language has a dual function as it reflects reality. It is simultaneously used to reflect and to describe, on the one hand, the outer — or material — world, and, on the other hand, the inner — or spiritual — world. Somewhere he writes that "... in a manner of speaking, verbs are the shadows and reflections of things".⁶⁹ Somewhere else he writes that "... verbs are, in a way, the forms and reflections of things"⁷⁰ and signs "... are the servants and the revealers of things and sensations".⁷¹ "As eyes are given to express the intellect, so is speech given to express the sensations of the mind."⁷² Zsámbock is well aware that reality (*res*) is subject to constant change;⁷³ it is therefore necessary that language (*verba*) follow its changes:

As there is certainly nothing eternal in things themselves, nothing that could escape destruction, so is there nothing constant in the use of words; also, as the ways of people are changing, so is their speech; it is therefore the practice of all these things together that justice and good judgement lie in.⁷⁴

Zsámboky's thought indubitably owes a lot to Horace, an author to whom he wrote extended commentaries: "Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos; / prima cadunt, ita verborum interit ætas" etc. (Horace, *De arte poetica*, ll. 60–72).⁷⁵ The above quotation was a comment on line 72. Zsámboky also mentions very similar ideas when referring to Servius, a commentator on Vergil from late antiquity; ideas that, in fact, were quite common in Varro, Cicero and other grammarians:

... why do you attribute special importance to signs that are the servants and relievers of sensations and things and are devised according to the judgement of the multitude and according to certain norms of speaking? For many things are received and brought into custom today that shall be refused by our posterity and had never been heard of old. Wars as well as the wanderings of peoples alter and change much ...⁷⁶

Based on all these arguments Zsámboky finally comes to the conclusion that speech is both "mutable and eternal".⁷⁷ He believes that mutability is more characteristic of vulgar languages than Latin, which in turn he considers more eternal than changing. This "eternalness" is obviously related to the fact that Latin is a "dead" language. Zsámboky claims that the "eternalness" of Latin is embodied in Latin grammar, an idea that is in fact the very foundation of Latin humanism. His emblem dedicated to Carlo Sigonio⁷⁸ shall serve to illustrate this point. In the picture (*Fig. 3*) we see four female figures symbolizing Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, and Historiography. Dialectics, Rhetoric, and Historiography stand on a pillar heavily set on the trembling shoulders of "Virgin Grammar". Zsámboky, not unlike many other humanists, regards Latin as the very foundation of humanism; in fact, he identifies Latin grammar, perceived as the Latin language proper, with humanism itself.



Figure 3 Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 142.

Based on this correlation between *grammatica* and *humanitas*⁷⁹ he declares Latin indispensable:

... you cannot make much use of them [i.e. these latter three] without Grammar, [for she is the foundation of any work of permanent value]. He who is not well versed in Grammar shall not accomplish anything of everlasting value.⁸⁰

Although he considers Greek as well, his final decision is against Greek in favour of Latin, for, he believes, Greek eloquence was made even "better and more fertile"⁸¹ by the Latins. By "fertility" Zsámboky means the richness of means of expression (*copia verborum*), to which he attributes special importance; he is well aware that the unknown depths of the human soul, or the mysteries of our material reality for that matter, can only be expressed successfully by a language that is rich, flexible, and has the ability to express fine shades and nuances:

If words are the signs of things, it is necessary that the knowledge of things be adjoined by the explanation of words: and the more polished and elegant this latter is, the more pleasing as well as the more comprehensible it is for the intellect.⁸²

Considering the above arguments Zsámboky, as becomes a true humanist, comes to the conclusion that the most important cultural task of humanism lies in the knowledge and cultivation of languages. Taking a step further he even derives the great scientific problems of the age from the ignorance of language and from the inappropriate use of words:

... if our mind or intellect falters in anything, it happens not so much because of the obscurity of things as because of our ignorance of language and our abandonment of eloquence.⁸³

As we know, this very idea was to appear again back in the philosophy of Bacon. In Bacon the misty image or *idolum* of the "market" refers to errors of judgement that arise from the inadequate use of words. In this situation Zsámboky regards Latin as the only possible means of solution; Latin is the most adequate means by which reality can be most accurately expressed; besides, Zsámboky considers Latin the only language capable of refining and polishing other languages.⁸⁴ Since, according to Quintilian⁸⁵ and most of the humanist writers it was Cicero of all the Latin authors who succeeded in uniting the virtue of all the Greek authors in his art, Zsámboky

also regards Cicero as the best writer of prose, in fact, the embodiment of *Latinitas*,⁸⁶ the only idea and ideal of style, purity and richness in language:

... *Cicero* is the one and only prince of the Latin language, or, if you like, *the one greatest and most perfect orator of all languages*.⁸⁷

This concept was the very foundation of Cicero's European reverence in the 16th century as an indispensable model of imitation both in Neo-Latin prose and in emerging national literatures of vernacular languages,⁸⁸ and most humanists never transcended it during the 16th century. They continued to regard the authority of Latin unquestionable and supported its primacy over vulgar languages. In practice they continued to insist on imitating Latin. Zsámboky was one of these humanists. However, referring to the distant future in one of his dialogues, he put the following words into the mouth of one of his disciples, György Bóna:

I, too, believe that once our mother tongue is adequately refined, we shall not need the patronage of Latinity. [...] We must therefore defend our vernacular language⁸⁹ so that we do not have to endure that old servitude [ie. the servitude of imitation] and, neglecting our own language, commit ourselves to a foreign tongue.⁹⁰

His emblem dedicated to Lambin (*Fig. 7*) also shows that Zsámboky regarded the national language as a child still in need of discipline and education.⁹¹ This is why he believes that the exaggerated claims of those in favour of vulgar languages are not without danger:

Some, either because of their selfish arrogance or their lack of talent, so much wish to cherish their congenital languages, that they are ready to murder the very mother of most of those tongues. Moreover, they want to see her deprived of her dignity and of all the riches she has preserved through many centuries, so that no ignorant soul can see the footprints of science and the very marks of their robbery. It is therefore necessary for us *to defend her*.⁹²

Zsámboky, although acknowledging the Latin origin of what today are referred to as Neo-Latin languages, still considers the defence of Latin appropriate. He points out that although the knowledge of the authors who write in their national languages comes from Latin (thus what they do is imitate Latin), the multitude who are neither acquainted with Latin literature nor educated in philology regard all the treasures of Latin as solely the virtue of the vulgar and tend to neglect Latin as an incomprehensible and

scholarly language. It would be wrong to think that Zsámboky was the only scholar who held this opinion. In his public lectures given in Bologna in 1529, Romolo Amaseo, who had extensive connections in Hungary⁹³ and whom Zsámboky knew in person,⁹⁴ already urged an insistence on the use and study of Latin in literature and refused all exaggerated claims for vernacular languages.⁹⁵ Amaseo defended Latin as a sophisticated and erudite international language and emphasized that those who argue for the exclusive use of national languages should not be allowed to rob Latin of the spiritual traditions incorporated in its richness.⁹⁶ The vulgar was also refused by, among many others, Francesco Bellafini⁹⁷ and Francesco Florino Sabino,⁹⁸ and a few decades later by Bartolomeo Ricci,⁹⁹ and Carlo Sigonio,¹⁰⁰ who had excellent relations with Zsámboky. French humanists, however, were much less inclined to push the discrimination between the classical Latin and the vulgar French to the extremes, which may be partly explained here without going into too much detail by mentioning that the French, unlike the Italian, never invested Latin with a national character.

Notes

1. His name has been misspelt as Sámboke, Sámboke, or Zsámboke. He signed most of his letters written in German and Hungarian as *Samboky*, and the letter *s*, even long after Zsámboky's times, represented the sound *zh* (as in French 'je') written as *zs* in modern Hungarian (see 16th century 'sidó', 'soltár' for modern 'zsidó', 'zsoltár' etc.); therefore the most adequate orthography seems to be *Zsámboky*.
2. László Varga, "Sámboke (Sambucus) János filológiai munkássága" [The philological works of János Zsámboky]. *ActClassUnivDebr* 1 (1965): 77–103.
3. H. Gerstinger, *Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584)* (Wien–Graz–Köln, 1965); reprint with a study by A. Buck (Budapest, 1982).
4. *Emblemata* (Antwerpen: Plantin, 1564).
5. László Varga, *Sámboke (Sambucus) János filológiai és költői munkássága* [The philological and poetical works of János Zsámboky] (Manuscript, Debrecen, 1963), 142–222.
6. Gerstinger, *ibid.*
7. Pál Gulyás, *Sámboke János könyvtára* [The library of János Zsámboky]. Budapest, 1941.
8. Béla Holl, "Sámboke János könyvtárának magyar könyveiről" [On the Hungarian books in Zsámboky's library]. *MKsz* 80 (1964): 344–348. Gulyás has suggested that Zsámboky's books might have been arranged in groups according to their subjects, which was customary at the time. We may add that the vulgar language material was also mostly arranged in separate groups, which shows that Zsámboky did sort his books according

to languages. This is supported by the evidence of such fairly concentrated blocks of catalogue items as the sequence 2486 to 2532 in the Italian section. The original arrangement, which was based on *subject, format, and language*, was probably broken when the library was transported and the books were taken into inventory. Gulyás suggests that most of Zsámboky's books and manuscripts were discarded or even stolen. Thus Blotius's list does not give an entirely accurate account of the books written in national languages either. Cf. Gulyás, 30.

9. On the chronology of the years of his peregrination see, A. Vantuch, *Život a dielo renesančného učenca* (Bratislava, 1975), 108–210.
10. Before arriving in Strassburg (1537), Johannes Sturm (1507–1589) taught in Paris.
11. By 1551 he had published the following works: *Tabellæ dialecticæ in usum Hefflmari* (Viennæ, 1547); *Homeri opera correxit, novis indicibus expedit* (Argentorati, 1550); *Luciani opera scholis (!) artificii notatione illustravit* (Argentorati, 1550) [RMK III. 391]. Cf. G. Borsa and J. Walsh, "Eine gedruckte Selbstbibliographie von Johannes Sambucus". *MKsz* 81 (1965): 128–133.
12. Zsámboky had altogether three copies of two different editions of Budé's famous work *Commentarii linguæ græcæ*. He also mentions Budé's *De asse* in his commentaries to Horace. Cf. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 163.
13. As director of the Greek section of the royal press, Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565) published works by Cicero, Philo, Plutarch, Aiskulos, and Sophokles. I. Silver, *The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard. I. The Formative Influences* (St. Luis, 1969), 51. — Turnèbe was a good friend of Du Bellay and Ronsard. Their friendship was not in the least disturbed by the fact that Turnèbe was one of the Latinists. In one of his letters he argues that the French language is not refined enough to receive nobler works. Cf. Béla Zolnai, "Nyelvek harca" [The war of languages]. *MNy* 22 (1926): 101. — Turnèbe was also a close friend of Zsámboky. In 1559 he writes an elegy on occasion of the death of György Bóna, a disciple of Zsámboky. The poem *De immaturo Bonæ obitu* — along with obituary elegies of P. Manunzio, P. Vettori, Fr. Robotrello, and others — was published twice: *Epistolæ aliquot, et epigrammata funebris doctissimorum ætatis virorum, de obitu Georgii Bonæ* (Patavii, 1560) [RMK III. 477], and as an appendix to *De imitatione* [RMK III. 488]. This collection of poems afforded an opportunity for the poets to lament, besides the death of Bónay, the suffering of Christian Hungary under Turkish occupation. — See E. Bach, *Un humaniste hongrois en France. Jean Sambucus et ses relations littéraires. 1551–1584* (Szeged, 1932), 24–26. — Zsámboky had in his library several commentaries on and editions of classical authors by Turnèbe, as well as many of his own works and a collection of epitaphs written with Dorat. Cf. Gulyás, *op. cit.* "It is a credit to Turnèbe that Paris became the world centre of classical languages and literatures in the 16th century", writes C. Schmitt in his "Platon dans les universités du XVI^e siècle", in *Platon et Aristoteles XVI^e Colloque internationale de Tours* (Paris, 1976), 96–97. Another Hungarian pupil of Turnèbe was András Dudith. Cf. János Faludy, *Dudith és a francia humanisták* [Dudith and the French Humanists] (Minerva, 1928), 80.
14. Pierre Danes (1497–1577) was a disciple of Lanus Lascaris and Budé. After 1530 he is the leading professor of Greek studies at the Collège Royal, mainly teaching Aristotle.

15. Denys Lambin (1519–1571), publisher and commentator of Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, and Lucretius. The most famous of his works is his commentary on Lucretius; it was published three times during the 16th century (Paris, 1563, 1565, 1570) and is still indispensable. He dedicated individual chapters of his book to Ronsard, Muret, Turnèbe, and Dorat. — Ch. Marty-Laveaux, *Oeuvres poetiques de Jean Dorat* (reprint Genève, 1966), xxiv–xxv. Lambin had excellent relations with Zsámboky, who honoured him with an emblem in 1564. Lambin also knew a friend of Zsámboky, Nicasius Ellebodus, who was also interested in Greek studies. — D. Wagner, *Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodus und zu sein "Notæ" zu den aristotelischen Magna Moralia* (Heidelberg, 1963), 14.
16. Robert and Henri Étienne, father and son, the two most famous French printer-philologists. Henri dedicated his *Pseudo-Cicero* (published in 1567) to Zsámboky, a noted expert on Cicero. The book was about the philological problems raised by literary forgeries.
17. Étienne Dolet (1509–1546), ardent Ciceronian, one of the great opponents of Erasmus. He translated Plato into French. Zsámboky used his dialogue *De imitatione Ciceroniana* (Lugduni, 1535, ed. É. V. Telle, Genève, 1974) extensively as one of his sources.
18. Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572) was primarily noted for his new logic. However, he also played an important role in the campaign for the correct use of French and for its independence from Latin. In the foreword to his grammar written in French (Parisii, 1562, 1572; reprint Genève, 1974) he argues that French is a pleasant and soft sounding language that has the same effect on foreigners as Greek and Latin on the French.
19. While staying in Rome, Du Bellay met Pinelli, a man of broad international connections and a collector of a famous library. This latter later worked closely together with Ellebodus, who was originally from the Netherlands but lived and worked mostly in Pozsony. Cf. G. Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden, 1960), 19.
20. Jean Dorat (1508–1588), Neo-Latin poet. As a professor of Greek, he taught De Baïf, Ronsard, and Du Bellay at the Collège de Coqueret. Ronsard started his Greek studies under him in 1544 and, along with Turnèbe, he lauds his professor as "lumières de nostre âge". — Silver, *op. cit.*, 57, 51. — Other students of his also remember him with enthusiasm. Lucas Fruytier claims that having Dorat, the French do not have to envy the Robortellos and Sigonios of Italy any more. — H. Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1961), 102. — Marc-Antoin Muret believes that Ronsard owes a lot to Dorat for becoming the first poet to attract the attention not only of bored ladies but also of men of erudition — that is, philologists — with his poetry written in the national language. Silver, *op. cit.*, 70–71. — Papire Masson claims that Dorat's fame is due to his excellent knowledge of Greek and poetics, and that it was to him and his seminars on Homer and other Greek poets that Ronsard owes his own knowledge of poetics and philology. He also mentions that his school was attended by all of France and "the best of the surrounding nations". Silver, *op. cit.*, 36. — A Hungarian student of Dorat was Márton Berzeviczy, who received a poem from Dorat in 1565. Cf. M. Berzeviczy, *Oratio Funerbris* (Parisii, 1565) [RMK III. 540] — He probably also taught Lénárt Uncius from Transylvania and János Braun from Hungary (Sándor Baumgartner, "Adalékok a magyar humanisták francia kapcsolataihoz" [Further data concerning the

French relations of Hungarian humanists]. *EPhK* 67 (1943), 80. Another Hungarian, András Dudith, might have also been one of Dorat's students; Dudith received a poem from G. E. Imbert, a disciple of Dorat. Faludi, *op. cit.*, 64. — Before transferring to the Collège de Coqueret to attend Turnèbe's lectures, Dudith might have been a student of Dorat's. Dorat himself did not write love poems, he was known as an occasional poet. Nevertheless he was a master of sonnet writing; his disciples were also quite successful in this genre. — H.-W. Wittschier, *Die Lyrik der Pléiade* (Frankfurt/Main, 1971), 14–15. — He based his philological and pedagogical activities on Greek language and literature, which he taught comparatively with Latin. H.-W. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 12.

21. Silver, *op. cit.*, 36.
22. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 79.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Chamard, *op. cit.*, 108.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Silver, *op. cit.*, 255.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Besides Marullus, Dorat might have also mentioned the poems of Joannes Secundus, another fashionable poet of the day. Both poets seem to have a great influence on the poetry of Baiif and Jodelle, both of whom were disciples of Dorat. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 79, 119, 160.
29. He had one of Salmon's works in his library.
30. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 12.
31. Chamard, *op. cit.*, 103.
32. A. Buck, *Die humanistische tradition in der Romania* (Berlin—Zürich, 1968), 48.
33. J. Zsámboky, *Δημηγοροῦ* (Basileæ, 1552) [RMK III. 402, 121]. Marty-Laveaux quotes Robert Breton's words of appreciation spoken of Dorat in 1540 and adds: "Robert Breton is either biased, or he saw a manuscript of Dorat that has since been lost." — Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, xi. This modern critic of Dorat seems to forget that humanists did not try to write according to our modern taste; Ronsard, Zsámboky and many others judged and appreciated Dorat's imitations of Horace's poetry in terms of their own peculiar aesthetic principles. A new edition of Dorat's odes: *Les odes latines*. Ed. G. Demerson (Clermont-Ferrand, 1979).
34. J. Zsámboky, "Oratio quod oratores ante poetas a pueris cognoscendi sint". In *Δημηγοροῦ*.
35. Unfortunately, Zsámboky does not give the name of the college; he refers to it as *societas scholastica, puerorum sanctissima communio* and *coetus clarissimus*. *Ibid.*, 86.
36. Wittschier, *op. cit.*, 14–15.
37. Gerstinger, 51.
38. *Emblemata*, 87–88.
39. "De Aurato magna spes est, qui Græcorum facultatem non modo cum Latinis confert, sed quid e latinorum exemplis adhuc fieri amplius possit, notare solet." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 147.
40. J. Zsámboky, *Poemata quædam* (Patavii, 1555) [RMK III, 430, 11]. In the foreword to his edition of Lucianus, which was written in verse by Sebastian Heyden, signs of a comparative approach can already be detected: "He who fails to connect his Greek

examples with examples from the Latin, does not really deserve to be called a scholar." J. Zsámboky, *Luciani Samosatensis Dialogi* (Argentorati, 1550) [RMK III, 391].

41. The primacy of Greek models and the method of comparison are both profoundly characteristic of Dorat's pedagogy.
42. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 34.
43. *Ibid.*, 38.
44. *Ibid.*, 146.
45. *Ibid.*, 86.
46. *De imitatione*, 31^a
47. *Ibid.*, 8^a
48. "Natura omnium parens, quæ cuncta molitur, ac perficit, omnibus rebus congruenti, ac idonea varietate tribute, ita lætatur, ut interim ipsa secum certare, et perinde quasi maioro studio, et accurate quadam procreare, expolire, alia velut effoeta, et sui oblita, negligentius procurare, deficere et superflua esse, videri possit. Patet hoc quum in aliis rebus, quæ terra nascuntur et abdita eruuntur, adeoque animalibus a ratione destitutis: tum in ista laude expetitæ ita ipsa est multa, ita varie discedens per ingenia sese disseminat: ut quo vel præcipuo munere cæteris nos vivis disiunxit, in eo differentia, quot capita, et sensus videntur, totide appareant. Quæ varietas sive gradus etsi defectum, ac molestiam quandam præfert: ad studium tamen, et præmia æternitate memoriæ, ac posteritatis iudicio excitata, non parum nos etiam invitant. Etenim si omnia æque in singulis perfecta essent ac summa dicendi ornamenta, vel aliarum rerum: nullus gradus reliqueretur nostris studiis, et laboribus: nun pauca, in hac naturæ conditione, æqualitas ea incommoda apportaret." *De imitatione*, 4^b.
49. Cf. Judit Vásárhelyi, "Két XVI. századi magyar ciceróniánus" [Two 16th century Hungarian ciceronians]. *ItK* (1978): 279.
50. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (ed. D. Lambin, Parisii, 1563), 188.
51. Apel, 108.
52. Dante A., *De vulgari eloquentia*. In Dante A., *Opera Omnia* (Leipzig, 1921), 2: 389.
53. *De imitatione*, 16^a.
54. *Emblemata*, 87–88.
55. Sp. Speroni, *Dialogo delle lingue*. In Sp. Speroni, *Dialogi* (Vinegia, 1542), 117.
56. J. Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue Francoyse* (ed. H. Chamard, Paris, 1966), 26.
57. "... in hac obscuritate linguarum..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 106.
58. *De imitatione*, 49^b.
59. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 100.
60. This emblem has quite an eloquent title: "Efforts correct the faults of nature" (*Emblemata* 52). He compares Jaques Grévin's French translation of his emblem with Boileau's *Art poétique* and comes to the conclusion that although no direct relationship between the two can be detected, they share the same poetical heritage inasmuch as both of them follow the teaching of the Pléiade (Bach, *op. cit.*, 39–40). About the Pléiade's concept of nature see G. Castor, *Pléiade Poetics* (Cambridge, 1964), 37–62.
61. *Emblemata* 50.
62. Cf. R. J. Clements, "Renaissance Emblem Literature." *PMLA* 70 (1955): 789–790.

63. These are in fact the symbols of Grammar; Turóczi-Trostler notes about her as follows: "She is a Queen resting under the tree of knowledge, with a crown on her head, with a whip in her left to discipline, and with a knife in her right to cut out all grammatical mistakes from the language..." József Turóczi-Trostler, "A magyar nyelv felfedezése" [The discovery of the Hungarian language]. In J. Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom — Világirodalom* [Hungarian literature—World literature] (Budapest, 1961), 20.
64. "... natura formis distincta est..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 28.
65. J. Zsámboky, *De imitatione ciceroniana* (Antverpiæ, 1563) [RMK III. 503. A 7^a]. Henceforward abbreviated as *De imitatione*².
66. About the role of Latin grammar as a regulator see János Balázs, "A nemzeti nyelvek nyelvtanirodalmának kialakulása" [The development of the literature of grammar in national languages]. *MTud.* 7/12 (1956): 313–322.
67. Dante A., *Il Convivio*. In Dante A., *Opera Omnia* (Leipzig, 1921), 1:80.
68. For a discussion of the philosophical aspect of these two concepts, which, in fact, are the foundation of linguistic humanism, see M. Wesseler, *Die Einheit von Wort und Sache. Der Entwurf einer rhetorischen Philosophie bei Marius Nizolius*. München, 1974.
69. *Ars poetica Horatii*, 100.
70. *Ibid.*, 104.
71. *Ibid.*, 28.
72. *De imitatione*, 20^b
73. *Ibid.*, 9^b, etc.
74. "Certe ut in rebus ipsis nihil est perpetuum, nihil quod interitum fugiat: ita in vocibus nullus usus est constans, atque ut mores hominum, ita sermo variatur: horum omnium *penes usus ius, et arbitrium est.*" *Ars poetica Horatii*, III.
75. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge, 1971), 57.
76. "... cur potiore notis conditionem tribueris, quæ ministræ, ac indices sensuum, ac rerum ad arbitrium vulgi, ususque certa norma loquendi sunt comparatæ? Plurima enim sunt hodie recepta, et in consuetudinem adducta, quæ posteritas respuet, nec olim exaudita fuere: bella quoque, gentium migrationes multa corrigunt, immutant..." *Ars poetica Horatii*, 27–28.
77. "... sermo, qui mutuus, et perpetuus est..." *De imitatione*, 9^b.
78. *Emblemata* 142–143.
79. Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 2., 15., 33. Valla and Poliziano base their synthetic theory about the role of grammar and philology on this locus. Apel, 147.
80. *Emblemata* 143. — The source of this old commonplace is Isidorus, *Etym.* 1,5,1. — Further, see: Tamás Adamik, "Grammatika, retorika, logika Joannes Saresberiensisnél" [Grammar, rhetoric, and logic in Joannes Saresberiensis]. *A Tan* 29 (1982): 39–50.
81. *De imitatione*, 81^b.
82. "Si vocabula rerum sunt notæ, ad cognitionem rerum explicatio verborum adiugenda est: quæ quo politior, et elegantiores, hoc magis grata, et ad intelligendum accomodatior esse debet." *Ibid.*, 19^b.
83. "... si in aliquo mens, et intelligentia nostra hæret, non tam rerum obscuritate, quam ignorance linguarum, et elegantia posthabita, contingit." *Ibid.*, 8^b.
84. *Ibid.*

85. Quintilianus, *op. cit.*, 10.1.108, *De imitatione*², B 1^b, a favourite, much quoted locus of Ciceronians.
86. Cf. Chapter II., notes 72, 73 and 74.
87. "... docuero unum et solum Ciceronem Latinæ linguæ principem, vel potius æque omnium linguarum summum et cumulatissimum esse oratorem..." *De imitatione*, 17^b.
88. Some efforts to imitate Cicero in national languages were already made as early as the 16th century. A document of this (still in manuscript and, as far as we know, not yet studied) is a work written in Italian by Georgius Vallagusa entitled *Elegantia Ciceronianæ materna lingua in quotidianum usum expositæ ad Jo. Ant. Girardis* (Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cod. 262 [4719]). — By the 16th century we find several opinions about the topic, most of which are similar to that of Zsámboky and his Spanish contemporary A. Matamoros: "*Cicero* is the greatest example for all orators, for *anyone can imitate him in any language*. I say this about our vulgar languages, the languages in public use, and I suggest that we refine them by the art of Cicero." E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1909), 732.
89. The motif of "defence" from Du Bellay's *La Deffence*.
90. *De imitatione*, 8^a.
91. In our picture the child has the legs of a goat. This circumstance supports the interpretation that the child (that is, the vulgar language in its rude and unhewn state) belongs to the sphere of chaos.
92. *De imitatione...*, *ibid.*
93. Cf. Mária Révész, *Romulus Amasæus. Egy bolognai humanista magyar összeköttetései a XVI. század elején* [Romulus Amasæus. The Hungarian connections of a Bologna humanist at the beginning of the 16th century] (Szeged, 1933).
94. Zsámboky considers Amaseo one of the great defenders of Latin. Cf. *De imitatione*, 18^a.
95. P.-O. Kristeller, "Ursprung und Entwicklung der italienischen Prosasprache." In P.-O. Kristeller, *Humanismus und Renaissance II* (München, 1976), 146.
96. About his rhetorics see P. Rajna, "La data di una lettera di Claudio Tolomei ad Agnolo Firenzuola." *La Rassegna* (1916) Ser. III. fasc. I. 7.
97. V. Cian, "Contro il volgare". In *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna* (Milano, 1911), 252–297.
98. R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (Torino, 1885), 127–136.
99. B. Ricci's work about the supremacy of Latin was one of the books in Zsámboky's library: (25) *Bartholomæi Riccii de imitatione libri 3* (Parisiis, 1557), 35^a–37^b.
100. Zsámboky quotes these lines almost literally from Sigonio's speech given in Venice in 1556: "There are a few in our literary circles [...] who, either because they trust their own talent or because they fear the hard work that lies ahead of them, have started to cherish these — so to say — vulgar languages to such an extent that in the meantime they completely repudiate Latin. I believe they are governed by a false and dangerous view." C. Sigonio, "De latinæ linguæ usu retinendo" (Venetiis, 1556). In C. Sigonio, *Orationes septem* (Coloniæ, 1592), 51–52.