

## Learning Greek in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Of Books and Men

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In Spain, as in other European countries, research into the history of Hellenic studies tends to be led by Spanish classicists interested in the linguistic and literary aspects of how their country's humanists approached Greek texts. The outlook of such publications tends to be local, focusing on an important figure from a given city or university, around whom a body of collections and critical editions grew. Less frequently, the research is structured around the humanists' libraries, in which case books offer the key to understanding their owners' intellectual and philological activities.

This persistent focus on local realities coexists alongside a different approach ushered in by the French Hispanist Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977), who dedicated much of his career to studying Spanish humanism within its broader European context.<sup>1</sup> Bataillon's *Erasme et l'Espagne* was published in 1937, toward the end of Spain's drive to leave behind the impoverished and backward country described by European travelers, but on the verge of entering a long period of isolation. This work sought to track down the Spanish followers of Erasmus, which was no easy task, given the Inquisition's expurgation of libraries and the burning or partial censorship of many books. Bataillon's scholarship, at once groundbreaking and sound, distanced itself from literary and linguistic studies, using philological tools to recover information from archives and reconstruct intellectual life based on a broad array of evidence. In this way, Bataillon laid the foundations for a new understanding of Spanish humanism as occurring at the heart of the religious tensions and political ambitions that characterized sixteenth-century Europe.

Based on his reconstruction, those who carried on Bataillon's work delved deeper into some of the defining traits of Spanish humanism that emerged in

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<sup>1</sup> Bataillon 1950. Later writings by Bataillon on Erasmus were gathered and translated into Spanish in Bataillon 1977. A long catalogue of Spanish Erasmists in Gil Fernández 2004, 96–116. See also Martínez-Burgos García 2003.

the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The first constant feature is the mediating use of Latin and the Romance languages in approaching the Greek texts,<sup>3</sup> which should be understood in the specific context of the Iberian peninsula. Since the reign of Alfonso x of Castile, Castilian had been employed as the 'language of culture' and of mediation between territories with a remarkably complex social makeup. The second feature is the emphasis on Biblical studies, which took off at the same time as Greek studies, following Cardinal Cisneros's (1436–1517) 1495 founding of the Collegium Complutense (after *Complutum*, the Roman name for Alcalá de Henares). Cisneros's initiative to publish the well-known Polyglot Bible cemented this biblical orientation of Spanish humanism from its very beginnings.<sup>4</sup>

In the sixteenth century, as the Inquisition tightened its grip on surveillance and censorship, Spain was cut off from the intellectual life of Europe, forcing many Conversos (i.e., Jews forced to abandon their religion and *convert* to Roman Catholicism) to opt for the path of exile (Juan Luis Vives being the most famous example). The laws issued by the Habsburg monarchs, who to a large extent were patrons of the intellectual life and controlled the publishing activity in the country,<sup>5</sup> made it impossible to study abroad or publish scholarly books.<sup>6</sup> The consequences defy exaggeration: Spanish Hellenists with connections outside the country, especially in Italy and Flanders, tried to publish their books there, but still the obstacles were often insurmountable. It is no surprise that those whose salary was paid by the Crown and, therefore, were

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2 The most far-reaching and comprehensive book about Spanish humanism is Gil Fernández 1997, 189–225 (specifically on Greek studies). The book was preceded and followed by other essays by his disciples devoted to the biographies and works of Spanish Hellenists till the eighteenth century. Among them, sixteenth-century Hellenism was addressed by López Rueda 1973 in a still extremely useful book. An interesting synthesis in English is Lawrance 1990; see also Coroleu 1998.

3 See Russell 1985.

4 See Sáenz-Badillos 1990, Alvar Ezquerro 1996, Cabañas González 2014, Carbajosa and García Serrano 2014. A good approach in English is Bentley 1983, 70–111. As for the Colegio Trilingüe in Salamanca, it was created in 1550–54.

5 On the control by French kings over Greek studies, see Förstel 2000.

6 The landmarks are well-known: in 1559 and 1569, respectively, Castilian and Aragonese people were banned from studying outside the kingdom. As a result of the equally important book censorship, from 1610 publishing abroad without a license was prohibited; from 1617, the prohibition extended to the import of books published abroad by foreigners or Spaniards with a license. The impact of these laws on the entrance of Greek editions or translations in Spain was high, given that the Greek printing was increasingly based in Protestant countries. See Gil Fernández 1997, *passim*.

more exposed than the nobility and clergy often asked to retire to the tranquility of their hometowns or a monastery.<sup>7</sup>

Based on these premises, studying the achievements of Hellenic studies in Spain means, to a certain extent, reflecting on what Spain could have been. In other words, it means assessing the cultural impact of specific decisions made by Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V, and, lastly Philip II, which ultimately served to demonize books and scholarship. In this process, as knowledge of Greek inevitably raised more and more suspicions of crypto-Jewish heresy, from the seventeenth century to the mid-1900s Greek studies in Spain were to be largely incidental and residual.

However, before the culmination of this process, those who studied Greek between 1513 and 1548 took full advantage of an education that would prove functionally productive, in the sense that it enabled them to devise ambitious intellectual projects, such as Antonio Agustín's study of Roman law or Juan Páez de Castro's study of Greek philosophy, in Italy and Flanders. In Spain, during the first half of the sixteenth century, this fruitful study of Greek took place at two educational centers: the University of Alcalá de Henares (or Complutense University) and the University of Salamanca. Both were closely related to the leading figure of Spanish Hellenic studies, Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (1475–1553), known as “el Comendador Griego” or El Pinciano (from Pintia, the supposed ancient name of his native Valladolid).<sup>8</sup> Although these were not the only two centers where students could gain proficiency in Greek, it was there that most of the Humanists who would work intensely on Greek texts studied the language.<sup>9</sup>

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7 Pérez Martín 2002. On the difficulties encountered by Spanish Hellenists, see Signes Codoñer 2008, 137–138.

8 Martínez Manzano 1999; Signes Codoñer, Codoñer Merino and Domingo Malvadi 2001; an updated overview of his biography in Domingo Malvadi 2012; see also the entry by Teresa Jiménez Calvente for the *Diccionario biográfico español*, a publication by the Real Academia de la Historia, now online [<http://dbe.rah.es>]. On Pinciano's contribution to Complutensian editorial work, see Domingo Malvadi 2013.

9 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, 32 universities and 4,000 colleges of grammar offered the possibility of studying Greek along with Latin, but their level was certainly defective; see Gil Fernández 2004, 59–60.

## 1 Teaching Greek at the Complutense University (1512–1522): Demetrius Ducas and Hernán Núñez de Guzmán

Let us briefly recall that Greek was first taught in Spain by Demetrius Ducas in Alcalá de Henares.<sup>10</sup> From 1513 to 1518, the Cretan scholar taught his native tongue there, with the help of some modest printed materials he prepared in 1514 based on Aldine editions: Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* (a copy of the Aldine edition with an interlinear translation by Demetrius Chalcondyles)<sup>11</sup> and Musaeus's poem *Hero and Leander*.<sup>12</sup> These works were already available on the Italian market, but Ducas wanted to make it easier for his own students to obtain them.

In 1513, when Ducas arrived in Spain, the Complutense University already possessed a modest collection of fourteen Greek books, half of which were printed by Aldus Manutius.<sup>13</sup> Very few of the books that may have been used to learn Greek in this initial period have been preserved in the historic collection of the Complutense University:<sup>14</sup> one of the reasons is that, during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), portions of the library's collections were used to build barricades at the University of Madrid during the Nationalist troops' advance on the city, and many books were lost to the bombs and fires. Still, the surviving manuscripts and printed books give us an idea of the tools available to students studying Greek at that time.<sup>15</sup> The Complutense's historic collection includes dictionaries like Pollux's *Vocabularium*,<sup>16</sup> simple texts like Frobenius's

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10 Ducas was brought in to oversee the quality of the Greek text of the Polyglot Bible. See Geanakoplos 1973, 223–255; Martínez Manzano 2010, where Ducas's hand is not identified; Botley 2010, 11, 35, 103, 132–133.

11 The 1514 edition of Chrysoloras's grammar included other short grammars and a collection of sentences. See Fig. 1.1: Salamanca, Universidad, Biblioteca Histórica, Imp/11147, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>.

12 A description of these books, the first Greek books printed in Spain, in Martín Abad 1991, 1: 234–236.

13 See Lowry 1979, 286; Domingo Malvadi 2015.

14 Now preserved at the Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. The catalogue of its Greek manuscripts was published by De Andrés 1974a; the collection of manuscripts has been recently described in López Fonseca and Torres Santo Domingo 2019.

15 It is worth comparing this relative richness with the poverty of Greek texts shown in 1576 by the inventory of the library of the Colegio de Santa Catalina (University of Toledo), where we only find one Greek book, a *vocabularium*: see Cátedra 2004, 950.

16 Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, DER 1479; it is an Aldine edition from 1502.

|  |                |                 |                    |                 |                    |                 |
|--|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
|  | rum            | fodiam.         | indefi.            | fodi.           | futu.              | fodiam.         |
|  | λωμ            | ά.όρύνω.        | ά.όρι.             | ά.ώρυνα.        | μέλ.β.             | ορνυῶ.          |
|  |                | indefi.         | fodi.              | preteritū pfe.  | fodi.              | preteritū plus. |
|  | ά.όρι.         | β.ώριγομ.       | παρακεί.           | ώρυνχα.         | ύπερσνμ.           | ώρύν            |
|  | ram.           | mediūm          | preteritū pfe.     | fodi.           | mediūm             | preteritū plus. |
|  | χειμ.          | μέσος           | παρακεί.           | ώρυνγα.         | μέσος              | ύπερσνμ.        |
|  | deram.         |                 |                    |                 |                    | ώ               |
|  |                |                 |                    |                 | Coniugatio quinta. |                 |
|  | ρύνγειμ.       |                 |                    |                 | συζυγία            | πέμωτη.         |
|  | presens.       | canto.          | preteritū iper.    | cantabam.       | futu.              |                 |
|  | Εμεστώς.       | ψάλλω.          | παρατα.            | εψάλλομ.        | μέλ.ά.             |                 |
|  | cantabo.       | indefi.         | cantauī.           | futu.           | cantabo.           | indefi.         |
|  | ψαλλῶ.         | ά.όρι.          | ά.εψηλα.           | μέλ.β.          | ψαλλῶ.             | ά.όρι.β.ε-      |
|  | tauī.          | preteritū pfe.  | cantauī.           | preteritū plus. | cantaueram.        |                 |
|  | ψαλομ.         | παρακεί.        | εψάλλκα.           | ύπερσνμ.        | εψάλλκειμ.         |                 |
|  | mediūm         | preteritū pfe.  | cantauī.           | mediūm          | preteritū plus.    | cantaueraz.     |
|  | μέσος          | παρακεί.        | εψάλα.             | μέσος           | ύπερ.              | εψάλλειμ.       |
|  |                | eiusdem.        |                    | presens.        | semino.            | prete           |
|  | ΤΗΣ            | ΑΥΤΗΣ.          |                    | Εμεστώς.        | σφείρω.            | πα              |
|  | ritū ipse.     | seminabam.      | futu.              | seminabo.       | indefi.            | semina          |
|  | ράτατι.        | εσφείρομ.       | μέλ.ά.             | σφείρω.         | ά.όρι.ά.           | εσφεί-          |
|  | ui.            | futu.           | seminabo.          | indefi.         | seminauī.          | preteritū pfe.  |
|  | ρα.            | μέλ.β.          | σφωρῶ.             | ά.όρι.β.        | εσφωρομ.           | παρα.           |
|  | naui.          | preteritū plus. | seminauerā.        | mediūm          | preteritū pfe.     | seminauī.       |
|  | παρκα.         | ύπερ.           | εσφάρκειμ.         | μέσος           | παρα.              | εσπορα.         |
|  | dis            | preteritū plus. | seminaueraz.       |                 | Coniugatio sexta.  |                 |
|  | σος            | ύπερ.           | εσφώρειμ.          |                 | συζυγία            | έκτη.           |
|  | presens.       | equito          | preteritū pfectum. | equitabā        | futu               |                 |
|  | Εμεστώς.       | ίτωπένω.        | παρατατικός.       | ίππενομ.        | μέλ                |                 |
|  | rum            | equitabo.       | indefinitus        | equitauī.       | futu               |                 |
|  | λωμ            | ά.ίτωπένσω.     | ά.όριστος          | ά.ίτωπενωσα.    | μέλ=               |                 |
|  | rum            | equitabo        | indefinitus        | equitauī.       | prete              |                 |
|  | λωμ.           | β.ίτωπενῶ.      | ά.όριστος.         | β.ίτωπενομ.     | παρα=              |                 |
|  | taū perfectū.  | equitauī.       | preteritū plus.    | equitauerā.     | mediūm             |                 |
|  | ρακεί          | μεμοσ.          | ίππενκα.           | ύπερσνμ.        | ίππένκειμ.         | μέσος           |
|  | preteritū pfe. | equitauī.       | mediūm             | preteritū plus. | equitauerā.        |                 |
|  | παρακεί.       | ίτωπενω.        | μέσος              | ύπερσνμ.        | ίτωπένειμ.         |                 |

εἰρωσπυ Χ  
 ν. εσπαρχα  
 σφάρκειμ. με  
 σφρω. σπα  
 εσπειρα  
 σπαρομ.  
 σπορα. εσ  
 ορεμ. #

FIGURE 1.1 Salamanca, Universidad, Biblioteca Histórica, Imp/11147, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>

1518 volume of fables with facing Latin translation,<sup>17</sup> and of course grammars – including various editions of Constantine Lascaris – along with an anthology of bilingual pagan and Christian texts, as well as other materials.<sup>18</sup>

In 1519, El Pinciano, who that year succeeded Ducas and held that post until 1522, published two printed Greek texts with interlinear Latin translation; the dedicatory epistles of both texts mention that his reward for the effort of preparing the translations would be their enormous utility for his students.<sup>19</sup> The first text, then, comes as no surprise: Basil of Caesarea's *Ad adolescentes* (*Address to Young Men on How They Might Derive Benefit from Greek Literature*). El Pinciano did not alter the Greek text, which merely reproduced Francesco di Alop's 1496 Florentine edition. He did specify that the Latin translation was his own (although it was not the only one available, since Leonardo Bruni had already translated the same text). He explained that he followed the original text *ad verbum* because his aim was not to compose a beautiful Latin version, but rather to provide students with a tool to become familiar with Greek. The second printed text prepared by El Pinciano in 1519 is, quite surprisingly, a poem composed in 1493 and published in Reggio Emilia in 1499: Demetrius Moschus's *De raptu Helenae* or *Circa Helenam et Alexandrum*.<sup>20</sup> Hernán Núñez described it as "*pulcherrimum et iucundissimum*," which, along with the popularity of the subject matter, might explain the choice of this relatively obscure text rooted in the Homeric tradition.

In the copies of each edition held at the University of Salamanca, but especially in that of Basil of Caesarea, we find copious notes by at least two readers, whose clumsy hands indicate that they were students. They have done exactly what one would expect from a Greek language learner: writing out in the margins the root verbs (often indicating their conjugations in  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $\hat{\omega}$  /  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\hat{\omega}$  /  $\acute{\omicron}\omega$ ,  $\hat{\omega}$ ) and nouns corresponding to the inflected forms that appear in the text.<sup>21</sup> We also find notes listing basic rules, indicating the dialect or referencing Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and works by Plutarch and other Greek and Latin

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17 Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, DER 929(3): Frobenius ed. 1518.

18 Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, Res. 306, DER 1413, DER 1816 correspond to the Aldine edition from 1512; DER 2118 is the Giuntine edition from 1518, annotated by El Pinciano.

19 López Rueda 1973, 354–356; Martín Abad 1991, 268–270.

20 See the modern edition of the poem, Moschus ed. 1977. On Moschus, who collected books and taught in Italy at least from 1483, see Eleuteri and Canart 1991, 86–89; Formentin 1998, 241 and 252, on the poem.

21 See, for instance, Salamanca, BH, Imp/11774, fol. Aii<sup>v</sup> (beginning of the text): "Πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντά ἐστι συμβουλευῆσαι ὑμῖν"; in marg. "συμβουλεύω, οω, ᾠ."

authors.<sup>22</sup> The notes suggest that the copy was used to record El Pinciano's remarks in his lessons at Salamanca. In any case, the spelling of the Greek would have required the reader to have a grammar open before him or the professor to write on the blackboard the words the student was copying down in the book. Since the text was bilingual, the word-for-word Latin translation would have made students' understanding of the Greek text much easier. Thus, the student would not have had to check the words in a dictionary or consult a separate translation. For this reason, here we do not find the most common form of *marginalia*, the Latin translations of Greek terms. We do, however, find the same simple annotation system as in many of El Pinciano's books: marking of the *auctoritates*, transcriptions of their names, and underlining of the words that will be explained in the margins.

The Complutense's library contained printed books in Greek as well as manuscripts, some of which are highly valuable, such as Ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, ms. 30, copied in Calabria in the second half of the tenth century, which contains the *Lexicon* ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria along with *Varia lexica sacra et prophana*. This manuscript was already in Alcalá in 1512,<sup>23</sup> and its wide selection of vocabulary would surely have proved extremely useful for more advanced students. In fact, most of the annotations that are not contemporary to the copy itself are the work of several hands (including El Pinciano's) and consist of Latin translations or transcriptions of some of the terms, although there are also additions and corrections based on the *Suda*.<sup>24</sup> There is a keen interest in Greek terms that are similar to words in Spanish (although the etymologies are at times far-fetched), reminiscent of the lists that appear in some grammars and aimed at kindling Spanish students' curiosity in the language. For example, *κραϊπάλη* ('drunkenness') on fol. 117<sup>v</sup> has been repeated in the top margin of the page alongside the Latin equivalent *crapula* (in Spanish *crápula* means 'libertine').

This first period in Greek instruction is also illustrated by the acquisition of Ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, ms. 23, a late and humbly made Psalter (rounded out with odes and various prayers), in 1517.<sup>25</sup> The Latin glosses added up to fol. 22 reveal that this manuscript was used to

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22 See Fig. 1.2: Salamanca, BH, Imp/11774, fol. Aiiii, on *μεθεκτέον*. At the end of Moschus's booklet, the student copied a fragment of St. Paul's *Epistula ad Timotheum* 1: 7–10, followed by its Latin translation.

23 De Andrés 1974a, 226.

24 See Fig. 1.3: Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, ms. 30, fol. 154, where El Pinciano added "*παρακροτούντες*" and his typical 'hand-mark.'

25 De Andrés 1974a, 227 and 230–232; the manuscript was acquired at Ducas's request.

αλληλων αλληλοις αλληλους. in 3. casu 3. casu 3. duntaxat

2030

υ. οφισ.

υ. οφισ

εικασω

ειχουμαι

υ. πο λισ

από το ερχουμαι

applicare assuefacti: sic ipi applicabim<sup>9</sup> luci oculos. si dde  
 οραν ειπεντες, οτως αυτοι προσβαλουμεν τω φωτι τας οφθαλμους. ει μεν  
 igne est aliq<sup>9</sup> τ<sup>9</sup> p<sup>9</sup>pprietas ad inuice disciplin<sup>9</sup> necessaria nobis cog  
 ον ενι τις και οικειοτης προς αλληλους τοις λογους, προεργου αν ημιν αυτων  
 cognitio esset: si aut min<sup>9</sup> saltem ad collatione ponentes: discere diff  
 η γνωσις γενοιτο, ει δε μη, αλλα το γε παραλληλα εντας, καταμαθειν το δια  
 ferre: no parui ad confirmatione incliois. cui tamē τ<sup>9</sup> assimilās  
 φορον, ον μικρον εις βελτιωσιων του βελτιονος. τινι μεντοι και παρεκαστας  
 disciplinarū vtrāq<sup>9</sup>: imaginē assereris, pfecto sicuti platee p  
 των παιδων των εκατερων, τῆς εικοτος αν τυχης; η του καθ'απερ φυτου οι  
 ρια dde xius fructu germinare pulchre; affert aut qndā ornati τ<sup>9</sup> folia  
 κεια μη αρετη τω καρπω βουεν αραιω, φερετ δε τινα κοσμον και φυλλα  
 ramis circūssa: sic τ<sup>9</sup> aie: pncipaliter fruct<sup>9</sup>  
 τοις κλαδις περιεστωμενα, οτω δ η και φυχη, προηγουμενωσ μεν καρποσ η  
 veritas: no inuicouli in neq<sup>9</sup> que ab extra sapia induti est: sicuti quaedā  
 αληθεια, ουκ αχαρι γεμνη ουδε την ευραθεν σοφιασ ποδυ βελων δαι, οιον τινασ  
 folia ornati q<sup>9</sup> fructui: τ<sup>9</sup> aspectu no indecē exhibēta. of  
 φυλλα σκεπων τῆ το καρπω, και ειν ουκ αωρον παρεχομενα λεγεται τοι  
 τ<sup>9</sup> moles ille admirad: cui<sup>9</sup> maximū est in sapia apud oēs homi  
 και Μωυσις εκεινος ο παν, ου μεγαλον εν εν επι σοφια παρα πασιν ανθρω  
 nes nome: egyptiois disciplinis in exercēt miter sic ac  
 τοις νομοις, τοις αγνωσιων μαθημασιν εγγυμασ αμενος την διαδοιαν, οτω προ  
 cessisse cōspicant<sup>9</sup> existet. similit<sup>9</sup> at huic τ<sup>9</sup> infra p<sup>9</sup>hibe  
 ειλεθεν τῆ βεωρια τ<sup>9</sup> οργος. παραπλησως δε τουτω και τοις κατω χρονοις,  
 sapientē danielē in babyloē alitē chaldaeor sapiam cōdidicisset  
 τον σοφον Δανιηλ επι βαβυλωνας φασι την χαλδαϊων σοφιασ καταμαδοντασ  
 eis diuinas attigisse scripturas. verū q<sup>9</sup> dde no inuile ais dis  
 τότε των βειων αφαδαι παιδων ματων. αλλ οτι μεν ουκ αχρησος φυχαισ μα  
 cipline que ab extra hē: abūde dicit ē. q<sup>9</sup> pacto in ex his pncipādū nobis  
 σηματα τα εξωθεν δ η ταυτα, ικατασ ειρησιν οπως γεμνη αυτων μενεκτων ημιν,  
 deiceps est dicere. p<sup>9</sup>missū dde igit<sup>9</sup> his que a poetis ut hinc  
 εξης αν εν λεγειν. P<sup>9</sup>ρων μεν ον τοις παρα των ποιητων ινα εντευθεν  
 incipia: qm̄ multiplices q<sup>9</sup>ria sunt: no oib<sup>9</sup> eodē ordine adhibere p<sup>9</sup>ceptūτ<sup>9</sup> passiv<sup>9</sup>  
 αρθουμαι, επι παν τοσδε τοις τινεσ υσι, μη πασιν εφεξης προσεχειν  
 mēte: sed cā dde p<sup>9</sup>bois vitiosi gesta vel finēs nobis  
 τον νου, αλλ οταν μεν τοσ των αγαθων ανδρων πραξεις η λογους ημιν  
 expoluerint: anare τ<sup>9</sup> imitari: τ<sup>9</sup> quā maxie tētare tales et  
 διεψωσιν, αγασων τε και βλουν, και οτιμαλιτα περιδαι τοιουτους ει  
 se: cā at ad uquā hoies venerint: imitationē hāc ops fugere:  
 και, οταν δε επι μαχηρους ανδρας ελθωσι, την μιμησιν ταυτην δε φειγεινα  
 απο το ερχουμαι.

ω νοησ. ου  
 μω οφισ  
 και μω οφισ  
 και μω οφισ

hmoi di ditiones de  
 ducunt a fertia  
 Esona singulari  
 p<sup>9</sup>ceptūτ<sup>9</sup> passiv<sup>9</sup>  
 τ<sup>9</sup> μοτο αιωμετων  
 δι duplicata hinc  
 δι. αι. in. εον. υι  
 εχω. ειχα.  
 εγμαι. ειχα  
 εικται. εικτε  
 formatione, licet no sit in  
 υι

VNIVERSIDAD  
 DE SALAMANCA  
 GREGDOS.USAL.ES

FIGURE 1.2 Salamanca, Universidad, Biblioteca Histórica, Imp/11774, fol. Aiii





study Greek. It is worth noting that the prayers it includes, intended for memorization and as a learning aid, are common among the texts complementing Greek grammars printed in Spain, such as Francisco de Vergara's *Explicatio*.<sup>26</sup>

## 2 Teaching Greek at the Complutense University (1521–1541): Francisco de Vergara

Francisco de Vergara (d. 1545) studied at Alcalá under both Ducas and Hernán Núñez, whom he succeeded.<sup>27</sup> During his tenure, from 1521 to 1541, he was not the only professor of Greek at the Complutense University. This made it possible to break up classes into smaller groups of twelve to twenty students, according to some accounts.<sup>28</sup> Vergara was more than just the top Greek scholar at Alcalá. He enjoyed particular prestige among Spanish Hellenists because he corresponded with Erasmus of Rotterdam, was the first Spaniard to write a Greek grammar, and published various printed texts for his students of Greek, of which, in some cases, not a single copy has survived.

Indeed, in 1524 Vergara published his *Graecae Epistulae*, a unique case in the Spanish editorial world, where the publication of original texts in Greek was exceedingly rare.<sup>29</sup> Although other Spanish humanists did write letters, poems or dialogues in Greek and included them in their printed books, Vergara's collection of Greek letters was a special book that lent its author a great deal of prestige. In using his letters for teaching purposes, to explain the language through *epimerismoi* ('partitions,' specific explanations of the words that make up a text), Vergara was following a tradition that was not uncommon among Byzantine professors of ancient Greek.<sup>30</sup> The fact that some letters were addressed to Erasmus, along with the humble material used by the publisher Miguel de Eguía, may explain why no copies have been preserved.<sup>31</sup>

That same year, 1524, Vergara published another book, of which very few copies have survived: a *chrestomathia* of Greek texts intended for his students.

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26 Vergara ed. 1526. Pontani (2003) has published the hexametrical poem composed by Marcus Musurus paraphrasing the Creed; the poem was preserved by Ms. Athens, EBE, 1062, possibly intended as a syllabus of texts for the school.

27 López Rueda 1973, 27–32; Sáenz-Badillos 1990, 367–377; Pérez Martín 2008, 33–36, and Ead. 2012.

28 De la Torre y del Cerro 1925.

29 Bataillon 1950, 160.

30 See Robins 1993, 125–146; Ciccolella 2008, 113–118.

31 Vergara's Latin translation of Theon of Alexandria's *Progymnasmata* is also lost. See the list of Vergara's works in Schott 1608, 555–556.

In the preface, he laments the obstacles to obtaining books from abroad and the lack of interest in having them published in Spain.<sup>32</sup> The selected works are dialogues of Lucian and Xenophon – an ideal genre for beginners – followed by somewhat more challenging prose texts: orations by Isocrates, Demosthenes, Libanius, and Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>33</sup> These brief texts are significant not only from a linguistic standpoint, but also in terms of their political and moral contents.<sup>34</sup> The selection reproduces prior editions accessible to Vergara and is another example of the tastes of the Erasmian circles.<sup>35</sup>

Vergara's grammar is an ambitious, complete, and carefully structured work.<sup>36</sup> Since it was published upon his brother Juan's release from the Inquisitorial prison, writing it must surely have been his refuge during the terrible years of his brother's trial and sentence (1533–1537). Whereas the 1524 anthology had been mostly comprised of pagan authors, the same is not true of the texts accompanying the grammar. Rather, Vergara chose a selection of prayers, *benedictiones* (blessings), and maxims of Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, the examples illustrating the grammatical notions are in many cases drawn from the New Testament and the Psalms.<sup>38</sup> However, it is interesting to note that in the introduction (fol. iiiir) the author did not hesitate to recommend Erasmus's translation of the New Testament because of the many commentaries accompanying it. As for the Old Testament, Vergara remarked that the Complutense version was particularly useful, as it contained commentaries as well as Latin translations of each term between the lines of the original.

One of Vergara's disciples at Alcalá, Miguel Jerónimo Ledesma (ca. 1510–1547), followed in his teacher's footsteps and published a Greek grammar of his own, entitled *Graecarum Institutionum Compendium*, in 1545, the year of

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32 Gil Fernández 1997, 531 and 622. The book lacks a proper title, and on the front page we just encounter the Greek and Latin titles of the collected works: *Τὰ συνεχόμενα Λουκιανοῦ Σαμωσατεύως Ἰκαρομένιππος ...* / *CONTENTA. LUCIANI Samosatensis Icaromenippus ...*

33 Botley 2010, 87, 92, 97. I have examined a copy kept in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, U/1459, available online. Here, only Isocrates has been annotated by a student.

34 Vergara appended to Lucian's *Icaromenippus* the dialogue *Poseidon and Hermes* (*Dial. Deor.* 12). Xenophon's dialogue is *Hiero*, about happiness.

35 Bataillon 1950, 159.

36 Vergara ed. 1537. See López Rueda 1973, 237–243; Gil Fernández 1997, 544–545; Signes Codoñer 2016 provides an updated state of the art on the Greek grammars published in Spain; they reach the non-negligible amount of seven and usually include short school texts; on Vergara's, see *ibid.*, 299.

37 They are announced on the front page but were certainly printed separately and not all copies include them. The selection of texts reproduces partly the primer (*Explicatio*) Vergara published in 1526, with the rudiments of Greek phonetics and orthography. The *Grammatica* and the *Explicatio* are available online.

38 See Sáenz-Badillos 1990, 370.

Vergara's death.<sup>39</sup> Ledesma had also studied medicine at the University of Alcalá. In his Greek classes in Valencia (1531–47), he explained the texts of Galen, taking up the teaching approach of his predecessor Pere Jaume Esteve, who was also a physician and professor.<sup>40</sup> The *Epistula ad discipulos* that precedes the *Compendium* is interesting in that it offers insight into the contents of Ledesma's classes. He built up his grammar around his notes on specific noteworthy cases that came up in class (he refers to this raw material with the term "*schedas*"). Often, in class, he and his students would encounter questions that reference books could not answer. Other times, the reference books' explanations centered on fine details without addressing the more complex and ambiguous aspects of a passage. Grammatical rules that students encountered in recently published reference works were explained by Ledesma in class through specific cases; the text commentaries available to them were often lacking in many respects or contained incorrect statements, making comprehension all the more difficult. In this way, Ledesma justified the publication of this *institutiuncula*, which, as he asserted, could teach a student Greek in just six months, as compared to the three years required to learn Latin with Nebrija's *Introductiones*. In fact, he boasted, various gentlemen had been able to learn more Greek in a matter of weeks using his *schedulae* than all the Greek taught in Urbanus Bolzanius of Belluno's hefty *sesquigrammatica* (i.e., 'one-and-a-half grammar').<sup>41</sup>

Instead of brief texts by classical authors, Ledesma included in the grammar two compositions of his own, which he referred to as *exercitamenta*. The first is a curious response to Lucian's *The Consonants at Law* (*Δίκη συμφώνων*), a critique of the Atticists' habit of changing the letter *sigma* into *tau* in order to Atticize the Greek language.<sup>42</sup> While Lucian has Sigma formally accuse Tau of encroaching on its property by changing words with double *sigma* into words with double *tau*, in Ledesma's dialogue Tau defends itself against Sigma's accusations, responding with similar plays on words. The second text is a Homeric cento about the Passion of Christ in the vein of similar texts composed

39 Ledesma ed. 1545. The introductory letter, however, dates from December 1544.

40 As referred by López Rueda 1973, 121–125; on Ledesma's grammar, see *ibid.*, 243–245; Signes Codoñer 2016, 313–314; María José Báguena Cervellera in *Diccionario biográfico español*, [http://dbe.rah.es].

41 Urbanus ed. 1497–98. With "*sesquigrammatica*," Ledesma was suggesting that Urbanus's grammar was too long. On Urbanus, see Eleuteri and Canart 1991, 97–99; Rollo 2001.

42 Ledesma ed. 1545, fol. 90<sup>v</sup>, 11–16: "*Addimus duo haec nostra exercitamenta, alterum oratione soluta, quo τ defendimus contra Lucianicam accusationem qua pro Σ agens τ nostrum accusat acutissime et elegantissime: alterum carmine, quo Christi Opt. Max. Passionem per centones Homericos celebramus.*" See Santamaría Hernández 1999.

in the late antique and Byzantine period. However, it is by no means evident that these two texts would have actually proven useful for the purpose of learning Greek.

### 3 Teaching Greek at the University of Salamanca (1522–1548): Hernán Núñez de Guzmán

El Pinciano occupies the undisputed seat of honor among the Greek professors who left a lasting mark on Spanish students. We know a great deal about his life, especially as professor at Salamanca, where he taught from 1522 to 1548. His published works on Latin authors have likewise received scholarly attention, as well as the books he acquired for the University, which holds them to this day. Although Hernán Núñez did not write any work of grammar or publish any philological study on Greek authors, we know that he did study many of them in depth.<sup>43</sup> He wrote copious notes in the books he read, but it is difficult to establish whether or not he wrote these notes with the classroom in mind. This would require a careful examination of dozens of printed Greek texts in search of evidence of classroom use; still, in many cases, it would remain unclear whether the notes were meant for teaching or were simply part of Núñez's own study process. Carmen Codoñer, who has studied El Pinciano's *marginalia* to Latin texts,<sup>44</sup> correctly holds that "they are intended for personal consumption," but she also points out that any form of commentary on an ancient text must be regarded as occurring within an academic context.<sup>45</sup>

I have already mentioned the bilingual booklets that Núñez published for his students of Greek in 1519. His years in Salamanca did not yield any further publications of this sort, but rather a systematic policy of purchasing books intended for teaching, along with manuscripts that he had bought or copied in Italy and Alcalá. During his first years in Salamanca, Núñez probably relied on his own library; however, a 1532 list of 91 Greek books to be purchased by the University indicates that by then the situation had changed substantially.<sup>46</sup> The author of this list was without a doubt El Pinciano, who was well

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43 See above, n. 8. El Pinciano prepared a new edition of Epictetus that was published posthumously in 1555; it was based on his exemplar of the edition published in 1535 by Bartolomeo Zanetti; Salamanca, BH, Imp/33980, that can be consulted online, displays his corrections and printing marks.

44 Codoñer Merino 2002a, where a taxonomy of Pinciano's *marginalia* is offered; see also Codoñer Merino 2002b.

45 Codoñer Merino 2002a, 855–856.

46 Bécares Botas 1998, 87–88.

acquainted with the Italian market; as a matter of fact, the list largely coincides with the documents bearing his signature and acknowledging receipt of the books when they were eventually delivered. Many of them were intended for language learning and reading comprehension: *alphabetica*, *apophthegmata*, *erotemata*, *etymologica*, *fabulae*, *grammaticae*, *vocabularia*, and *scholia* on Greek authors.

Obviously, any Greek text could potentially be used for teaching, especially if it was accompanied by notes, and El Pinciano's tireless efforts of reading and writing in the margins of the printed texts held at Salamanca were directed at least in part toward teaching. As for various manuscript copies of commentaries on Greek texts transmitting the exegetical works of Byzantine scholars, it should be mentioned that, for the most part, they did not circulate in print and could only be obtained through manual copying. While many of these manuscripts, either copied or commissioned by El Pinciano, are held at Salamanca today, it is possible that a large number of them were originally copied in Italy or later on in Alcalá from the books of Ducas or of El Pinciano himself.<sup>47</sup> These texts were shared with other members of the Complutense environment – students of both Ducas and Núñez – and particularly with Juan de Vergara (1492–1557), who would become Cisneros's secretary and was at that time an outstanding student of Greek.<sup>48</sup> Among them, we find manuscripts containing Lycophron's *Alexandra* with a commentary by John Tzetzes,<sup>49</sup> as well as *scholia* on Theocritus<sup>50</sup> and on Pindar's *Olympians*.<sup>51</sup>

As I have pointed out, it is difficult to tell whether El Pinciano had a personal interest in these authors or simply found them appropriate for the classroom. However, the case of one of El Pinciano's disciples at Salamanca (1508–1566) sheds light on the tools used to learn Greek by an adolescent whose

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47 On the manuscripts, see Signes Codoñer 2003, Martínez Manzano 2010. These commentaries were recommended by Vergara in his grammar (fol. v<sup>v</sup>, see above).

48 Juan de Vergara copied Mss. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, R.1.7 (Archimedes) and R.111.5 (a philosophical, poetic and rhetorical miscellany) in 1514; see Pérez Martín 2008, 39–42.

49 Salamanca, BH, MS/9, copied by El Pinciano probably in Italy; see Signes Codoñer 2003, 279–284 and Plate 6.

50 Salm. MS/295 is a miscellany gathering different materials on Theocritus (certainly an author privileged by El Pinciano), including a Byzantine commentary, corrections to the Greek text and, in fols. 119–120, a group of notes composed by Núñez on Theocritus's poems *Syrinx* and *Axe*. See Signes Codoñer 2003, 294–297 and Plate 11; according to him, the volume could have been copied in Alcalá.

51 Martínez Manzano 2000, according to whom Salamanca, BH, MS/769's model was a manuscript copy of Palaiologan materials on Pindar; El Pinciano copied it in Alcalá but made no annotations on it.

talent for Greek and Latin literature and rhetoric earned him the praise of his professor.<sup>52</sup> Francisco de Mendoza, who served as bishop in numerous dioceses and was appointed cardinal in 1544, came from a high-ranking noble family and lived in Italy in the service of Emperor Charles V from 1545 to 1557, mostly in Rome. He is best known as the unofficial author of the book *Tizón de la nobleza de España* (“A Stain on the Spanish Nobility”), which created an uproar by denouncing the Jewish ancestry of many noble families (including his own) who had bought “blood purity” certificates. The fact that most of his library has been preserved (it is currently held at the National Library in Madrid)<sup>53</sup> has helped us trace the steps he took to learn Greek, which was considered as one important instrument among the many needed in order to understand the Holy Scriptures.<sup>54</sup>

When Mendoza approached a Greek text, he relied on previous translations and commentaries whenever possible. Thus, in 1525, at the age of sixteen, he read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on a copy of the 1488 *editio princeps* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Inc/227 and 228);<sup>55</sup> the marginal notes mention “Raphael” in reference to the Latin translation of the *Odyssey* (Rome, 1510) made by Raffaele Maffei or Volaterranus (1451–1522). The translation employed to read the *Iliad* was that of Lorenzo Valla (Venice, 1502), referred to in notes as “Laurentius.” Mendoza also relied on Urbanus Bolzanius, the author of the *Institutiones grammaticae* used by Ledesma, which helped the young student understand various verb forms. Other notes (e.g., those mentioning Ovid or Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica*) could reflect oral remarks by El Pinciano or Mendoza’s simultaneous study of these authors on his own.<sup>56</sup>

In fact, at the end of 1525, Mendoza finished making a clean copy of various annotations to Greek texts, which he entitled *Poscaenia* (Madrid, Biblioteca

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52 Pérez Martín 2011.

53 Fernández Pomar 1965, De Andrés 1974b.

54 When he was still very young, Mendoza served as *maestrescuela* (i.e., teacher of clerics and poor students) of Salamanca’s cathedral, where he taught Greek.

55 See Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Inc/228, fol. 111<sup>r</sup>. Most of the notes consist of transcriptions of a Greek word followed by its Latin translation, extensions of grammar rules, marks such as *Nota bene* with or without *maniculae*, translation of entire verses, similar passages in other texts, and Homeric citations by other authors. See Fig. 1.4: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Inc/228, fols. 111<sup>v</sup>–1<sup>r</sup>.

56 In his notes on Pindar’s poems and their scholia in the copy of the 1515 Roman edition (now Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/21183), Mendoza mentions Homer several times and, therefore, should have read Pindar after Homer. In this printed book, we find few grammar notes, many indications of the mythological characters in the commentary, and scattered references to Latin authors, such as Cicero, Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) or Virgil (*Georgics*).

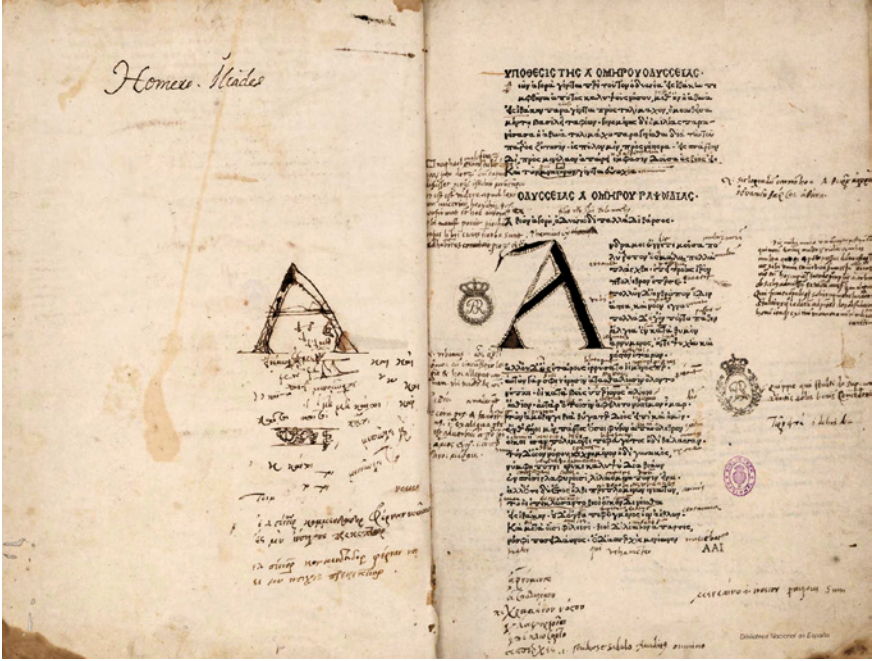


FIGURE 1.4 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Inc/228, fols. III<sup>v</sup>–I<sup>r</sup>

Nacional de España, Mss/6205) and dedicated it to his professor, El Pinciano. The first chapter, entitled *Castigationes Orphei*, contains corrections to Giunta's 1519 edition of the *Argonautica*. Taking a critical approach to the text, Mendoza located forms that constitute grammatical anomalies or are difficult to understand and corrected them using a manuscript of the text, various lexica, and quotations from Greek and Latin authors related through either language or contents. In terms of the reference works, he drew heavily on Hesychius's *Lexicon*, Urbanus's *Institutiones*, Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*, and Giunta's 1520 *Manuale Graecum*.<sup>57</sup> As for the other Greek authors who appear recurrently throughout the *Poscaenia*, such as Sophocles and Theocritus, it is clear that they formed part of the intensive Greek course that Mendoza was following that year.<sup>58</sup> Despite the impressive array of materials employed, the *Poscaenia* remains the work of a humanist in training who held onto his autograph copy,

57 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/64125. See Fernández Pomar 1965, 81 (no. 39).  
 58 The Sophocles Mendoza studied is an exemplar of the Giuntine edition from 1522 (now Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/5488). Mendoza read all the tragedies, repeating and translating the Greek text on the margins.



a manuscript he was surely proud of. Today, this manuscript reveals a great deal about how Greek was taught at Salamanca.

#### 4 Conclusions

In this brief overview, I have made use of various books published by Spanish Hellenists, as well as others read and annotated at the Universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca, in order to examine how various humanists who studied Greek in the first half of the sixteenth century became familiar with the language. These humanists belonged to a privileged generation of Spaniards who were able to interact with other humanists in Italy and Flanders. They shared with them a knowledge of Greek and a critical approach to Classical and Christian texts, which by that time were mostly distributed in print. They published grammars and bilingual editions, but only rarely did they write Greek texts of their own. Under the influence of Erasmus, they selected, from the large number of printed texts available in Greek, those that stood out not only in terms of their literary qualities, but also for their ability to enlighten the minds of young students. These texts could be dialogues between the pagan gods or prayers to the Virgin, Plato's *apophthegmata* or Gregory of Nazianzus's one-verse maxims. From their teacher El Pinciano or through readings of their own, they learned to approach Greek texts pen in hand, to write out Latin translations, and to employ dictionaries and other tools. As we have seen, students classified nouns and verbs in the margins of their books, looking up words in the dictionary and creating a literary web of Greek and Latin authors by identifying quotations or detecting parallel structures. All the while, as their comprehension of the Greek language steadily increased, their young minds conjured up fantasies about the grand discoveries they would make and the marvelous texts they would write. For some these dreams came to fruition, while for others they did not, but for all of them Greek had become an essential point of reference.