

Portuguese language and literature in Renaissance: the influence of Erasmus

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Abstract

Renaissance in Portugal is characterized by a very close connection with European humanists and the new ideas about religion and daily practices. In this debate, Portuguese humanists reflected upon the thoughts of major authors like Erasmus. So, language and literature became not only a return to the classics, but also a domain for discussion regarding Christianity and the approaches that came from abroad. However, Portugal received these ideas until the Inquisition arrived. After that, humanists became more careful and avoided the ideas of Erasmus. The case of the Portuguese humanist Pedro Sanches shows us all this: the classic influence, the sympathy for Erasmus and the slow departure to other themes, less dangerous and more focused on language and literature.



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INTRODUCTION

The F.G. Manuscript 6368 of the National Library of Lisbon, reliquary of Pedro Sanches's work, includes a poem entitled *De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum*, that is, "About the Superstitions of Abrantinos", which deserved a thorough study by Ramalho (1982, p. 237-250) and reveals a basic text for the understanding of the personality of the humanist Pedro Sanches. Pedro Sanches, a humanist who recovered the classical authors, was also influenced by the ideas that came from Europe, namely the thought of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

As Ron wrote (2019a and also 2019b):

The core of Erasmus' religious mind was "The Philosophy of Christ" (Philosophia Christi), as he named it. It meant the acceptance of the Gospels as the basis for a Christian way of life. Moral values were prominent in "The Philosophy of Christ." Piety (Pietas) in general, and "Learned Piety" (docta pietas) combining faith with reason, were pivotal. This last term indicated a desirable combination of Christian-moral commitment, and scholarly contemplation was first and foremost embodied in Jerome, the admirable Church Father. Predominant were also the pursuit of peace, opposition to futile rituals and ceremonies (adiaphora), and a firm preference of the spiritual and internal essence of the sacraments. (2019a, p. 2)

Several authors identify central ideas in the various works of Erasmus (Usher, 2019; Irvin, 2017; Bietenholz, 2009; Bejczy, 2004) and as Margolin refers:

*(...) I should like to emphasize particularly his unwavering fidelity to the principles he had set himself. Although he could change his attitude or language to suit the occasion or the people he was dealing with, he never gave ground on essential points. A lover of truth, he never wished to belong to any faction, sect or school that only observed one aspect of this truth. Indeed, he indignantly rejected the expression 'Erasmians' or 'Erasmists' that was used to describe his followers. Although the famous motto 'Nulli concedo' ('I make concessions to no one') on the medal which Quentin Metsys⁸⁷ engraved for him was that of Terminus, the god of death, I do not think it would be a misrepresentation of this paper to apply it to Erasmus himself. Far from being a token of pride, I see it rather as the motto of a courageous and dignified man who was incapable of straying from the straight and narrow path. His great friend, Thomas More, carried this principle to the point of martyrdom. Erasmus was not called upon to show how far resoluteness in word and thought would have led him if he had found himself in the same situation as his friend. What we do know about him through his writings and the testimony of those who knew him well makes us reject the image of a dry academic or chilly scholar reluctant to take a stand or commit himself. When barbarism is rampant, does not true courage often lie in refusing to come down on any side in unceasing exhortations to: 'Stop the barbarians!?' This is what the author of the *Antibarbari* did, at all times, in an endless variety of ways. (2000, p. 12)*

De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum denotes erasmistic characteristics if we bear in mind that he dared to enter the realms of criticism of the exercise of religion. However, if the text can attest to the scent of the Muse of Rotterdam, the author, perhaps because of his great responsibilities in the Court - "Supremi Senatus a Secretis, rules Sebastiano", according to Ms. F.G. 6,368 of B.N.L. He did not publish it, nor any similar ones he might have written, so Sanches's erasmistic calamus is veiled from his time and from the humanist's own profile as

regards his sympathy with Erasmus. His responsibilities in the Court certainly had a great weight in not publishing the poem, as Sanches, like "many humanists, dependent on ecclesiastical or palace sinecures, try to avoid risky controversies ...", as Oscar Lopes and António José Saraiva (2000) tell us., did not dare to give light to a text of controversial flavor, mainly in the times of post - 1555 orthodox fervor, date of the significant delivery of the Conimbricense College of Arts to the Jesuits. In the words of Pina Martins, "Erasmism is philosophia Christi, interior religion, fidelity to evangelical authenticity, contempt of letters in the worship of the spirit, pacifism, aversion to violence; but also satire to the corruption of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, to the corruption of the institutions themselves, to the extent that they are fond of history in the concern of the storm, distorting themselves: religious, social and even political satire in all its aspects »(1985, p. 300) which makes us establish a thematic bridge with *De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum*, especially the aspects that the scholar refers in the first segment of this quotation. Erasmus removes from the true inner experience of faith the outward manifestations ruled by excess and accessory. The Rotterdam has a critical opinion about image worship, hagiolatry and pilgrimage, the ceremonial pomp and ignorance, but always in a position that is rooted in the defense of tranquility and order and never in the apology of disturbance or destabilization. The longing for peace is not opposed to its anti-dwarfism or antipathy to radicalism, but denotes its typically humanistic vein.

PEDRO SANCHES AND THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCES IN PORTUGAL

A first point of Pedro Sanches's "erasmist itinerary" is his own arrival in Portugal, apparently, as part of Queen D. Catarina's entourage. The wife of King John III brought with him books of Erasmus of Spain and the court of his brother Carlos V. In fact, in the inventory of the queen's treasury, concluded on June 10, 1534, we find the 'husband of the psalms - s - beatus vir y có ynvocare ', the ' Inchiridio e esortacion (...) and the Oracion del Padre ... ', ' Other Exhibition of the Priest and vn Sermo's Other Works of Erasmus ... ', the ' Lingua Arasmi ... » in two copies and an edition of Paraclesis, between works by Petrarch, Juan de Mena, Jorge Manrique, Boecio, S. Bernardo and Francisco de Castilho. Erasmus's books circulated among university professors, nobles, and even some officials such as Balthasar Jorge de Valdez who, after dying in Évora in 1546, after having come into contact with the East (was Diu Customs Judge) like Sanches (chief mayor, overseer and receiver of the customs of the fortress and trading post of Baçaim), left epistles of St. Jerome, Petrarch, "a hum of the exposition of the cum jmuocarem and blessed vyr of erasism" and "a hum of the limgoa darasmo". Erasmus would not be unknown to Pedro Sanches. He could have made contact with the Rotterdam at the court of Charles V if he had attended; through the queen's library, whose brother Rodrigo was chaplain; through the reading of Erasmus's works, or even by the epistolary and direct contact with friends who breathed this atmosphere, namely André de Resende.

Pedro Sanches was a humanist who always estimated contact with other men of culture, and the exchange of letters attests to this fact. Among Pedro Sanches's circle of friendships are several names that are linked to Erasmist ideas in Portugal, so this was another decisive factor for our humanist to breathe the scent of the Muse of Rotterdam. D. Miguel da Silva, whom Pedro Sanches, in the Epistle ad Ignatium of Moraes calls his fellow citizen (Hac nostra natus, nostra hac nutritus in urbe. V. 139), in his diplomatic career and stays in Rome and Paris (c. 1500 1513) knows the winds of Christian humanism, because Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Erasmus, around 1514 were already well known. D. Miguel da Silva knows in Rome the struggles for and against Erasmus around Leo X, Adriano VI and Clement VII, and

among his friends were the conservatives Zaccaria Caliergi, Lattanzio Tolomei, Paolo Giovio, Baldassar Castiglione (if his dedication of *Il Cortegiano*) and Gian Matteo Giberti, admirer of Erasmus, such as Paolo Bombasio or Marino Caracciolo. The *re erasmiana* was known to D. Miguel. André de Resende, in 1531, places him among the figures of Portuguese erasmism and Luis Vives, in a letter of 17 July 1533 to Damião de Góis, asks to greet the prelate on his behalf. D. Miguel will later enter into disagreement with the king. António Luís lived with Brás de Braga, João de Barros, André Cotrim and the friends of Pedro Sanches, André de Resende, Jerónimo Cardoso, Luís Pires and the brother of our humanist, Rodrigo Sanches. *Epistolarum Familiarium Libellus*, pgs. 24-26, and Documentary Appendix No. 345 of B.N.L. Young Christian, it seems, appears in the Inquisition's processes as licensed (see António de Luís Process, pp. 729, 732, 733, 737, 739). Nicknamed Greek, as Joao Fernandes tells us in his prayer *De celebritate Academiae Conimbricensis*, he was "arrested for having books in Hebrew" in the face of his case, but his literary estate does not convey sufficiently clear ideas from the Fabro-Erasmian stream. . Perhaps to recant, he writes and dedicates to the king his *Annotationes aliquorum locorum in quibus hallucinatus is Erasmus in transferring Galeni libello qui inscribitur Exhortation ad bonas literas*, in which he criticizes little and insinuates more. In any case, it condemns Erasmus for the lightness of his translation in a technical debate that does not allow us to truly identify his deepest view of Erasmus.

Jorge Coelho was an element closer to Sanches than D.Miguel or António Luís. In a letter from Rodrigo Sanches to Jorge Coelho, in B.N.L., Ms. F.G. 6368, p. 197-98v., Transcribed in vol. 2, Documentary Appendix, no. 344, contact with the brother is evident. He dealt with Damião de Góis, Erasmo and Bembo and received praise from Clenardo - who equates him with Resende -, Vaseu, Jerónimo Cardoso, Rodrigo Sanches and Gaspar Barreiros. He participated in an epistolary areopagus of a literary nature without ideological inclination with Baltasar de Teive, Bartolomeu Filipe, Cristovão de Miranda, Afonso de Torres, Pedro Mendes and Luís Pires. Jorge Coelho, perhaps at odds with the national course, relegates to a certain silence between 1540 and 1554, although the fact that he belongs to the private office of Cardinal D. Henrique, bastion of the Counter-Reformation, may justify this attitude and their inconsistency in the erasmic bent positions. Coelho sometimes applauds Aires Barbosa and his *Antimoria*, sometimes shows an erasmistic tone with Nicolau Clenardo, sometimes has friendly relations with Damião de Góis, even exchanging letters and books. Erasmus himself will write to him in 1535, but the Orthodox line of Henri obliges Coelho to an inflection. After Erasmo's death, Jorge Coelho shunned Clenardo's invitation to celebrate his disappearance - an obvious sign of the direction of King John III's court, quite different from those of 1533 when he asked Góis to bring the Dutchman to the village. University, as he declared in 1571 in his process in the Inquisition. Another reason for not participating in the celebration of Erasmus, along with Joana Vaz (who also did not respond) and André de Resende, was personal, as Professor Américo da Costa Ramalho argues: «Jorge Coelho, weak Latin poet, more resentful of the lesser consideration that Erasmus had given him, in comparison with Resende, did not respond.

Luis Pires, 'Pyrrhum meum', in the Epistle to Ignatius of Morals, possibly related to Diogo Pires, with whom he is often confused - as in the *Corpus Illustrium Poetarum Lusitanorum*, p. 33, no. 26 - was a native of Évora, just like Lopo Serrão, associated with the first by Sanches in his poem about the Lates. Luís Pires was a friend of our humanist, as were André de Resende and Inácio de Morais, who speak at *Conuersio Miranda D. Aegidii*, an important testimony to

the study of the relations between Erasmus and Resende. In this text, Erasmus is quoted by Pires when referring to the identity of Blessed Dinis or Dionysius, which had caused a rapture to Friar Gil. On the other hand, the third session in which, upon departure for a morning stroll, sleepy Ignatius Morais insists on going mule, has much of the Dutch's staging. At *Conuersio Miranda D. Aegidii*, Luís Pires presents his views with great caution, which leads us to think that family and religious affinities with Diogo Pires / Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus / Iacobus Flauius Eborensis / Isaías Cohen will be effective.

The figure of the Muse of Rotterdam finds in André de Resende the most distinguished interlocutor of Pedro Sanches, also with regard to the discussion of Erasmus's ideas, which certainly will have been addressed between the two humanists and friends. In the *Corpus Illustrium Poetarum Lusitanorum*, among the Testimonies, Jorge Cardoso points out Resende a Sanches's respect, which he consulted as the Latin oracle; João Franco Barreto refers to an ode that Resende writes to him, and André de Resende himself praises it in a letter from Évora, dated 7 May 1542. In this letter, the theme refers us to an earlier letter from Sanches in which he seems to have debated the unhappy fate and injustice of his time that rewarded the wicked. Taking a deep look at the Resendian work, we highlight his contacts with Erasmus and with Sanches's circle of friendships, which his Epistle ad Petrum Sancium bears witness to. Resende meets Conrado Goclénio, Rutgero Réscio and João Campense, in Belgium, teachers of the Leuven Trilingual College; He is a friend of Dantísco, Clenardo and Vaseu and breathes the air of the Muse of Erasmus, which the *Desiderii Erasmi encomium* consecrated. His apology for erasism falters in the face of advances in the conservative front. In the dialogue *Conuersio Miranda Domini Aegidii Lusitani, Doctoris Parisiensis, Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Resende is prudent at a time when ferocity ruled the actions of zealous inquisitors such as D. João de Melo and Pedro Álvarez de Paredes, from Castile. Resende did not publish the *Conuersio Miranda*, which was printed in Paris in 1586, twelve years after Resende's death, by Friar Estevão de Sampaio.

Resende had touched some points of Erasmus's ideal. Like Pedro Sanches, he wanted to see the victory of true godliness over vain superstition. Faced with the climate of erasmistic condemnation, Resende ceases to be Erasmus's believer for historical reasons but remains erasmistic in spirit, as Pina Martins states. Erasmist ideas may also have come to Pedro Sanches via Jerónimo Cardoso, his friend and correspondent, as Ms. F.G. 6,368 of B.N.L. We know that Jerónimo Cardoso receives correspondence from Damião de Góis. We recall in particular a letter from Gois in 1554, in which the author still refers with emotion to Erasmus, who had been his host in Freiburg in 1533 and who recommended him to Pietro Bembo. The correspondence between Erasmus and Gois reinforces the spiritual union. Góis, in a letter dated June 20, 1533, tells Erasmus that he offers himself as a true friend, to which he replies on July 25, 1533. On April 11, 1534, Erasmus offered his hospitality to Góis, who had gone to Germany. The epistolary commerce cement the union of the two. Joaquim de Vasconcellos, in his *Damião de Góis Correspondence*, focuses on the eight letters from Erasmus to Gois, from July 1533 to July 1536 - the date of his death - and the letter from Erasmus Resende as fundamental testimonies for the analysis of this relationship. Pedro's brother Rodrigo Sanches was chaplain of Queen D.Catarina, from which he knew the contents of the library of D. João III's wife, who, as we have seen, included Erasmus books, as he was also a Latin teacher at court. The «cj. colloquios de erasmo» are among the works that appear in two purchase receipts, dated 26 July 1529, proof that they were acquired for the teaching of the chapel boys of D. Catarina. Pina Martins refers to Eugenio Asensio who opines that the

Spanish queens are carriers of erasmist ideas until the Portuguese court. However, Queen Catherine's erasmism evolved between 1540 and 1560, from an open-mindedness to cloister after the death of King John III.

Rodrigo Sanches does not openly line the ranks of the humanist vanguard. He prefers literary humanism, Angelo Poliziano and Budé over Erasmus, Vives, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Thomas More or Sadoletto. Appreciates the conviviality with Jerónimo Cardoso, Jorge Coelho and António Luís, the *Literae politiores*, classicism until 1540; 'In the second phase of life, from 1540 onwards, human letters seem to have lost all seduction to him. At least no trace of caution is known about them. Unsettled perhaps by the fears and misunderstandings that struck Christian humanism, perhaps convinced that godliness had become more urgent than science, and unable to grasp the human-evangelistic current, he withdrew from the literary field to that of the Christian. simple religious apostolate. Ignatius of Morais, friend of Pedro Sanches - also his patron - took contact with the Erasmist ideas and may have discussed them with our humanist. Morais, who will use Erasmus's proverbial expressions in various texts, may have been a communication link between Erasmist ideas and Pedro Sanches.

Diogo de Teive, another humanist from the Sanches circle, in his *AD IOANNEM / Alemcastrum sere - / nissimu Auerij / Ducem / Mortis meditatio in fu / nudes Theodosij Brigã / tiae Ducis*, recalls a reflection on death, written by Erasmo in 1510; the *Commentary de rebus ad Dium gestis* recalls the love of justice, peace, the worship of the Letters, despite the praise of war - just because it was fought for the sake of faith and not against other Christians. Teive lives the ideological division of the College of Arts, especially after the death of André de Gouveia, the succession of Diogo de Gouveia the Younger, and the conflict with João da Costa until 1549, when he is appointed Rector. On August 10, 1550, he is enmeshed in the Holy Office process against the lens of Lutheran sympathy. It retreats to the monastery of Belém in 1551, to be released in 1552 by Cardinal D. Henrique. He returns to the College of Arts until 1555 from where he will go to his canonical at Miranda Cathedral, away from the learned light of conversation with men of culture. In Miranda, in an ode, defends the war of conquest, "collides" with the *Querella Pacis* of Erasmus, eventually extolling D. John III, neutral in conflicts between Christians.

We refer to some humanists who, directly or indirectly, came into contact with Erasmus's ideas and our humanist Pedro Sanches. In the face of Sanches's circle of friendships, it does not seem strange or improbable to us to participate in the debates that stirred the culture of the time, as well as affecting the personal lives of his friends. However, from the Erasmus problem only a single text by Pedro Sanches came to us, which does not give us a broad view of the echoes of the Rotterdam Muse as would be desired. The poem *De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum*, that is, "About the Superstitions of the Abrantines" has already merited a deep historical and literary study of Ramalho. Sanches's composition is a revisit of Juvenal's "Satire XV", in which the author criticizes the Egyptians for worshiping the crocodile, the ibis, the monkey, the cat, fish, the dog; They do not eat garlic or onions because they are forbidden, nor do they give wool, but anthropophagism was not forbidden. Juvenal focuses his attention on an incident between Ombos and Tiraira, nearby towns, united by a visceral hatred for each refusing to worship another god than his own. The hatred led the inhabitants of Ombos to attack their neighbors during a party. Surprised and drunk they flee, with the exception of one unfortunate man who was caught by the crowd and devoured completely.

The theme was glossed over by Montaigne and our humanist, who constructs his composition by addressing Antonio Sarmiento, as Juvenal to Volúcio. After asking the speaker for his attention and good faith for what he will tell, Sanches begins by describing Abrantes in harmonious and perfect tones that surpass Lazio.

From the idyllic description - which contrasts with the barbarism it will present - it introduces the heart of the dispute: Abrantes is divided into two parishes, worshipping one with St. John and one with St. Vincent. We come to the narrative fulcrum. The occasion had been the uncritically proclaimed feast of Saint Vincent, centered on a procession, accompanied by a hymn - the poet's literary creation - which was prevented from continuing its way through the 'aemula pars' through a 'barricade'. »While old weavers disorder the march amid the protests of the priests. The old women cry out that the day is neither sacred nor celebrated by the ancients, St. John proclaims and saints St. Vincent, "whose homeland and whose father no one can show, nor say the name of the mother" (vs. 123-124) , to which the saint's defenders oppose a catilinary to the opposite patron, criticizing poverty, locusts, and his camel skin (vs. 137-139). If Cicero said that weapons should give way to toga, the inhabitants of Abrantes thought that words should give way to de facto ways. Only the intervention of lawmen and other more enlightened spirits prevented the tumult from taking on new proportions. Sanches comments on what has happened again asking António Sarmiento to believe in the Juvenal episode, because Christians today do not proceed in a different way from pagans of yore. Pedro Sanches's tone is of clear criticism of superstition and popular Catholicism, drawn with a calamus that veily delineates satirical vein details such as the use of musical instruments such as cymbala, sistrum and buxus, known to be used by the cult of orgiastic features in honor. of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, whose priests ('galli') were eunuchs. The erasmistic contours of the poem are marked by Ramalho, since they are reminiscent of "ceremonies that in themselves contribute nothing to piety, nor do they recommend anyone in the eyes of Christ who contemplates the purity of the soul" and the confrontation between friars of two orders. , as in Funus, dialogue by Pedro Sanches in *De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum* is also in line with the Impostura or Naufragium colloquium which, starting from real cases, leads to religious and moral reflection or one of the Enchiridion's lessons: valuing man's inner life , cherish your spirit. Erasmus essentially reproaches the exaggerated earthly exercise of religion for its visible manifestations, more geared to ostentation among men than to the worship of God. Writing to John Colet in 1504 about the Enchiridion, he at one point says that he had written this text 'not to make a fuss of spirit or eloquence, but with the sole intention of healing from their error those who generally place religion in ceremonies and in more than Jewish observances, which concern material things more than godliness." Another bridge between Erasmus and this poem by Pedro Sanches is the use of satire, which is common in the Colloquia, namely when the Rotterdam is concerned with the "superstitium". Satire is, in fact, a very useful instrument for denouncing the vices of the earthly world to despise and enlighten the spirit of the Christian for true religious enjoyment, the realm of thought. This strategy was already used in preaching and medieval representations. It was used and authorized by the Fathers of the Church, and St. Jerome cultivated it, and its use was even a weapon before this Saint against paganism, often linked to irony and exaggeration of description. The Rotterdam denotes a use of medieval processes that aimed to highlight its concept of simplicity, antipodic pole of popular manifestations guided by the attraction of the senses. He defended his simple and restrained pietas in regard to outward manifestations, as a counterpoint to popular exaggeration, a label of ignorance (recall the Colloquium Peregrinatio religionis, which

criticized these characteristics so contrary to the author's evangelical spirit). Satire in Erasmus has a well-delineated pedagogical and moral function, as he himself says in the *Colloquia*, as Pedro Sanches put it in the poem *De Superstitionibus Abrantinorum*. On the other hand, Sanches seems to be in line with the *Confabulatio pia* designated by *Pietas puerilis* in *De utilitate* and *Exequiae seraphicae*. The heart of the first colloquium revolves around a dialogue between two young people, and from this we can infer that the true Christian must be the one who guides his experience of faith, interiorization, parsimony in actions and a brief eloquence. Erasmus criticizes the exaggeration of both words and deeds, a true illusion that breathes the atmosphere of superstition and characterizes people who "if not credant that Christian, nisi quotidie missam, ut apellant, audierint".

The critique of superstition is framed in an atmosphere of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and can be characterized generically by the disbelieving view of the occult media on the religious manifestations of the Christian population. This position, a reflection of Horacio's literary "odi profanum uulgus et arceo", is also the result of the symbiosis of a humanist position against superstition and the reinforcement of the very experience of religiosity. Already in *De Doctrina Christiana* de S. Augustine often appears the word *superstitio* that Erasmus, despite not defining the total contours of the word, tries to translate "what, in general terms, could be reduced to the lack of sincerity or religious feeling expressed in request for religious attitudes, acts and forms which, as such, might not assume spiritual significance ", in the words of Jorge Alves Osório. If even in the early Christian authors we see a malevolent pity against idolatry and superstition, in Erasmus it appears as a pillar of their evangelical thought. The *Encomium Moriae* portrays human superstition and its "adherence" to the earthly world, praised for madness through irony; In *Enchiridion militis christiani*, the work itself is an instrument of the Christian in the struggle of earthly existence. The fourth rule of the *Enchiridion* outlines the concept of superstition (which Erasmus never fully defines), when it argues that there is a slope to religious attitudes similar to the pagans of the past or to the scrupulous exaggeration of Jews following the law, reliquary of life. spiritual.

Rotterdam seems to have been an influence for Pedro Sanches, if we think of simple superstition, an attitude that results from popular ignorance, which could not be completely misunderstood, as it was common in a Europe where a lack of culture was rife, a certain non-Christian barbarism. , sometimes slipping into the grotesque and horrendous, which Azpilcueta, from a similar perspective, had already dealt with in the *Comment in Romance* and the *Confessors Manual*. While Erasmus is not radical in condemning the uncultured, as we can see, for example, when referring to the worship of the saints in the *Enchiridion* ("Ego uero non tam damno eos, qui haec simpli quadam superstitione faciunt 145, on the other hand, does not forgive when dealing with spirit in a similar way to matter ('Ergo non tam reprehendendum istiusmodi facere quam perniciosum in eis, consistere atque inniti'. Tolero infirmitatem, sed cum Paulo uiam I demonstrate excellentiorem »). This condemnation of excessive attachment to the ceremonies is also to be seen in Azpilcueta Navarro, who saw the danger in the "leftover ceremonies" as the "very ceremonial" did, because they did not reflect "what he says, ni a quie, and por que hazen, despite the necessary ceremonies «Because it is natural to reach the intellectual and spiritual things, through their senses, some souls move very inwardly, and spiritually to die to them through their humble, corporeal, and external humiliations ».

CONCLUSION

When in 1536 Erasmus silences his voice forever, humanists know even more difficult times. In Portugal, André de Resende, who had praised the Dutchman in the *Erasmi Encomium*, replaces the thrill with caution as evidenced by *Conuersio Miranda* where he quotes Erasmus himself in his *Adages*: Pericles, according to which one must do one's will and give in to one's friends, but only to the altar, of course, lest the divine majesty be hurt because of one's friends. ' Pedro Sanches could not help but be aware of this censorious climate that was setting in, he who performed the duties of Secretary of *Desembargo do Paço*. Censorship was administered and administered through the Diocesan Ordinary, the Inquisition and the Discharge of the Palace. This latter organ sometimes acted in isolation, as are the cases cited by King D. Afonso V, who, long before the Holy Office, ordered the burning of works by Wicleff and Huss, as well as the prohibition of the dissemination of works that spread the ideas of Luther, carried out by D. Manuel I, at the request of the Pope. D. Sebastião, who reigned when Sanches was secretary, determined in 1577 that without permission from the *Paço Desembargo* no book could be sold, regardless of the Holy Office and the Ordinary, under penalty of loss of property, banishment to Brazil or Africa and even death. Censorship had extended its web. In 1540, limitations to circulation arise; in 1547 the first expurgatory index is felt; the *Book of Defensive Books* hits Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Étienne Dolet, the Valdés brothers, Wicleff, Luther, Calvin, Zugglio, Melanchton, the botanist Otto Brunfels, the mathematician Sebastian de Münster, the philosopher Agrippa von Nietsheim; The indexes of 1551, 1564 and 1581 extend their action to Bocaccio, Lourenço Valla, Torres Naharro, Leo Hebrew, etc.

As for Erasmus of Rotterdam, the Inquisition always had its works under its purview, but its prohibition increased in 1551 with King John III until its total eradication in 1559 and 1561 with King Sebastian, decreasing later. The prohibition, however, did not prevent certain texts from circulating, extirpated from "evil", such as the *Colloquia de Juan Fernandez* or *João Fernandes*, used for didactic purposes. Sanches, who might once have discussed the ideas of the Rotterdam with his circle of friends, sees them one by one suffering the meshes woven by the empire of orthodoxy: D. Miguel da Silva divorces the monarch; Antonio Luis condemns Erasmus; Jorge Coelho does not integrate the names of those who cry Erasmus with the voice of the Muses - despite being invited -; Luís Pires is cautious at *Conuersio Miranda*; Resende leaves the *Encomium* on the 'altar'; Diogo de Teive is arrested ... Pedro Sanches, an image of the Humanist in Portugal, under a multitude of choruses of discouragement, sinks into his unveiled calamus. The Muse of Rotterdam is silent. The calamus is veiled ad aeternum. Forever, the manuscript is the silent witness of the Muse of Erasmus, the ultimate spell of the Muses ...

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