MVSA AMERICANA
The Classics in the New World
THE CLASSICS IN THE NEW WORLD

Catalogue of an Exhibition
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The John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island
1988
The John Carter Brown Library is an institution for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University.

The first printing of this catalogue was in 1980. It was reprinted in 200 copies in 1988 for distribution to participants in a Brown University colloquium held at the Library entitled "The Classical Tradition and the American Constitution."

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LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

For the Ancients, the unknown lands to the West beyond the Straits of Gibraltar held a special fascination. Homer sang of Elysium, the Isles of the Blest, which lay in that direction and which Hesiod later named the Hesperides after the evening star, which rises in the West. In fifth-century Athens, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides occasionally hinted at a western paradise for the heroes of their tragedies. By the first century, if we are to believe the account given by Plutarch in his Life of Cato, Spanish sailors had actually visited these Isles, and Seneca, in his tragedy Medea (168), prophesied that

venient annis
Saecula seris, quibus Creasus
Vinula rerum laxet, & ingens
Patat telus, tibiisque novos
Detegat orbem, nec sit terris
Vilia Thule.

An age will come
After many years, when the Ocean
Will loose the chain of things,
And a huge land lie revealed;
When Typhus will disclose New Worlds,
And Thule no longer be the ultimate.

The true interplay, however, between the classical world and that New World to the West began when Columbus discovered America. (Indeed, his son Ferdinand annotated these lines in his copy of the Medea with the words "this prophecy was fulfilled by my father ... the Admiral in 1492!".) Columbus sailed when the age of humanism was coming to a close -- an age in which the most important development, the revival of classical Greek and Roman learning and culture, had fostered a new

*The numbers refer to the books and prints exhibited; a hand-list of the exhibition follows this essay.
spirit of inquiry and even a new courage in exploration. This new Renaissance culture was rapidly established in colonial Latin America.

Less than fifty years after the discovery, the Italian humanist Mariano Pizzolo, in a poem addressed to his patron Cardinal Alessandro Paraccia, remarked on the study of the Classics in the New World:

Nam, mirabile dictu, in suaque oris,
Rara lingua studium viget Latinae.

For, strange to tell, 'en on that far-off shore
Both flourish now the love of Latin lore.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION

In Mexico and Peru, this love of the Classics was nurtured by the steady importation of books and an elaborate educational system. The book lists of the sixteenth century that survive show that classical authors, both in Latin and Greek and in translation, were sent to Latin America in growing numbers. In addition to seminaries maintained by the religious orders, there were schools and colleges for both native American and Spanish students, private tutors for the children of the wealthy, and the universities.

From the earliest years of the conquest of Mexico, there had been sharp differences of opinion among the Spaniards over the capacity of the Indians for European civilization and Christianity. In 1535, the first Bishop of Tlaxcalan, Julián de Sancho, wrote to persuade Pope Paul III that the Indians could and should be Christianized and educated. His letter, in Latin, was printed at Rome in 1557 as De Habilitate et Capacitate Gentium give Indorum Novi Mundi Thropati ad Vident Christi Capussendam (33); the John Carter Brown copy is unique. The first school for native Americans was organized by the Franciscans at Tlalpan in 1538. Its faculty included the first teacher of Latin in the New World, Fray Alonso de Bascio. The friars, according to the viceregal secretary,

not content with teaching the Indians to read and write, to play the flute, the cornet, and the organ, and to be musicians, have decided to teach them Latin grammar. The Indians apply themselves so diligently that there are boys, and their number increases every day, who speak Latin as elegantly as Tullius... It is amazing to see what they write in Latin, such as letters and dialogues.

At first, the friars at Tlalpan had to depend upon the importation of grammars from Europe for use in their Latin classes. By 1539, the first printing press was in operation in Mexico City and in 1559, the first Latin grammar written in the New World, Maturino Gilberti's Grammatica (43), was printed specifically for use by the students in the Franciscan school.

The royal decrees, which erected at Mexico City and Lima universities with the privileges, exemptions, and limitations of the University of Salamanca, were issued in 1551. But it was at Mexico that the first instruction took place in 1559, preceding the opening of the university at Lima by twenty-three years. (Until this time, students who were ready for advanced work traveled to Spain.) Seven academic chairs were established in the Mexican university -- theology, scripture, canon, arts (philosophy and grammar), laws, decretals, and rhetoric -- all upon a base of Latin language. The university owed its systematic program emphasizing the Classics to three men -- Elías de Bustamante, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, and Alonso de la Vera Cruz. Bustamante was the first to hold the chair of grammar, and his classes are described in Cervantes de Salazar's Alegorico Dialogo, Mexico, 1558, which exists today in but one nearly perfect copy at the University of Texas. This work, the first textbook written in America for the study of Latin by college students, was based on the Dialogos of the Spanish humanist Luis Vives. Salazar, long considered the father of classical studies in the New World, prepared it for his class in rhetoric.

Alonso de la Vera Cruz, first professor of theology in the new university, was one of the most distinguished scholars to come to Mexico. An Augustinian and a graduate of the University of Salamanca (then the center of humanism in Spain), he brought with him a thorough acquaintance
with the history of both classical and medieval philosophy. He also
established the finest library in the viceroyalty by importing over
sixty crates of books from Spain. His edition of the Dialectic
Resolution, Mexico, 1554 (5), which comprises the Categories and Posterior
Analytics of Aristotle and the Stoic of Porphyry, was the first text
of a classical author to be published in the Americas. The John Carter
Brown copy is annotated in Vasquez's own hand.

Before the end of the sixteenth century, members of the Society
of Jesus had begun to establish schools and colleges in Latin America.
The College of San Pablo, opened at Lima in 1568, only twenty-eight years
after the Society's formal approval by Pope Paul III, was the first
Jesuit foundation in the New World. It was soon followed by the College
of San Pedro and San Pablo, opened at Mexico City in 1572-1573. In the
classrooms of these schools was formulated the plan of studies of the
Jesuits, the Ratio studiorum Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu (first
published in 1599), which provided for an education based almost
exclusively on the Classics and which came to be fundamental to the
educational revival in Europe.

With the flowering of classical studies in the Jesuit schools,
there arose a great demand for classical texts. Although many of these
were imported from Spain, the printer at the College of San Pedro and
San Pablo, Antonio Ricardo, was soon granted licenses by the viceroy
and archbishop of Mexico City to publish the necessary works without
prior censorship. In 1578, Ricardo published Francisco de Toledo's
Introductio in Dialecticam Aristotelis (6), which had first appeared at
Rome in 1561. The work contains the text of the licenses, which includes
a list of the books needed for the classroom. Among the classical
authors mentioned are Aeschylus, Catullus, Cicero, Vergil, and Ovid, as well as
books of grammar. Many of these textbooks were so heavily used that
few of them have survived: there is only one copy of Ricardo's 1577
edition of Ovid's De Tristibus in this country.

Meanwhile, in Lima, the Jesuit College of San Pablo, as the official
preparatory school of the university, had been granted the exclusive
right to teach the Classics. In 1581, Ricardo immigrated to the city,
where he set up the first press in South America at San Pablo.

The ninth work issued from his press was a Latin grammar, Præcepta
Grammaticæ in Variis Collecta (1594) (71), written by an
Augustinian in Lima, Julián Martell.

For the next two hundred years, the Jesuits continued instruction
in Latin and Greek and in the humanities and rhetoric in the forty-five
schools that were eventually established by the Society throughout the
Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. Many of the fathers were engaged
in teaching Latin and produced various textbooks and readers for the
use of their students. Tomás González, master of rhetoric in the
College of San Pedro and San Pablo for many years, revised a popular
work for his verse composition course. The Thomaeus Posterum, Mexico,
1641 (83), was based on Pedro de Salas's thesaurus and Spanish-Latin
dictionary, first published at Valladolid in 1616. González himself
was the author of five Latin grammars, which went through more than
eight editions in Mexico.

Cicero was among the most popular classical authors studied in the
Jesuit schools. An abridged version of his letters, Epistolas ex
Pamphiliis (92), containing selections addressed to Lentulus, Pulchrense,
Cato, and Cæcilius, was published for the Society in 1656 by the widow of
Bernardo Téllez de Castellar, who had assumed management of her
husband's press and bookstore after his death. For many years, she held
a monopoly in the book trade in Mexico City, and her shop provided most of
the classical texts available in the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries. Another Ciceroan anthology was the Florilegium Oratorum,
Mexico, 1727 (105), first compiled by members of the Jesuit Congregation
of the Annunciation in the early seventeenth century. It contains a
selection of readings from the following orations: De Catilina, Pro
Archia, Post Redintegrum et Quiritis, Pro Marcello, Pro Regno Deiotaro
and Philippis IV, VI, and IX.

Santiago de Zamos was born near Puebla de los Ángeles in 1670.
He entered the Jesuits at seventeen and spent over forty years as
master of the humanities in the novitiate at Tepoztlán. He was not
only a great preacher -- so eloquent, in fact, that he was dubbed the
"Indian Cicero" -- but was also held in high regard by his pupils.
He wrote four Latin grammars, including the Prosodia (171) and the Exclamacion (123), which went through eleven editions in Mexico in the eighteenth century. These grammars were based on the Spanish humanist Antonio de Lebriz’s Introducciones Latinae as revised by the Vergil scholar Juan Luis de la Cerda in 1613. Mexican versions of the Introducciones were first published in 1641 and were among the most popular grammars in the schools.

The Jesuits were not the only ones involved in providing a classical education; the wealthy often employed private tutors to instruct their children. One such tutor was Esteban de Orellana, a native of Lima who also wrote Latin grammars. His work, Instrucción de la Lengua Latina (137) and Juegos Selectos de los Autores Latinos (152), were first published at Lima in 1759. They were offered as alternatives to the textbooks written by the followers of Lebriz. Orellana proposed to teach by the reading, translation, and imitation of classical authors, rather than by the countless rules, drills, and memorizes then in vogue. In the ninety-four-page preface to the instruction, he praises Lebriz’s grammar as a matchless reference work, but denounces its use as a textbook. The Juegos contains passages from, and biographies of, such varied authors as Anius Galli, Catu, Cicero, the Pliny, Suetonius, Tacitus, Quintilian, Vitruvius, Macrobius, Caesar, and Livy. It was advertised in the Gazette de Lima (1760) as

work which our country has long needed; in good taste and most useful for youth: a nose-guy of the most exquisite texts from thirty-two authors of the purest Latinity, with notices of their lives, works, and criticism of their style.

Both books proved so popular that they were reprinted at both Lima and Mexico City well into the nineteenth century.

The various dioceses of Mexico also offered instruction in the Classics in their schools. In Mexico City, Pedro Joseph Rodriguez de Arizpe was a popular professor of Latin and rhetoric at the city’s archdiocesan seminary and a much-admired preacher. Before retiring to the Oratory of St. Philip Nevil, he wrote five Latin grammars, including Prosodia para la Prima Classe de Gramatica. Mexico, 1778 (153), a work which, like Orellana’s grammars, offers alternative methods in the teaching of Latin.

Francisco de Olivarres, Bishop of Durango, took a special interest in the school attached to his cathedral church. In 1796, he had reprinted for use in the Latin classes of his school an abridged and simplified version from the Epistolae Morales of Seneca, entitled Seneca Christianus (161), a work that had first appeared at Padua in 1719. The bishop found the letters, in which Seneca plays the part of a philosophic and ethical director to a less advanced friend, suitable matter for a Christian youth’s moral education. This is the first publication of any of Seneca’s work in Hispanic America.

COLONIAL LITERATURE

Spanish literature of the sixteenth century was nurtured principally by classical Latin authors, either directly or in translations and adaptations. In spite of the great distances between the mother country and her American colonies, the same books were available to all Spaniards, whether written or published in the New World or the Old.

Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga came to Peru in 1555 and as a captain in the Spanish army took part in the wars against the fierce Araucanian Indians of Chile. The heroic resistance of the Indians inspired him to write the epic poem La Araucana (173), which appeared in parts in Spain between the years 1569 and 1590. Drawing deliberately from the examples of Homer, Lucan, and Vergil, Ercilla forged a work which has long been considered the Aeneid of the Chilean people. In it, the Araucanians are said to be braver than any Greek or Roman hero; the sack of Concepción is called worse than the destruction of Troy; and, like the Greeks of Iliaad XXIII and the Trojans of Aeneid V, the Indians hold elaborate games, with prizes formally awarded. Ercilla even included his own account of the alternative version of the story of Dido and Aeneas in the Aeneid. The passage with the Indian Colococo’s speech to his chief chattains has often been compared to Kestor’s harangue in the Iliad; indeed, Voltaire, in his Réflexes sur le Poésie Grec (1726), wrote that “in this passage Ercilla surpasses Homer.”

Diego de Menaf y Fernangil, a native of Seville who spent most of his life as a merchant in Peru and Mexico, translated the Neronides and
Ibíd or Virgil into Spanish beginning in 1596. His translation, Primera Parte del Panorama Antártico, Seville, 1608 (183), is still considered the finest rendering of these elegiac verses in the Spanish language. On one of his regular business trips from Lima to Mexico City, Mexía y Fernangil was shipwrecked off the southwest coast of Mexico. During the long overland trek to Mexico City, he purchased a volume of Ovid from an itinerant student and began to translate the Heroides to pass the time. When he finally reached the capital, Mexía y Fernangil realized that he had completed fourteen of the twenty-one letters that comprise the work. He finished the remaining poems, added the Ibíd, and, upon his return to Lima, sent the manuscript off to Seville for publication.

Although Bernardo de Valbuena was born in Spain, he came as a small child to Mexico, where he studied for the priesthood in the schools and University of the capital city. He was highly proficient in Latin and Greek, and his love of the Classics is demonstrated in his poem Grandesca Mexicana, Mexico 1644 (193), a lyrical description of Mexico City: its climate, surroundings, churches, public buildings, gardens, the beauty of its women, and the aristocratic quality of its men. In the pedantic prologue to the work, Valbuena quotes verbatim from some 159 authors, including Cicero, Ovid, Pliny, Horace, Vergil, Strabo, Juvenal, and Herodotus, and refers to many sites of classical antiquity: Delphi, Rhodes, Corinth, Argos, Ephesus, and Athens. His later publications show even more classical influences: Siglo de Oro, Madrid, 1677, is a pastoral poem written (as Valbuena himself says) in a "plasting but rigorous imitation of Vergil and Theocritus," while his epic Bernardo, Madrid, 1624, contains the boast:

A alamar con mi pluma adonde quiero,
Pura Honor el segundo, yo el primero.

The cento—a poem formed by combining separate verses of an already existing work—was a popular literary form in Latin America during the baroque era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bernardo de Núñez, treasurer and canon of the cathedral at Valladolid (Michoacán), is best known for the cento entitled Centonichum Virgilioam Continuatum, Mexico, 1650 (183), written in thanksgiving for

a recovery from illness and dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Its 300 lines are taken from Vergil's Aeneid, Eclogues, and Georgics, with the connecting verses composed in hexameter by Rico y Fernangil. In Prospecto de sus Avisos Apostólicos, Mexico, 1758 (221), Bruno Francisco Larrañaga announced his intention to publish an epic on the life of Antonio Margil de Jesús, the Franciscan apostle to Guatemala and Texas. In this prospectus, Larrañaga wrote that his inspiration to base the poem on the Aeneid came from the amaranth in P. Virgilius Maro --- O Margil, Vir Pius --- and included a sample of some 150 lines. The work was also to include a Spanish translation of the epic, another cento, Pro Antonio Margil, taken from the orations of Cicero, as well as critical praises culled from Lucretius, Horace, Tibullus, Persius, Ovid, Catullus, and Juvenal. The reaction to Larrañaga's proposal was so swift and critical that the complete work never appeared.

The high point of classical influence upon the literature of Hispanic America came during the mid-eighteenth century in the neo-Latin verse of the Jesuit poets Diego José Abad, Francisco Javier Alegre, and Rafael Landívar. These men, counted among the very best modern Latin poets, were in the vanguard of a neo-classical movement beginning to sway through Latin America when the Society of Jesus was expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767. The Mexican Jesuits were deported to Italy, where much of the scholarship they had produced in America appeared in print. Thus an integral part of Latin American civilization was cut off from its European ties, contributing to the revolutions of the early nineteenth century.

Abad, born in Jalqulín, was rector of the Jesuit college in Querétaro when he began work on his Latin epic Musa Americana, seu De Deo Carinath (183), a synthesis of the mysteries of religion. After his exile, he settled in Ferara, where he completed the poem. It was first published at Cádis in 1769 without his knowledge and proved so popular that it appeared, revised, in three more Latin editions, and in eight Spanish translations, all dedicated to the youth of Mexico. His contemporaries considered the work worthy of Rome's Augustan Age and called its author "el divino." Abad's translation of Vergil's Eclogues into
Spanish verse are still in manuscript. He took part in the debate then current in Italy on the ability of non-Italians to master Latin, a controversy brought about by the sudden influx of the exiled Jesuits into scholarly circles, and wrote a short pamphlet on the subject, title: *Dissertatio Ludovico-sernia nova Positit Allogia extra Italian Batis Bene Latina Scribentia*, first published at Puli in 1778.

Born in Veracruz in 1729, Alegre was the first great Greek scholar in Hispanic America and spent much of his career as a teacher in the Jesuit schools at Tacubaya, Mexico City, Mérida, and Havana, Cuba. Exiled to Bologna, he took him the manuscript of his Latin translation of Homer's *Iliad* 1251, which had labored over for many years, and published it there in 1776. Alegre offered the work as evidence that Latin Americans could be competent classicists. His other works include the *Alexandriada* 241, a poetic version of Quintus Curtius Rufus's history of Alexander the Great, which was published with the *Iliad* translations of Horace; Greek grammar; a translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*; "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice," a poem once attributed to Homer; and a history of the Jesuits in Mexico.

Landivar, born in Guatemala when it was still a part of New Spain, went as a young child to Mexico City, where he entered the Jesuit in 1750. He taught rhetoric and poetry in the noviciate at Tacubaya and in the colleges at Mexico City and Puebla and was prefect of the Congregation at the time of the expulsion. His *Dissertatio Mexicana* 293 was first published at Madrid in 1781. The poem is a panorama of nature and country life in New Spain written in rustic Latin and modeled on Vergil's *Georgica*. It was the first literary work to bring out the characteristic features of the New World: its flora and fauna, and the customs, industries, and games of its native population.

**COLONIAL CULTURE**

The *classics* provided themes and forms for two of the most familiar features of cultural life in Latin America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the *certamen poético*, a poetic tournament held before a colorful public of civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the *mascaras*, a parade of costumed persons of all ranks and classes, bands, and floats. Whatever the occasion -- the reception of a viceroy or archbishop, a local celebration, or a funeral -- a classical theme, in which art and literature frequently mingled with politics, was almost always chosen, in order that the virtues of the ancients represented in the poetry, painting, and architecture might be reflected in the contemporary powers of the Crown and Church. The leading intellectuals were commissioned to organize the events; to preside over the orations and reading of sonnets, odes, and epigrams; to retain artists to build and decorate the arches, floats, and catafalques; and, finally, to publish an account of the event, a *relación*.

When Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, the Duke of Albaquerque, entered Mexico City in 1653 as the newly-appointed viceroy, the royal procession passed under a triumphal arch erected by the cathedral chapter. The arch, seventy feet in height, was decorated with sculpture and painting depicting scenes from the myths of the god Mars, to whom the Duke was compared. The *relación* published to commemorate the event, *Martir Catholicato Autro Politico* 967, contains a description (with explanatory texts from Vergil and Ovid) of the scenes on the arch and the poetry written for the competition held at the Duke's arrival.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz was the most important literary figure of colonial Hispanic America. She was called the "Penth Muse", and her plays, sonnets, ballads, Christmas carols, and critical writings, with their continual use of Latin and Greek phrases, reveal a solid classical foundation. It is said that she mastered the Latin language as a young girl in only twenty lessons. To satisfy her thirst for knowledge she chose the life of a nun and entered the Jeronymite convent in Mexico City. There she lived out her days reading and writing, sought out by the social and intellectual aristocracy of the viceregal court. In 1680, she was commissioned by the cathedral chapter to plan the festivities held in honor of the new viceroy, Tomás Antonio Manrique de la Cerda y Aragón, the Count of Paredes. Her *relación, Natividad Alegoría* 573, first printed at Mexico City in 1680 and reprinted in her collected works published at Barcelona in 1691, contains the description of the triumphal arch erected for the viceroy's entrance, along with the orations and
poetry composed for the occasion. Sor Juana chose as her theme "the unequalled virtues of the prince of the gods, Neptune," who was depicted on the arch with his consort Amphitrite. The inspiration for this panel was taken from Vincenzo Cortari's "I magia de gli Dei della Natura," 1667, an iconography of classical mythology that was the source most frequently consulted by the artists who designed the arches and catafalques in Mexico City. In addition, there were scenes showing the founding of the cities of Argos (as recounted by Pausanias) and Athens (from Plutarch); the origin of the island of Delos, birthplace of Apollo and Artemis; the tales of Thetis, mother of Achilles (from Vergil); and the legend of the Centaurs.

Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a frequent visitor to the court of Sor Juana's convent, was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Mexico, as well as a philosopher, astronomer, historian, antiquarian, and minor poet. He was the author of "Historia de Querétaro, Mexico," 1688-1692, an account of the celebration of the dedication of the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the city of Querétaro in April, 1680. A special canto solemn polaco was held in the cloister of the convent of Santa Clara so that the nuns could attend without breaking the rule of enclosure. A large theatre was erected just outside the monastery, and the stage was set to resemble the heights of Parnassus. A young boy dressed as Apollo led a cavalcade of poets -- Pellegrini; accompanied by the nuns -- who recited the winning verses. After the contest, an allegorical drama, "The Destruction of Troy," written by friends of Sor Juana, was performed.

Some years later the citizens of Querétaro celebrated the opening of a new aqueduct built to carry water from the nearby hills to the city. Francisco Antonio Navarrete's "Relación Peculiar de la Agua Corriente, Mexico," 1730 (1301), contains a description of the fountain, topped by a statue of Neptune with his trident, which had been erected in the city's plaza, as well as an account of the náuca. The triumphal floats for the parade included a barque of Neptune rowed by Tritons, with the god himself, crowned with a conch shell, seated on a throne surrounded by Nereids and Sirens playing violins. Other vehicles carried the heights of Parnassus with Apollo, his nine sisters, and Pegasus flapping great wings made of white feathers, and a statue of the Marques Villa del Aguilas (who had financed the construction of the aqueduct) accompanied by the nymphs Parthenope, Leucadia, Doris, and Galatea. A band of Indians dressed as Roman soldiers led the parade to the city's new theatre, built for the premiere of a play entitled "The Rape of Helen."

In the Portuguese colony of Brazil, a permanent printing press was not established until 1586 because of severe restrictions imposed by the Crown. But in the 1740s, António Isidoro da Fonseca, a well-known printer of Lisbon, managed to transport a press to Rio de Janeiro and work despite the prohibition. The first book from the press, Luis Antonio de Osado y Ocaña's "Relación de Arábiga," 1747 (131), is an account of the celebration of the entrance of the new bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Antonio de Osterro Molheyro. Seven triumphal arches, in the Corinthian and Doric orders, each decorated with figures from classical mythology: Juno, Iris, Venus, Neptune, Orpheus, Minerva, and Zeus -- were erected along the parade route. Although the book describes the pomp and ceremony surrounding the arrival of an important official and contained nothing subversive, the Crown moved swiftly to shut down the press. In July 1747, Fonseca was ordered back to Portugal and his equipment confiscated.

When the Queen of Spain, Maria Amelia of Saxony, died in 1763, a catabalque was erected in mourning in the cathedral of Guatemala City. This baroque structure, described in Juan Antonio Díghero's "El Pantheon Real," Guatemala, 1763 (132), was decorated with mythological figures chosen to represent the virtues of the late queen -- Apollo and Mercury, her genius; Yesta, her piety and devotion; Venus, her beauty; Minerva, her moderation; Cybils, her constancy; Saturn, her prudence; and Janus, her generosity to the poor. Díghero's account of the obsequies also contains the Latin oration that he preached at the requiem.

ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING

The royal ordinances governing city planning in the New World, proclaimed by Philip II in 1573, were influenced by at least three
classical sources. In Spain itself, there remained many Roman colonial
cities which had been planted centuries before. De Architecture, a
treatise on civil architecture written about 30 B.C. by the Roman
Vitruvius, had been rediscovered in the early fifteenth century and
first appeared in print about 1465. The histories of the Greek Polybius,
which contain extensive descriptions of Roman ornamentation, including
the use of gridiron street plans were published in 1530.

Great cities such as Mexico and Puebla were laid out upon a regular
grid of rectilinear streets and rectangular blocks. The gridiron plan
was especially suitable for Mexico City: it was easy to implement, and
it was known to the Indian architects who had designed the pre-conquest
city of Tenochtitlan on which the new city was built. When the Spaniards
saw the Indian capital, they responded immediately to a design that, for
them, took its authority from ancient Greek and Roman precedents.
Although Ignacio de Castera’s Plano de la Imperial Noble y Real Ciudad
de Mexico (1533) was drawn over 200 years after the conquest, it shows
that the original gridiron pattern was carefully maintained by later
developers.

The first published view of Mexico City to depict the city as a
European metropolis, Nova Mexico (1543) from John Gilley’s America,
London, 1671, shows the general shape of the capital in the seventeenth
century, its walls, fortifications, public buildings, churches, and
squares all seeming to float upon the waters of a broadish lake. The
aqueduct with its 365 arches, influenced by those erected by the Romans
in Spain, was the principal source of water for the city. Vitruvius
discusses the problems of water supply in Book VIII of his treatise.

Virtually every European country produced architectural theoreticians
who were disciples of Vitruvius. One of Spain’s leading classical
architects was Juan de Arce y Villanueva, whose treatise, Discurso
Comunicaçao para la Recultura y Arquitectura (1591), first pub-
lished at Seville in 1591, became one of the major reference works for
builders in Latin America throughout the colonial period.

Examples of the two great interludes of classicism in Mexican art
and architecture are found in José Joaquín Fabregat’s engraving of the
Zócalo or central plaza of Mexico City, Vista de la Plaza de México,
Mexico, 1797 (1861). The cathedral, on the far left of the view, was
begun in 1573 as a classical church with plans sent from Spain. The
tower storeys of the towers exactly resemble portions of the Escorial,
which was designed by the classicalist Herrera, a contemporary of Arce y
Villanueva. The Doric order of the façade is repeated in the severely
Doric interior of the church. The baroque taste of the seventeenth
century, however, soon overwhelmed the classical, as seen in later
decoration on the cathedral and in the adjacent church, the Sagrario.
But with the flowering of neo-classicism in the eighteenth century, the
cathedral was completed according to the original plan, and the equestrian
statue of Charles IV in the center of the plaza was erected.

The neo-classical revival also influenced the design of the arches
and catafalques erected for public celebrations. The mortuary monument
commissioned by the cathedral chapter in Mexico City at the death of
Charles III, illustrated in Emblemas Exequias Celebradas en la Santa
Iglesia Catedral, Mexico, 1789 (1791), was designed (as stated in the
preface to this work) according to the proportions given by Vitruvius
and "in conformity with the simple taste and precepts of the Egyptians,
Greeks, and Romans."

NORTH AMERICA

CLASICAL EDUCATION

Many of the Puritans who came to North America in the early
seventeenth century were good classicalists, well versed in the intellectual
heritage of the Greeks and Romans and the humanists. (In fact, one man
out of forty in the Massachusetts Bay colony was a graduate of Cambridge
or Oxford.) The Classics were considered an integral part of the
education for the Puritan ministry, and Harvard College, the first
English college in colonial America, was established in 1636 to provide
for a learned ministry. In 1643, a year after the first class of nine
had graduated from the college, there appeared at London a pro-
motional tract designed to raise money for the struggling college. This
work entitled New Englands First Fruits (1682), contains a list of the
requirements for admission to Harvard College:

When any scholar is able to understand fully, or such like classics, Latin Author or Tempora, and make and speak true Latin in Verse and Prose, he shall be admitted to Harvard College.

Proficiency in Latin and Greek soon became the standard entrance requirement for the colleges established in the other colonies as well, including William and Mary, Yale, and Brown. Candidates for admission to any of these schools were expected to be able to read Cicero or Virgil in Latin and Xenophon or Isocrates and the New Testament in Greek; to understand Greek grammar; to speak or write Latin prose; and to write Latin verse.

Because of these rather specialized requirements, schoolmasters and private tutors exercised their students in the Classics and little else in order to prepare them for college. Perhaps the most influential schoolmaster of the colonial period was Ezekiel Cheever. Born in London in 1614, he came to the colonies in 1637 and served as schoolmaster in New Haven, Ipswich, and Charlestown before becoming master of the Boston Latin School in 1670. He is best known for the Latin grammar he compiled at New Haven, A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue (1671), first published at Boston in 1709. This work, based on grammars that Cheever had used in London, soon became the most popular beginning Latin textbook in the colonies and was reprinted as late as 1838. Pupils were expected to learn its contents by heart; rules explaining how a noun is declined, a verb conjugated, and so on through elementary grammar. So great was Cheever's reputation that Cotton Mather wrote:

Do but name Cheever, and the Echo straight,
Upon that Name, Good Latin, will repeat.

After mastering Cheever's grammar, a pupil turned to nomenclature, a book of words and sentences designed to improve the vocabulary. The most commonly used nomenclature was Francis Gregory's Nomenclatura Erudis Anglo-Latino in Usum Scholarum (1663), first published at London in 1675 and reprinted at Boston three times before the Revolution.

A student's first real test in Latin came after mastering grammar and vocabulary, when he was introduced to the dialogues of the humanist Erasmus and the sixteenth-century French schoolmaster Cordier. The most popular editions of these authors were prepared by John Clarke, an English schoolmaster who advocated the use of Latin texts accompanied by literal English translations. Clarke altered the Latin syntax of his text to resemble the English as closely as possible, his concession to the idea that students learn most easily what they understand plainly. Two American editions of Clarke's textbooks, Erasmi Colloquia Selecta, Newburyport, 1786 (231), and Cordii Colloquiorum Selecta, Boston, 1770 (423), are shown in this exhibition. Another beginning reader, Fabule Aesopi Selectae, Boston, 1787 (431), was arranged with parallel columns of English and Latin. At least eighteen editions of Aesop's fables were issued in North America between 1762 and 1800, most of them reprints of popular English children's books and textbooks.

When a student had mastered Erasmus, Cordier, and Aesop, he turned to the works of classical authors, usually Cicero's Orations or Letters, followed by Virgil's Aeneid, although any favorite author of the schoolmaster might be substituted. Two authors who rivaled Cicero and Virgil in popularity during the colonial period were Virgil and Horace. The first American printings of their works, Metamorphoseon Libri X, Philadelphia, 1790 (441), and Histories Romanicae Brevarium, Boston, 1793 (453), were both edited by John Clarke, again, with Latin texts and English translations. While students were learning to translate, they also began to write Latin prose, to "make Latin." Once again, John Clarke provided the basic text, An Introduction to the Making of Latin (1662), which went through twenty-four editions in London before its first printing in the United States in 1786.

A student's course in Greek followed much the same pattern that his Latin class did. First, the pupil mastered a grammar such as the English bishop Edward Watkinson's Graecae Grammaticae Institutio Compendiosa, Philadelphia, 1776 (471), before moving on to the New Testament or Isocrates and Homer. Schoolmasters usually required less work in Greek than in Latin because of the difficulty in procuring suitable texts. Fewer Greek books than Latin books were imported into the
colonies, and there was (as in Latin America) a general scarcity of
Green type fonts until after the Revolution.

Scholarly texts in classical subjects for students in American
colleges were imported from Europe until the 1700's. In 1793, how-
ever, a college-level textbook of Cicero's philosophical work, De
Officiis ad Marcus Tullium Lribii Cneo, was printed at Philadelphia.
First published at London in 1796 for the use of students in Eton
College, the book contains chapter summaries by Brauman and commentary
by the seventeenth-century Dutch scholar Johann Georg Graebe; it was
edited by Zachary Freame, fellow of Trinity College and bishop of
Rochester.

The study of rhetoric was an important part of the classical
curriculum in colonial colleges, since it was designed to produce
effective speakers for "the Church, the Senate, and the Bar." In the
late eighteenth century, one of the major British rhetoricians was
Hugh Blair, whose works were widely studied in America. Blair, a
Scottish Presbyterian divine, was the first occupant of the chair of
rhetoric and belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh. His
Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1791), based on the lectures
delivered to his class at Edinburgh, was first published in the United
States at Philadelphia in 1794 and, along with his Essays on Rhetoric,
went through ten editions in this country before 1800. The Scottish
element in classical education was especially strong at Princeton,
where John Witherspoon, a classmate of Blair, served as president
from 1768 to 1794. Witherspoon, who was more than any other American
educator made the Classics a vital element in the training of preachers
and orators, also wrote a series of lectures on rhetoric, On Eloquence
(1791) (included in his collected works published at Philadelphia in
1800), in which he recommended a careful study of Quintilian,
Demosthenes, and Cicero.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF THE CLASSICS

Although Latin and Greek were studied by all college students,
few educated Americans were able to read the languages with much
fluency; indeed, the majority of the citizens did not have the
opportunity to pursue any education, least of all a classical one.
Therefore, most Americans turned to translations and adaptations to
gain access to the heritage of Greece and Rome. Many of these works
were imported from England, but, occasionally in the first half of
the eighteenth century and especially after the Revolution,
translations made in the United States, or at least printed here, became
available.

George Sandys's Ovid's Metamorphosis, London, 1626 (1733), was not
only the earliest English verse of any consequence written in America,
but was also the most widely read translation of Ovid during the
colonial period. Sandys came to Virginia in 1601 as treasurer,
having already translated and published Books I-V of the
Metamorphoses
at London. During the long voyage to the colony and his stay in the
New World, he managed to complete the remaining ten books of the work.

No other classical author was as popular in seventeenth- and
eighteenth-century America as Plutarch. Otten Mather called him
"the incomparable Plutarch," the Lives was Benjamin Franklin's first
love for general reading; and Alexander Hamilton, who as an officer
in the Revolutionary army spent his leisure hours reading the author
and writing out long passages in his notebook, later drew a series of
significant phenomene from this careful study. These and other
Americans, attracted to the deeds of the ancient law-givers and cham-
pions of liberty, derived from Plutarch's biographies the models for
Republican heroes and exemplary living. Sir Thomas North's translation
of Plutarch, The Lives of the Noble Grecians & Romans (1579), first
published in 1579, was the standard for two centuries. It was based
on the French translation made in 1599 by Jacques Amyot, a work which
made Plutarch popular throughout Europe.

James Logan was a distinguished Pennsylvania statesman, merchant,
and scholar who possessed in his library the largest and finest
collection of classical writings in the British colonies. It contained
about 300 Latin and Greek texts as well as many translations, grammars,
and dictionaries. Logan's finest piece of classical scholarship was
a textual study of Iamblichus's Life of Pythagoras, which appeared in
a Dutch learned journal. But he is chiefly remembered for his translations: Cato's Moral Duties, Philadelphia, 1735 [53]; and Cicero's Cato Major, Philadelphia, 1744 [54]. Both printed by Benjamin Franklin, who drew upon the Moral Duties for his own Poor Richard Improved (1732-1796). Logan's translation of the Cato Major (a translation of the De Senectute), in which he remarked that he "believed it to be equal in itself at least, if not preferable to any other Translation of the same Piece extant in our Language, besides the Advantage it has of so many valuable Notes." He called it "this first Translation of a Classic in this Western World," apparently forgetting his publication of the Moral Duties ten years earlier, and expressed the hope that Philadelphia, with the publication of this volume, would become "the Seat of the American Wits." The work, considered the finest specimen of printing to come from Franklin's press, was reprinted twice at Glasgow and twice at London.

Alexander Pope's translation of Homer's Iliad (1720), first published at London in 1720, ranked with North's Flutarch as the most popular classical works available in English during the eighteenth century. Readers on both sides of the Atlantic were attracted to Pope's Homer because of its aphoristic style, its wisdom, and its moralistic tone. It was a standard work in American libraries and was advertised (in its various editions) by many American booksellers in their catalogues. The first American edition was printed at Philadelphia in 1795.

The distinguished French educator Charles Rollin's Histories of Greece and Rome, translated into English, provided colonial Americans with a utilitarian approach to ancient history well into the nineteenth century. Rollin offered examples of moral virtues among the classical heroes, especially frugality and simplicity, set forth the concept of balance of power, and pointed out the evils of luxury and ambition.

The first part of any of his works to be printed in America was

The Life of Alexander the Great, Providence, 1786 (1604). The Library's copy of this work was purchased by Nicholas Brown in 1802.

**COLONIAL LITERATURE**

Anne Bradstreet came in 1630 to Massachusetts, where both her father and her husband served as governors of the colony. The family home in Andover was filled with over 800 books, and she passed many hours there in study. The Poem Monarchia (1717), first published at London in 1690 in The Youths Muse, is a long poem on the history of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires. It was inspired in part by Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. Anne Bradstreet continued to revise the poem after its publication, inserting additions gathered from her reading of North's translation of Flutarch. The revised version of the poem appeared in the first American edition of her works, Several Poems Compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning, printed at Boston in 1674.

Pietas et Gratulatio Coloniis Cantabrigiensi et Novomodo, Boston, 1761 [1763], is a collection of thirty-one Greek, Latin, and English poems written by Harvard students and graduates to commemorate the death of George II and to celebrate the accession of George III. These elegies and odes in hexameters and pentameters make up the first (and last) poetical offering from an American college to an English sovereign. The volume contains the first extensive use of Greek letter type by a colonial press.

John Beveridge was a Latin teacher in the Academy of Philadelphia. His "acquaintance with the language he taught was ... justly deemed to be very accurate and profound," and he was called "one of the ablest masters in the Latin Tongue on this continent." His volume of original Latin verse, Spiritus Familiaris et Asiae Rudi Miscellanea, Philadelphia, 1765 [1793], contains letters addressed to friends, patrons, and contemporary heroes.

The American poet John Parke, a native of Delaware, studied at the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. (Its provost William Smith cherished the hope of making the college the
center of American cultural life.) Parke, in fact, began writing
verse as a student there. He is chiefly remembered for The Lyric
Works of Horace, Philadelphia, 1786 (60), which was published
anonymously. Parke's version of Horace's poems are really paraphrases
that adapt the subject matter to the circumstances of American history,
substituting George Washington for the Emperor Augustus. Parke also
included in this work translations from classical poets other than
Horace, some of his own original verse, and a life of Horace dedicated
to Benjamin Franklin.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION VS. USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

One of the great controversies in eighteenth-century America
concerned whether or not a classical education could provide useful
guidance in the affairs of daily life of all citizens. Benjamin
Franklin, in his Proposals Respecting to the Education of Youth in
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1745 (61), was one of the first to question
the subsistence of all schools to a curriculum based on the study of
Latin and Greek, arguing that the Classics enjoyed an unjust monopoly
of education. This tract set forth a proposal to establish an academy
at Philadelphia (which eventually became the University of Pennsylvania)
with both "English" and "Latin" schools. Franklin hoped that interest
others in providing a practical education which would enable young
Americans to "come out of this school fitted for learning any business,
Calling or Profession, except wherein Languages (i.e. Latin and Greek)
are required."

Another Philadelphian, Benjamin Rush, who played a heroic part in
the yellow fever epidemics that ravaged the city in 1793 and 1797,
presents a paradox in his attitude toward the Classics. He was overjoyed
when John Witherspoon, the Scottish rhetorician, was appointed president
of Princeton, and in his A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools
and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1786 (62),
proclaimed:

I do not wish the LEARNED OR DEAD LANGUAGES,
as they are commonly called, to be reduced
below their present just rank in the universities
of Europe, especially as I consider an acquaintance
with them as the best foundation for a correct
and extensive knowledge of the language of our
country.

But soon afterwards he became one of the most vociferous opponents of
classical studies, assailing them as useless for the new society after
the Revolution. He once wrote that he was delighted to learn that only
a few boys were studying Latin at a school in Virginia and that the
majority of the students preferred more useful studies.

Although Philip Freneau studied Classics under John Witherspoon
at Princeton (where he was one of the college's most brilliant
Latinists), modeled his English lyric verse on Horace, and at times
matched Witherspoon's skill in composing satire, he joined with men like
Rush in denouncing the role of classical languages in the educational
system. In his "Epistle to a Student of Dead Languages" (63), first
published in his collected works in 1793, Freneau reveals his
ambivalence:

In his own language HOMER write and read,
Not spent his life in poring on the dead:
Wing then your native language not pursue
In which all ancient sense (that's worth review)
Glows in translation, fresh and new?

It appears that Freneau's major objection to the Classics lay not in
their uselessness for applying the wisdom of the Ancients to contemporary
life and thought, especially if studied in translation, but in the
methods of teaching Latin grammar that could not equip a student to
translate even a single page of an author.

THE REVOLUTION

Greco-Roman history and the works of classical philosophers were
well-known to the leaders of the American Revolution, who discerned
in the thought of the Ancients guidelines for the colonies struggling
for independence. The revolutionaries used the Classics in their
writing and speaking, if not always as models to be followed without criticism, at least as points of reference for their arguments.

The fiery patriot James Otis began his classical education under the local minister at Barnstable in preparation for admission to Harvard. After graduation he practiced law and continued reading in the Classics. Otis wrote two works on versification, The Rudiments of Latin Prosody, Boston, 1760, and a Greek prosody, which remained in manuscript because (in his own words) "there were no Greek types in the country, or if there were, there was no printer who knew how to use them." But he is chiefly remembered for the classical allusions in his many orations and best known for his famous speech on the Writs of Assistance, in which he denounced the warrants of 1761 at Boston. No text of this five-hour oration was preserved, but John Adams, who was present at its delivery, remarked that it contained "appropriateness of classical allusions ... and a torrent of impassioned eloquence ... on that day Independence was born, a sturdy infant, non sine die animosus infantis." Adams's notes were later expanded by George Richards Minot in his Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the Year 1748 to 1769, Boston, 1863 (1864), which contains the most complete account of the speech.

Thomas Paine, the revolutionary pamphleteer, was both well-read in classical authors in translation and acquainted with eighteenth-century histories of the ancient world. From his readings he became highly skeptical about ancient tradition and its application to contemporary problems in the colonies. His feelings were most apparent in The American Crisis. Number V. Lancaster, 1778 (1784):

The wisdom, civil governments, and sense of honor of the States of Greece and Rome, are frequently held up as objects of excellence and imitation. Mankind have lived for very little purpose, if, at this period of the world, they must go two or three thousand years back for lessons and examples. ... Could the mist of antiquity be taken away, and men and things viewed as they then really were, it is more than probable that they would admire us, rather than we them. ...
state." And Cicero, in his *De Republica* (as quoted by Nonius), defined the best state in similar terms: "I consider the most effective constitution to be that which is a reasonably blended combination of three forms, -- monarchy, aristocracy, democracy."

Although the authors agreed that antiquity and America were not entirely comparable, there occurred numerous classical references in the text of *The Federalist*, New York, 1788 (162). Written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay for the purpose of influencing the ratification of the new constitution by the state of New York, this collection of essays was originally published in various newspapers under the signature "Junius." The ideas of tyranny, liberty, justice, democracy, and the concept of a senate, all Greco-Roman in origin, were discussed at length with classical illustrations, especially from Cicero, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and Thucydides.

After the Revolution, the officers of the Continental Army, shortly before its disbanding in June, 1783, founded the Society of the Cincinnati 1692. The organization took its name from the Roman farmer nicknamed "curly-haired" who, at the call of his fellow citizens, left his plough to lead the army and returned to his fields beyond the Ticiber when his duty was done — an allusion to the approaching return of the officers to civil pursuits. Although its primary objects were charitable, the Society aroused antagonism both in France and the United States among patriots who believed that, because of its hereditary membership, it was setting itself up as an aristocracy.

Aedanus Burke of South Carolina, using the pseudonym "Cassius," wrote a pamphlet against the Society entitled *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati*, Charleston, 1783 (170), in which he declared:

Did that virtuous Roman, having subdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyard and plant his cabbages; did he confer an hereditary order of peace on himself and his fellow-soldiers? I answer, No; it was more than he dared to do. ... The Romans had learned from and experience a lesson which seems to be brought home to ourselves in the example before me; that military commanders acquiring arms, and accustomed to receive the obedience of armies, are generally in their hearts aristocrats, and enemies to the popular equality of a republic.

Benjamin Franklin, in Paris at the time, also scoffed at the Society, and gave to his friend the Count de Mirabeau, the future leader of the French Revolution, a copy of Burke's pamphlet. Mirabeau adapted it into a pamphlet of his own entitled *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnati*, London, 1784 (711), in which he, using examples from the histories of Ely and to point out the failings of the ancient Roman patriotism, struck a strong and clever blow at the foundations of the French social order.

The high regard in which patriots like Franklin and Mirabeau were held soon after their deaths can be seen in Jean Michel Moreau's engraving, *Mirabeau Arrive aux Champs Élysées*, Paris, ca. 1792 (72). Here, Franklin, surrounded by contemporary philosophers and statesmen and, more importantly, Cicero and Demosthenes, welcomes Mirabeau to the Elysian Fields and makes him one of the noble brotherhood with a crown of laurel.

**ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING**

The first edition of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture to be brought to North America was probably the one printed at Amsterdam in 1643 (732), although it is doubtful that any buildings were designed directly from this work. American architects depended on various British adaptations of Vitruvius and his Renaissance followers, printed either in England or reprinted here. It was not until well after the Revolution that a distinctively American version of the rules first set forth by Vitruvius appeared. Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant* (743) printed in 1797 at Greenfield, Massachusetts (the author's home town), contains instructions for designing and building houses, churches, and public buildings with classical features — especially the three orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian — so simple that a local carpenter could follow the plan of construction without difficulty.

The plan of Washington, D.C., was based on the architectural and landscape forms and gridiron pattern which had been brought to perfection first in ancient Rome and subsequently modified in eighteenth-
century France. Pierre Charles L'Enfant's design, as surveyed by Andrew Elliott, Plan of the City of Washington, Boston, 1792 (1793), shows how the principles of Renaissance city design were revived in the new national capital.

The first Greek Revival structure in the United States was the Bank of Pennsylvania (1793) erected in Philadelphia and designed by the Englishman Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who had studied in Germany during the years of the development of Prussian neo-classicism. Begun at the end of 1795 and completed by the summer of 1800 in a Greek Ionic style, the bank building reflected Latrobe's artistic creed:

My principles of good taste are rigid in Grecian architecture. I am a bigotged Greek in the con-

Wherever, therefore the Grecian style can be copied without impropriety I love to be a mere, I would say slavish copier.

Latrobe also supervised the construction of the much-needed replacement for Philadelphia's water works. The pump house for the new system, constructed in Centre Square in 1800 (1793), was also Greek-inspired, but designed in the Doric style. These two buildings marked the beginning of the Greek Revival style that was to dominate American architecture in the first half of the nineteenth century.

JOHN CARTER BROWN AND ALDUS MANUTIUS

After his graduation from college in 1816, John Carter Brown, in the approved fashion of the day, joined with his older brother Nicholas in collecting books, purchasing fine editions of Greek and Latin authors, Bibles, and extra-illustrated books. Their choices were inspired in part by the standards set after the Hogarthian sale held at London in 1812, and by the writings of the English bibliophile Thomas Frossall Dibdin, Dibdin's An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, first published in 1802, brought to the brothers' attention the books printed by Aldus Manutius and his successors at Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. John Carter and Nicholas began to assemble what was probably the first Aldine collection in the United States, which eventually included some 900 volumes. When Nicholas decided to make his home in Rome in 1840, he sold his books to his brother. John Carter made the collection available to the Brown faculty for study, and presented the University Library with at least one of the Aldines, the Aristophanes of 1490.

Aldus Manutius, an accomplished classicist, was the greatest printer of the Italian Renaissance, famous especially for his scholarly editions of the Classics, some of which he edited himself. He gave to the world the first editions of many Greek authors, including Aristotle (1473), Aristophanes (1473), Euripides (1482), Sophocles (1483), Demosthenes (1483), and Plato (1483). (Some of these were issued in compact volumes small enough to fit in a reader's pocket.) Unfortunately, rather than basing his Greek type font on the formal, simple characters of older Greek manuscripts, Aldus chose to imitate the cursive Greek handwriting of his time, which was filled with countless ligatures and contractions. Nevertheless, his editions are still highly regarded for their accuracy and, in the case of some minor authors, include a number of texts not otherwise available.

The compiler has drawn freely from the published works of Jerome V. Johnson, Luis Martí, Agapito Rey, Francisco de la Hera, Irving Leonard, Perry Miller, Richard Gummere, Robert Middlekauff, Meyer Reinhold, and George Kennedy for this catalogue. He is grateful to Thomas N. Adams for his critical reading of the text, and to Rita A. Hindley of the Development Office, Brown University, for typing the catalogue.

The design on the cover has been taken from Julian Martell's Praecepta Grammaticae Ex Veris Collecta Auctoris, Linz, 1594 (see item seven in the exhibition).

Daniel Elliott
Bibliographical Assistant
HAND-LIST OF THE EXHIBITION
THE CLASSICS IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

1. Lucius Annaeus Seneca. TRAGICÆLIA. Venice, 1517.
   Seneca's prophecy of the discovery of the New World.
   An age will come
   After many years, when the Ocean
   Will lose the chain of things,
   And a huge land lie revealed;
   When Tiphys will disclose New Worlds,
   And Thule no longer be the ultimate.

2. COLUMNA QUINQUE ILLUSTRUM PORTARUM. Florence, 1552.
   Less than fifty years after the discovery of America,
   the Italian humanist Marcantonio Flaminio remarked on
   the study of the Classics in the New World.
   For strange to tell, e'en on that far-off shore
   Both flourished now the love of Latin lore.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION

3. Iulianus Garoœ. DE HABILITATE ET CAPACITATE GENTIVM SVE
   IN ORUM SVI MUNICI HOCUPAT AD FIDES CHRISTI CAPPEDERIAM.
   Rome, 1537.
   A letter written by the bishop of Marsala to
   persuade Pope Paul III that the native Americans
   could and should be Christianized and educated.
   The John Carter Brown copy is unique.

4. Naturni Gisberti. GRAMMATICA MATURINII TRACTATUS OMNIVM PHYR
   QUE GRAMMATICOS STUDIOSI TRAI SOLÆ. Mexico, 1559.
   The first Latin grammar written and printed in
   the New World, designed specifically for native
   American students.

5. [A]lonsus de la Veracrus, editor. DIALECTICA
   RESOLUTIO CON TEXTU ARISTOTELIS. Mexico, 1554.
   The first text of a classical author to be printed
   in America, comprising the Categories and Posterior
   Analytics of Aristotle and the Isagoge of Porphyry.
   The John Carter Brown copy is annotated in Veracrus's
   own hand.

6. Francisco de Toledo. INTRODUCTIO IN DIALECTICAM ARISTOTELIS.
   Mexico, 1578.
   One of the first classical textbooks published for
   use in the Jesuit schools in Mexico, opened to the
   license permitting the printer to issue the works
   of classical authors without prior censorship.

7. Julián Martell. GRAMMATICA EX VARIIS COLLECTA
   AUTHORUM. Lima, 1594.
   The first Latin grammar printed in South America.

8. [C]ortés González, editor. PEDRO DE BALSAS. THEATRUM
   FORHAEVA. Mexico, 1641.
   A Latin thesaurus and Spanish-Latin dictionary,
   first published in Spain and revised for use in
   Mexico.

   A selection from the letters to Lentulus, Fulcarius,
   Osto, and Cassius, edited for use in the Jesuit
   schools.

10. FLOREILEX CRATIUM. Mexico, 1737.
    This work contains passages from Cicero's "In
    Catilinem, Pro Archia, Postdictum ad Quirites,
    Pro Marcello, Pro Rege Piso," and "Philippium,
    "in addition to neo-Latin orations
    by various Jesuit authors.

11. Santiago de Zamora. PROLOGIA O TEMPO DE LA SYLBA LATINA.
    Mexico, 1758.

12. Santiago de Zamora. APLICACION DE LA SINTAXIS. Puebla
    de los Ángeles, 1785.
    Zamora, so great an orator that he was dubbed the
    "Indian Cicero," based these Latin grammars on
    the "Introductions Latino" written by the Spanish
    humanist Antonio de Lebrija and revised by Juan
    Luis de la Cerda.

13. Estevan de Orellana. INSTRUCCION DE LA LENGUA LATINA.
    Mexico, 1763.

14. Estevan de Orellana. IMAGENES SELECTOS DE LOS AUTORES
    LATINE. Lima, 1762.

Both Orellana and Rodríguez de Arizpe wrote these grammars to offer alternatives to the methods of teaching Latin advocated by Leibniz and his followers.


The first edition of any of Seneca's works to be printed in Latin America, compiled from his *Epistolas Morales* for the edification of Christian youth.

**COLONIAL LITERATURE AND CULTURE**


The *Amorós* of the Chilean people, open to the Indian Colocolo's speech to his fellow chieftains, which has often been compared to Herders *Hermann und Dorothea*.


Translations made in Mexico of the *Heroides* and the *Ibis*, still considered the finest renditions of these elegant verses in the Spanish language. Opened to the letter of Penelope to Ulysses.


The prologue to this lyrical description of Mexico City contains quotations from Cicero, Ovid, Pliny, Horace, Vergil, Strabo, Juvenal, and Horatius, and references to Delphos, Rhodes, Corinth, Argos, Ephesus, and Athens.


A *cento* -- a poem formed by combining separate verses of an already existing work -- made up of lines culled from Vergil's *Aenid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *Georgics*.


A proposal to publish a *cento* (with its verses taken from the *Aenid*) on the life of the Franciscan missionary Antonio Margil de Jesus.


A neo-Latin epic on the mysteries of religion, written in Mexico before its Jesuit author was expelled from the country.


The Jesuit Alegre, the first great Helenist in Latin America, translated the *Iliad* into Latin and composed his own epic in Latin, the *Alexandriad*, before his exile to Italy.


A panorama of nature and country life in New Spain, written in rustic Latin and modeled on Vergil's *Georgics*. The first literary work to bring out the characteristic features of the New World: its flora and fauna and the customs of its native population.


A description of the festivities held in honor of the new viceroy of Mexico, the Duke of Alba, who was compared to the Roman god Mars.


Sor Juana, the "Third Muse," commissioned to plan the celebration for the entrance of the Count of Paredes as the new viceroy of Mexico in 1680, chose as her theme "the unequalled virtues of the prince of the gods, Neptune."

This iconography of classical mythology, opened to an engraving of Neptune and his consort Amphitrite, provided for Juan de Siguenza's *Glorias de Querétaro* the designs for the scenes on the triumphal arch erected for the viceroy's arrival.


A treatise on design, based on the precepts of Vitruvius and first published in 1567, which became the major references for builders in Latin America. It is opened to the chapter on the Doric order.


Casts with classical themes -- the barque of Neptune and the heights of Parnassus -- made up the escultura (parade) held to celebrate the inauguration of a new aqueduct at Querétaro.


The first book printed in Brazil, with a description of the seven triumphal arches -- each decorated with mythological figures: Juno, Iris, Venus, Neptune, Arpheus, Minerva, and Zeus -- erected for the entrance of the new bishop of Rio de Janeiro.


An engraving of the catafalque adorned with statues of Apollo, Mercury, Vesta, Venus, Minerva, Osiris, Saturn, and Junus -- erected in the cathedral of Guatemala City for the Queen of Spain, who died in 1761.


The original gridiron street plan of Mexico City, based on the precepts of Vitruvius and Polybius, was carefully maintained well into the eighteenth century.


The first published view of Mexico City to depict the city as a European metropolis, showing the aqueduct (in the center-left portion of the engraving) influenced by those erected by the Romans in Spain.


A view of the Zócalo or central plaza of Mexico City, illustrating the two classical interludes in Mexican architecture: the Doric cathedral on the far left and the equestrian statue of Charles IV in the center.


Opened to the engraving of the neo-classical monument erected in the cathedral of Mexico City in mourning for the death of Charles III, King of Spain.

THE CLASSICS IN NORTH AMERICA

CLASSICAL EDUCATION

37. NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS. London, 1643.

An anonymous promotional tract, opened to the entrance requirements for Harvard University.

When any Scholar is able to understand Dulity, or such like classical Latin authors as Plutarch, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose upon such parts; And decline perfectly the Paradigm's of Homer and Virgil in the Greek tongues, let him then and not before be capable of admission into the College.
   The most popular beginning Latin grammar in the British colonies, written by the headmaster of Boston Latin School.

40. Francis Gregory. NOMENLATORIA BREVIS ANGLO-LATINUM IN URBIN SCHOLARUM. Boston, 1752.
   A book of Latin words and phrases designed to improve the vocabulary.

41. Desiderius Erasmus. ERASMUS COLLOQUIA SELECTA. Newburyport C1786.

42. Mathurin Cordier. CURSORII COLLOQUIORUM CENTURIA SELECTA. Boston, 1770.

43. Aesopus. FABULAE AESOPI Selectae, OR, SELECT FABLES OF AESOP. Boston, 1767.
   These beginning Latin readers, all based on British editions, are arranged with parallel columns of English and Latin texts to facilitate learning.


45. Plutarch. HISTORIÆ ROMANÆ EPHEMÆRÆ. Boston, 1793.
   The first North American printings of Ovid and Plutarch, both edited by the English schoolmaster, John Clarke.

46. John Clarke. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MAKING OF LATIN. Worcester, 1766.

   One of the first Greek grammars printed in the British colonies. There were few Greek type fonts available until after the Revolution.

   The first college-level textbook of a classical author to be published in the United States, based on the 1789 London edition.

49. Hugh Blair. LECTURES ON RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES. Philadelphia, 1784.
   The study of rhetoric was an important part of classical curriculum. The first American edition of the lectures of the Scottish Presbyterian divine Hugh Blair, widely read in this country, is here opened to his discourse on Greek eloquence.

   Witherspoon, a classmate of Blair at Edinburgh, was president of Princeton University from 1769 to 1794.
   More than any other American educator, he made the Classics a vital element in the training of preachers and orators.

   TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF THE CLASSICS

   The earliest English verse of any consequence written in America and the most widely read translation of Ovid during the colonial period.

52. [Sir Thomas North, translator.] Plutarchus. THE LIVES OF THE NOBILIS ROMAINE & ROMANE. Cambridge, 1676.
   Plutarch was the most popular classical author in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America. North's translation of the Lives, first published in 1797, was the standard for two centuries.


   Logan, a distinguished Pennsylvania statesman and merchant, was an accomplished classicalist whose best known works are these translations printed by Benjamin Franklin.

   Pope's translation of the Iliad, first published at London in 1715-1720, appealed to many eighteenth-century Americans because of its aphoristic style, its wisdom, and its moralistic tone.

The French educator Rollin's histories of Greece and Rome provided Americans with a utilitarian approach to ancient history. This copy of the first American edition of any of his works was purchased by Nicholas Brown in 1802.

**COLONIAL LITERATURE**


Anne Bradstreet, the "Tenth Muse," was inspired by Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* and North's translation of Plutarch to write this long poem on the history of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires. It is opened to "The Third Monarchy, being the Grecian."


A collection of thirty-one Greek, Latin, and English odes written by Harvard students to celebrate the accession of George III. The volume contains the first extensive use of Greek letter type by a colonial press.


Beveridge, a Latin teacher in the Academy of Philadelphia, was called "one of the ablest masters in the Latin Tongue on this continent." This volume of original Latin verse contains letters addressed to his friends and patrons and to contemporary heroes.


Many of these poems are really paraphrases of Horace that adapt the subject matter to the circumstances of American history, substituting George Washington for the Emperor Augustus.


Franklin was one of the first to claim that the Classics enjoyed an unjust monopoly of education, and proposed to establish an academy at Philadelphia with both "English" and "Latin" schools.


Although Rush wrote in this work that the Classics provided "the best foundation for a correct and extensive knowledge of the language of our own country," he later became one of the most vociferous opponents of Classical studies.


The lyric poet Freneau also assailed the study of the Classics.

In his own language Homer writ and read,
Not spent his life in poring on the Dead;
Why then your native language not pursue
In which all ancient races (that's worth review)
Grows in translation, fresh and new?

**THE REVOLUTION**

64. George Richards Minot. *Continuation of the History of the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, from the Year 1748 to 1765*. Boston, 1803.

This work is opened to James Otis's oration against the Writs of Assistance delivered at Boston in 1761. John Adams remarked that it contained "a promptitude of classical allusions..."


Paine, although well read in the Classics, was skeptical about the application of ancient tradition to contemporary society.

The Greeks and Romans were strongly possessed of the spirit of liberty but not the principle for at the time they were determined not to be slaves themselves, they employed their power to enslave the rest of mankind.
66. **Letters from Cicero to Catiline the Second.**

London, 1781.

Galloway was the spokesman for the American Loyalists in London. In this series of letters he employed ample quotations from the Roman orator and bitter parallels from ancient Rome to rebuke British officials for their poor attempts to keep the colonics in the Empire.

67. **The Constitution, Proposed for the Government of the United States of America.**

Philadelphia, 1787.

The works of Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero provided much of the material for the debates on the form of government for the new republic.

68. **The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution.**

New York, 1788.

This collection of essays, written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay in defense of the new constitution, contains many classical allusions, even though the authors agreed that antiquity and America were not entirely comparable.

69. **The Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati.**

New York, 1784.

This organization took its name from the Roman general Cincinnatus, whose nick-name meant "early-harvest." Although its primary objects were charitable, the Society aroused antagonism because of its hereditary membership.

70. **Considerations on the Society of Order of Cincinnati.**

Charleston, 1784.

Burke, signing himself "Cassius," attacked the Society in this pamphlet.

Did that virtuous Roman, having subdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyard and plant his cabbages; did he confer an hereditary order of peerage on himself and his fellow soldiers? I answer, No; it was more than he dared to do.

71. **Considerations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus.**

London, 1784.

The future leader of the French Revolution adapted Burke's pamphlet in French at the prompting of Benjamin Franklin, including examples from Livy to point out the failings of the ancient Roman patriots.

72. **Joseph Galloway.**

Paris, 1792.

Benjamin Franklin, surrounded by contemporary philosophers and Cicero and Demosthenes, welcomes Honoré Mirabeau to the Elysean Fields.

ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING

73. **Vitruvius. De Architectura Libri Decem.**

Amsterdam, 1649.

The first edition of Vitruvius to be brought to British North America.

74. **Asher Benjamin. The Country Builder's Assistant.**

Greenfield (Massachusetts), 1797.

The first distinctively American version of Vitruvian precepts, opened to Plate V, on the Ionic order.

75. **Plan of the City of Washington.**

Boston, 1792.

The first engraved plan of the national capital, showing the classical and Renaissance forms revived in the design as conceived by Pierre Charles L'Enfant and surveyed by Andrew Ellicott.

76. **William Birch. The Bank of Pennsylvania, South Second Street.**

Philadelphia, 1806.

77. **William Birch. The Water Works, in Centre Square.**

Philadelphia, 1806.

These engravings show the first Greek Revival buildings erected in the United States. The Ionic Bank of Pennsylvania and the Doric pumping station of the Philadelphia water works were both designed by Benjamin Latrobe.

JOHN CARTER BROWN AND ALDUS MANUTIUS

78. **Aristoteles. Organon.**

Venice, 1476-98. 5 vol.

*Editio princeps* opened to the Prior Analytics. This copy contains extensive manuscript annotations by Carerius, the editor of the first edition of the stoic Hierocles.

*Editio princeps*: opened to the Clouds. This copy was presented by John Carter Brown to Brown University in the 1860's. (Loaned by The John Hay Library.)


*Editio princeps*: opened to the Bacchae.


*Editio princeps*: opened to the Antigone.


*Editio princeps*: opened to the Oration against Timocrates.


*Editio princeps*: opened to the Apology.