

STEPHEN GREENBLATT,
SKRETANJE. KAKO JE
SVIJET POSTAO MODERAN
(IZVORNIK: THE SWERVE.
HOW THE WORLD BECAME
MODERN)

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Prikaz / Review

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Izdavačka kuća Algoritam pokrenula je 2003. godine biblioteku Facta u kojoj je dosad izašlo preko 120 naslova, a njima se krajem 2014. godine pridružilo i djelo za koje je autor Stephen Greenblatt 2012. godine dobio Pulitzerovu nagradu. Iako je u navedenoj biblioteci objavljen velik broj knjiga, većinom se radi o djelima iz prirodnih i društvenih znanosti, no knjiga o kojoj je ovdje riječ nalazi se na razmeđu dviju humanističkih disciplina – povijesti i književnosti.

Stephen Greenblatt glavni je predstavnik novog historizma i često se navodi kao jedan od začetnika toga teorijskog pravca.¹ Taj je smjer književne i kulturalne teorije formiran u SAD-u početkom 1980-ih proučavanjem renesanse u okviru književne teorije. Pristup koji se javio pod utjecajem Michela Foucaulta podrazumijevao je proučavanje ne samo djela već i konteksta u kojem je djelo nastalo – povijesnog, pravnog, ekonomskog ... Iako je Greenblatt zaslužan za širenje navedenog termina, kasnije je ipak preferirao naziv kulturalna poetika.²

In 2003 the Algoritam publishing company launched Facta edition in which over 120 titles have been published. Pulitzer-winning work by Stephen Greenblatt from 2012 was published in Croatia at the end of 2014. Despite great number of books published in the mentioned series these are mostly works dealing with natural and social sciences, but the book in question is on the borderline of two humanistic disciplines – history and literature.

Stephen Greenblatt is the main representative of new historicism and he is often mentioned as one of the initiators of this theoretical school.¹ This school of literary and cultural theory was formed in the USA at the beginning of 1980s by means of study of the Renaissance within literary theory. The approach which emerged under the influence of Michel Foucault implied study of not only the work but also the context in which the work was created – historical, legal, economic, etc. Although Greenblatt promoted spreading of the mentioned term, later the term cultural poetics was preferred.²

1 Teorijski književnopovijesni pravac *new historicism* u hrvatskom se jeziku javlja u dvama oblicima – novi historizam i novi historicizam. Iako se u djelu koristi oblik novi historicizam, odlučio sam se za drugi oblik koji se javlja u hrvatskoj enciklopediji (*Hrvatska enciklopedija*, sv. 7 (Mal – Nj), Zagreb, 2005: 770, s. v. Novi historizam), kao i u drugim djelima koja predstavljaju taj pravac hrvatskoj publici (D. ŠPORA 2005.).

2 R. PALLARDY 2016; D. ŠPORA 2005: 16.

1 English term for this theoretical literary and historical school “new historicism” has been translated in Croatian twofold – as *novi historizam* and *novi historicizam*. Despite the fact that the book translator chose the variant *novi historicizam*, I’ve used the former, which is also in use in both Croatian encyclopaedia (*Hrvatska enciklopedija*, sv. 7 (Mal – Nj), Zagreb, 2005: 770, s. v. Novi historizam) and other works presenting this theoretical school to Croatian audience (D. ŠPORA 2005).

2 R. PALLARDY 2016; D. ŠPORA 2005: 16.

Novi historizam, naravno, ne nastaje bez ranijih temelja, a epitet *novi* stavlja ga u odnos s historizmom. Historizam je također bio svjestan da na djelo utječu mjesto i vrijeme nastanka, a praktičari novog historizma svjesni su (ili bi bar trebali biti) da je i naš način gledanja na djelo i postavljanja pitanja rezultat mjesta, vremena i kulture u kojoj to radimo.³

Rađanje toga književnopovijesnog pravca neodvojivo je vezano uz proučavanje renesansne književnosti, iako su s vremenom postavke novog historizma primijenjene i pri proučavanju drugih razdoblja. Greenblatt u knjizi *Skretanje. Kako je svijet postao moderan* svoje zanimanje praktično iskazuje u rasponu od 1. st. pr. Kr. do danas. U tom djelu Greenblatt iznosi hipotezu kako je ponovni pronalazak filozofskog epa Tita Lukrecija Kara *De rerum natura* (O prirodi) 1417. godine bio bitan događaj koji je doveo do rađanja svijeta kakvog danas poznajemo.

“Predgovor” (str. 9-19) autor počinje prisjećanjem iz studentskih dana kada je u knjižari za deset centi kupio prozni prijevod Lukrecijeva djela. Kroz predgovor se provlače dvije linije pripovijedanja. S jedne strane tu je pronalaženje utjecaja koje je to djelo vršilo na osobnoj razini gdje je srž Lukrecijeve pjesme “terapeutska meditacija nad strahom od smrti” (str. 11). S druge strane tu je šira promjena koju je djelo potaklo – “priča o tome kako je svijet skrenuo u novom smjeru” (str. 17). Lukrecijevo se djelo sporadično spominje od 4. do 9. st., a zatim je zaboravljeno ležalo na polici samostanske knjižnice dok ga 1417. godine nije u ruke uzeo humanist i “lovac na knjige” Poggio Bracciolini.

Prvo poglavlje zove se upravo tako – “Lovac na knjige” (str. 21-28). Poglavlje počinje odličnim opisom puta na kojem se našao Poggio u južnoj Njemačkoj u zimu 1417. godine. No fokus nije sam put, već atmosfera i putnik – “izolirani pojedinac”, “zbunjujuća figura” (str. 22) – netko potpuno netipičan u to vrijeme. Greenblatt vješto opisuje mentalno stanje u kojem se Poggio vjerojatno nalazio. Upravo je ostao bez posla, egzistencije, gospodara jer je papa, čiji je apostolski tajnik bio u tom trenutku, zatočen u zatvoru. U takvom nesigurnom i nezavidnom momentu Poggio se nije vratio u poznato okruženje Italije, već ga je strast navela u neizvjesno pretraživanje samostanskih knjižnica s onu stranu Alpa.

New historicism was not created *ab ovo* of course, and the epithet *new* defines its relation with historicism in which attention was also paid to place and period of work formation, and practitioners of new historicism were aware (or were supposed to be aware) that our perspective of the work and selection of questions asked were also conditioned by place, time and culture in which we function.³

Birth of this literary-historical school is inseparable from the study of the Renaissance literature, although principles of new historicism were gradually applied in the study of other periods. In his book *The Swerve. How the world became modern* Greenblatt exhibited his interest in the range from the 1st century BC to the present day. In this work Greenblatt presents hypothesis that rediscovery of the philosophical epic poem by Titus Lucretius Carus *De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of Things*) in 1417 was an important event leading to birth of the world as we know it.

Preface (pp. 9-19) starts with author's recollections from his student days when he bought translation of Lucretius' work in prose for ten cents. Two narration lines alternate in the Preface. On the one hand it is finding influence of this work on the personal level where the essence of Lucretius poem is “therapeutic meditation on the fear of death” (p. 11). On the other hand there is a broader change incited by the work – “This is a story then of how the world swerved in a new direction.” (p. 17). Lucretius' work was mentioned sporadically from the 4th to the 9th century, and then it lay forgotten on the shelf of the monastery library until a humanist, “the book hunter” Poggio Bracciolini rediscovered it.

That is exactly the title of the first chapter – *The Book Hunter* (pp. 21-28). It starts with an excellent description of the journey that Poggio took in southern Germany in winter of 1417. However the focus is not on the journey but the atmosphere and the passenger – “isolated individual”, “baffling figure” (p. 22) – someone quite atypical at the time. Greenblatt skillfully describes Poggio's probable mental state. He had just lost his job, existence, and master because the pope for whom he worked as papal secretary was imprisoned. In such uncertain and troublesome moment Poggio did not return to safe environment of Italy but his passion led him to uncertain search of monastery libraries on the other side of the Alps.

3 D. MIKICS 2007: 144, 205-206.

3 D. MIKICS 2007: 144, 205-206.

Drugo poglavlje – “Trenutak otkrivenja” (str. 29-51) – usprkos naslovu ne odnosi se na trenutak otkrića rukopisa. Greenblatt će oslikati dodatne aspekte vremena prije tog momenta, a u ovom poglavlju to je cijelo ozračje humanističke potrage za starim antičkim djelima. Opsesivna potraga započela je nakon što je Francesco Petrarca oko 1330. godine kompletirao Livijevu *Povijest Rima*, uz pronalazak djela Cicerona, Propercija i drugih autora. Nakon općeg opadanja pismenosti od doba kasne antike uslijedio je rani srednji vijek kada su samostani bili gotovo jedini otoci pismenosti. Obaveza redovnika da dio vremena posvete čitanju čuvala je, ali i uništavala kodekse. S jedne strane zbog obaveze čitanja redovnici su postali i glavni proizvođači i čuvari knjiga, a s druge, zbog nedostatka papira i složene proizvodnje pergamenta, često su brisali stare tekstove kako bi na pergament prepisivali tekstove koji su im bili zadani. Lovci na antičke tekstove koji su ležali na policama, mehanički prepisani od strane redovnika (ili njihovi dijelovi skriveni ispod i među redcima novih tekstova), suočavali su se u svom lovu s brojnim teškoćama – dostupnost samostana, nepovjerljivi opati i samostanski knjižničari, nadzirani pristup, vrijednost knjiga ... No, Poggio je posjedovao niz osobina i znanja zbog kojih je po Greenblattu bio najbolji lovac na knjige svog doba – izuzetno poznavanje latinskog jezika i antičkih autora, bio je šarmantan, ali i ono najvažnije – bio je izvrstan pisar, što je u vremenu prije izuma tiska bilo iznimno važno. Nakon što se rastao od suputnika i kolege Bartolomea da Aragazzija, u siječnju 1417. godine Poggio se uputio prema sjeveru. Nije poznata njegova destinacija, ali većina znanstvenika pretpostavlja da je to stari i poznati benediktinski samostan u Fuldi. Poggio je u samostanskoj knjižnici pronašao ep Silija Italika, dugačku pjesmu “Manilija”, veliki ulomak nepoznate povijesti Rimskog Carstva Amijana Marcelina, ali po Greenblattu sve to zasjenjuje “zabrinjavajuće radikalno” (str. 51) djelo Tita Lukrecija Kara.

Treće poglavlje – “U potrazi za Lukrecijem” (str. 53-77) – oslikava okolnosti nastanka djela i vraća nas u 1. st. pr. Krista. O Lukreciju znamo iznimno malo, gotovo podjednako koliko je to znao Poggio prije 600 godina. Jedini konkretni podatci potječu od svetog Jeronima koji ih je zapisao četiri stoljeća nakon Lukrecija i treba ih uzeti s oprezom. Greenblatt navodi svjedočanstva o Lukreciju kod Cicerona, Ovidija i Vergilija, čiju *Eneidu* drži upravo “alternativom” (str. 54) Lukrecijevu epu suprotstavljajući pobožnost i skeptičnost i druge osobine obaju djela.

The second chapter – *The Moment of Discovery* (pp. 29-51) – despite its title does not refer to the moment of manuscript discovery. Greenblatt will represent additional aspects of period before that moment, and in this chapter it is the entire atmosphere of humanistic search for works of classical antiquity. Obsessive search started after Francesco Petrarca completed Livy's *History of Rome* around 1330, alongside finding works by Cicero, Propertius and other authors. After general decline of literacy in Late Antiquity, in the Early Middle Ages the monasteries were among rare islands of literacy. Obligation of the monks to devote some of their time to reading preserved and destroyed codices. On the one hand the monks became main producers and keepers of books but on the other hand due to lack of paper and complex production of parchment they often erased old texts in order to copy other texts they were given. Hunters after classical texts lying on shelves, copied mechanically by the monks (or text segments hidden under and between the lines of new texts), were faced with many difficulties in their hunt – monastery availability, suspicious abbots and monastery librarians, monitored approach, great value of the books ... But Poggio had characteristics and knowledge which made him the best book hunter of the time according to Greenblatt – exceptional proficiency in Latin and in classical writers, he was charming, and most importantly he was an excellent scribe which was of great importance prior to invention of printing. After parting with his companion and colleague Bartolomeo da Aragazzi in January of 1417 Poggio headed north. His destination is not known, but most scholars assume that it was the old and renowned Benedictine monastery in Fulda. In the monastery library Poggio found an epic poem by Silius Italicus, long poem by Manilius, large fragment of unknown history of the Roman Empire by Ammianus Marcellinus but it was all overshadowed, according to Greenblatt, by “dangerously radical” (p. 51) work by Titus Lucretius Carus.

The third chapter – *In Search of Lucretius* (pp. 53-77) – describes circumstances of work formation and sets us back to the 1st century BC. We know very little about Lucretius, not much more than Poggio knew 600 years ago. The only specific information was offered by St. Jerome who wrote it down four centuries after Lucretius had lived and it should be interpreted with due caution. Greenblatt mentions testimonies about Lucretius in Cicero, Ovid and Virgil whose *Aeneid* he considers an “alternative” (p. 54) to the Lucretius' epic juxtaposing piety and skepticism and other characteristics of both works.

Dugogodišnje istraživanje Vile papirusa u Herkulaneju poslužilo je za oslikavanje društvene atmosfere u kojoj je kolalo Lukrecijevo djelo. Lukrecije njime pronosi ideje Epikura čiji je učenik i kojega drži spasiteljem čovječanstva. Epikur je u 4. st. pr. Kr. na temelju Demokritove ideje o sitnim nevidljivim česticama od kojih je sve građeno – atomima – “osmislio čitavu ideju o svemiru i filozofiji ljudskog života” (str. 72). Po njoj zajedno s tijelom nestaje i duša, nema kazne ni nagrade, pa čovjek treba za života tragati za zadovoljstvom. Epikur je vlastitim životom svjedočio kako nije riječ o hedonističkim uživanjima, već trajnom zadovoljstvu, no ideja je svejedno bila užasavajuća i za većinu Rimljana, kao i Židove i kršćane, do Poggiova doba i kasnije.

U četvrtom poglavlju – “Zubi vremena” (str. 79-103) – izlažu se svi uvjeti koji su doveli do nestanka djela, od onih općih koji djeluju na sve knjige (npr. rat, nametnici) do onih koji su djelovali na Lukrecijevo djelo (kršćanska osuda epikurejstva). Sudbina knjige oslikava se sudbinom aleksandrijske knjižnice koja je Greenblattu simbol kozmopolitizma. Sa 4. st. i kršćanstvom kao jedinom religijom nestaje pluralizma, a epikurizam s naučavanjem o smrtnosti duše postaje ozbiljna prijetnja. Autor detaljno razrađuje to suprotstavljanje, posebno u odnosu na bol i užitak. Nepomirljivost je jednostavno s vremenom dovela do zaborava te je nekoliko primjeraka djela slučajno dospjelo u samostanske knjižnice, a onda ih je nekoliko u 9. st. slučajno prepisano i jedan od tih primjeraka Poggio je držao u ruci početkom 1417. godine. Kao i drugdje u knjizi, Greenblatt naglašava slučajnosti te iznosi da je očuvanje djela visjelo o koncu, međutim i sam spominje dodatne primjerke iz 9. st., koji su, doduše, pronađeni u 19. st., no i oni su se uspjeli očuvati u knjižnicama.

Iza naslova petog poglavlja – “Rođenje i preporod” (str. 105-133) – skriva se opis nastanka humanizma ili renesanse,⁴ ali i rođenja i odrastanja Poggia Bracciolinija. Greenblatt, kao i u mnogim drugim trenucima, koristi kontrast. U ovom primjeru s jedne strane je Firenca u osvit 15. st.

Long-term research of the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum was used for illustration of social atmosphere in which Lucretius' work circulated. Lucretius promotes Epicurus' ideas as he was his pupil and whom he saw as the savior of humanity. In the 4th century BC Epicurus “constructed a whole account of the universe and a philosophy of human life” (p. 72) on the basis of Democritus' idea about small invisible particles which build everything there is – atoms. According to his philosophy soul disappears together with the body, there is neither reward nor punishment so a man should seek pleasure during his lifetime. Epicurus testified with his life that these were not hedonistic pleasures but a permanent satisfaction; however that idea remained horrifying for most of the Romans, Jews and Christians, until Poggio's period and later.

The fourth chapter, *The Teeth of Time* (pp. 79-103), offers an overview of all conditions leading to disappearance of the work, from the general factors affecting all books (e.g. war, parasites) to the ones which affected Lucretius' work (Christian condemnation of Epicureanism). Book's destiny is compared to the destiny of the library of Alexandria as a symbol of cosmopolitanism according to Greenblatt. Pluralism disappears in the 4th century when Christianity becomes the only approved religion and Epicureanism with its principles of the mortality of the soul becomes a serious threat. The author elaborates this opposition comprehensively, particularly in relation to pain and pleasure. In time irreconcilability led to oblivion and few books got to monastery libraries accidentally, and then several were transcribed by accident in the 9th century and one of these examples ended up in Poggio's hands at the beginning of 1417. As elsewhere in the book Greenblatt emphasizes coincidences and states that preservation of the book was hanging by a thread but he mentions additional examples from the 9th century which were discovered in various libraries in the 19th century.

Title of the fifth chapter - *Birth and Rebirth* (pp. 105-133) - relates to the description of formation of humanism or Renaissance,⁴ but also to the birth and growing up of Poggio Bracciolini. Greenblatt uses

4 U knjizi se koristi i termin klasicizam, što predstavlja doslovan prijevod (*classicism*), no u hrvatskom jeziku ipak se termin klasicizam uobičajeno ne koristi za umjetnost Grčke i Rima, već za kasniju umjetnost nadahnutu umjetnošću Grčke i Rima, bilo onu 16. i 17. st. ili onu od 1760. do 1830. godine, poznatu i kao neoklasicizam. To vrijedi za likovne umjetnosti, a u književnosti označava stil i razdoblje od 17. st. do pojave romantizma. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, sv. 5 (Hu – Km), Zagreb, 2003: 693-696, s. v. Klasicizam.

4 Croatian term *klasicizam* (classicism) is used in the book representing literal translation but this term in Croatian is usually not used for art of Greece and Rome but for later art inspired by art of Greece and Rome, from the 16th and 17th centuries or art from the period from 1760 to 1830 also known as Neoclassicism. This refers to visual arts, and in literature it designates style and period from the 17th century until the appearance of Romanticism. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, vol. 5 (Hu – Km), Zagreb, 2003: 693-696, s.v. Klasicizam.

– “srednjovjekovan, zatvoren i mračan” grad (str. 105), a s druge strane je svijet antike koji više ne postoji. Upravo u tom kontrastu Greenblatt vidi razloge koji su humaniste doveli do potrage za nasljeđem klasičnog Rima. Na to ih je naveo prijezir prema svijetu u kojem su živjeli. Poggiu i njegovim suvremenicima Francesco Petrarca bio je junak koji je zaboravljenu prošlost vratio u život, no danas znamo da je interes za antiku i ranije oživljavao, a tragove klasične misli možemo pronaći u različitim srednjovjekovnim djelima. No, promjena koju su donijeli najraniji humanisti – Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutati i drugi – sastoji se u tvrdnji da je sjajan antički svijet mrtav, da je suvremena kultura kao nastavak tradicije klasičnog svijeta, što su tvrdili svjetovni i crkveni dostojanstvenici, zapravo laž.

U poglavlju se oslikava i Poggiova obitelj, njegovo odrastanje, djelovanje, osobine važne za uspjeh (posebno lijep rukopis) te odnos prema kolegama s kojima dijelio strast prema traganju za davno nestalim stilom.

U šestom poglavlju – “U tvornici laži” (str. 135-151) – pratimo Poggiov život od odlaska iz Firence u Rim 1403. godine. U Rimu prvo djeluje u službi kardinala Barija, a uskoro postaje papinski pisar Bonifacija IX. Njegov je posao vezan uz poslovnu stranu papinstva, a Rimska je kurija stjecište brojnih svjetovnih i crkvenih ljudi sa svim svojim vrlinama i manama, ali s naglaskom na posljednjima. Greenblatt oslikava korumpiranost i licemjerje Poggiova okruženja prvo pomoću djela *O izvrsnosti i dostojanstvu Rimske kurije* koje je napisao Lapo da Castiglionchio, a zatim i samim Poggiovim zapisima: *Facetiae* – svakodnevni zapisi o podmetanju, klevetanju i drugim grijesima, ali i niz moralizatorskih dijaloga – *O pohlepi, Protiv licemjerja, O plemenitosti* ... Nakon 1410. godine Poggio postaje apostolski tajnik jednog od najnemilosrdnijih i najbeskrupuloznijih papa – Ivana XXIII. Bijeg od takve stvarnosti predstavljala je njegova opsjednutost antičkim tekstovima.

Sedmo se poglavlje zove “Zamka za lisice” (str. 153-174). Zamka je crkveni koncil u Konstanzu, a lisica je zapravo samo jedna – Baldassare Cossa poznatiji kao papa Ivan XXIII. Greenblatt ne ulazi u sve fineze spomenutog koncila, već je u fokusu papa čiji je Poggio tajnik. Nakon upoznavanja s Baldassarom Cossom i raskolom koji je u trenutku izbora za papu Ivana XXIII. trajao već tridesetak godina, dolazimo do razloga sazivanja koncila u Konstanzu. Kroz brojne intrige, manevre, diplomaciju Poggio i ostali pisari, birokrati i tajnici bili su

contrast as in many other instances. In this example there is Florence in the early 15th century – “medieval in appearance, closed in and dark” city (p. 105) on the one hand, and world of antiquity which no longer exists on the other hand. Greenblatt sees that reasons which made the humanists search the heritage of classical Rome were exactly in this contrast, leading them to despise the world they lived in. For Poggio and his contemporaries Petrarch was a hero who revived forgotten past, but presently we know that interest in antiquity was revived earlier as well, and traces of classical ideas can be found in various medieval works. But the change brought by the earliest humanists such as Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutati and others consists in the statement that brilliant classical world is dead and that contemporary culture as a continuation of tradition of the classical world as stated by church and profane authorities was actually a lie.

This chapter also presents Poggio’s family, his growing up, activity, characteristics leading to success (in particular good handwriting) and relation to colleagues with whom he shared passion for search of style long vanished.

The sixth chapter – *In the Lie Factory* (pp. 135-151) depicts Poggio’s life from leaving Florence and going to Rome in 1403. In Rome he first worked for the Bari cardinal, and soon he became papal scribe for Boniface IX. His work was related to business side of papacy, and Roman curia was a meeting point for many secular and church officials with all their virtues and faults, the latter being more pronounced. Greenblatt depicts corruption and hypocrisy of Poggio’s environment first through the work by Lapo da Castiglionchio *On the Excellence and Dignity of the Roman Court*, and then also by Poggio’s works: *Facetiae* – everyday notes on imputation, slander and other sins, but also a series of moralizing dialogues – *On Avarice, Against the Hypocrites, On Nobility*, ... After 1410 Poggio became apostolic secretary of one of the most merciless and unscrupulous popes – John XXIII. His obsession with ancient texts represented an escape from such reality.

The seventh chapter is entitled *A Pit to Catch Foxes* (pp. 153-174). The pit is actually a church council in Constance and there is only one fox - Baldassare Cossa known as Pope John XXIII. Greenblatt does not discuss all details of the mentioned council but focuses on the pope for whom Poggio worked. After meeting Baldassare Cossa and schism which lasted for thirty years at the moment when Pope John XXIII was elected we learn the reason of convening the council. Due to many intrigues, manoeu-

iznimno zaposleni, a sve je kulminiralo na koncilu koji je trajao od 1414. do 1418. godine. S jedne je strane koncil na kojem je Ivan XXIII. proglašen protupapom i zatočen, a s druge su strane Poggiova lutanja po samostanima i njihovim bibliotekama u potrazi za izgubljenim antičkim djelima.

No, to nije jedini kontrast u poglavlju. Od samog početka poglavlja Greenblatt efektno suprotstavlja Poggiovu Rim i njegovu sjajnu prošlost. Upravo je nekadašnji sjaj antičkog Rima mjesto na koje Poggio bježi od stvarnosti, a svakim novim opisom suvremenih prilika Greenblatt produbljuje kontrast.

Dolazak Ivana XXIII. u Konstanz i njegovi pokušaji stavljanja krivovjerja Jana Husa u prvi plan u raspravama na koncilu detaljnije su opisani, kao i neuspjeh u tim planovima – bijeg, zatočenje i svrgavanje. Time je Poggio ostao bez gospodara – jedna od gorih sudbina koje su mogle pogoditi srednjovjekovnog čovjeka.

Na Poggia je snažan dojam ostavilo svjedočenje Jeronima Praškog prije smrti na lomači jer se približio “standardu antičke rječitosti” (str. 168). Tijekom koncila posjetio je i toplice u Badenu gdje je u prizorima bezbrižnih muškaraca i žena neopтереćenih otkrivanjem svojih tijela vidio epikurejski način razmišljanja. No, Poggio je nastavio i svoj život lovca na knjige. Posjetio je samostan u Clunyju 1415. godine gdje je pronašao dva dotad nepoznata Ciceronova govora. U ljeto 1416. godine s dvojicom prijatelja posjetio je samostan St. Gallen. Najvažnije djelo koje su pronašli u samostanskoj biblioteci bilo je Kvintilijanovo *Obrazovanje govornika*, najvažniji rimski priručnik o govorništvu i retorici. Iz njegovih pisama prijateljima u Italiju vidljivo je kako je Poggio knjige doživljavao kao živa bića. U trenutku velike neizvjesnosti, kada ostaje bez stabilnog izvora prihoda, on nastavlja s obilaskom knjižnica. Poglavlje završava ključnim trenutkom kada Poggio u siječnju 1417. u knjižnici samostana, vjerojatno onog u Fuldi, s police uzima djelo: *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura*.

Osmo poglavlje pod nazivom “Kako stvari stoje” (str. 175-190) bavi se upravo tim djelom *De rerum natura* (O prirodi). Filozofska poema od 7400 stihova u heksametru iznimno je zahtjevno i kompleksno djelo Tita Lukrecija Kara iz 1. st. pr. Kr., no Greenblatt se više ne bavi vremenom i okolnostima nastanka djela. Po Greenblattu upravo je trenutak pronalaska ovog djela trenutak u kojem svijet izlazi iz srednjeg vijeka, trenutak u kojem se rađa moderno doba, no o tome nešto kasnije jer se ovo poglavlje usredotočuje na elemente Lukrecijeva djela

vres and diplomacy Poggio and other scribes, bureaucrats and secretaries were exceptionally busy and it all culminated at the council which lasted from 1414 to 1418. On the one hand is the council in which John XXIII was proclaimed to be an antipope and imprisoned, and on the other we have Poggio’s wanderings in the monasteries and their libraries in search of lost ancient works.

However this is not the only contrast in this chapter. From the very beginning Greenblatt effectively juxtaposes Poggio’s Rome and its glorious past. Glory of ancient Rome was Poggio’s retreat from the reality, and each new description of contemporary circumstances is used by Greenblatt to deepen the contrast.

The arrival of John XXIII in Constance and his attempts to put the heresy of Jan Hus in the focus of attention in the council discussions are described extensively as well as the failure of these plans – escape, imprisonment and deposing. In that way Poggio lost his master – one of the worst destinies to befall a medieval man.

Testimony of Jerome of Prague before his death by burning at the stake impressed Poggio as he approached “standard of ancient eloquence” (p. 168). During the council he visited the baths in Baden where he saw an Epicurean way of thinking in scenes of careless men and women freely exposing their bodies. But Poggio also continued his life of a book hunter. He visited the monastery in Cluny in 1415 where he found two unknown Cicero’s speeches. In summer of 1416 he visited the monastery St. Gallen with two friends where they found Quintilian’s *Institutes of Oratory*, the most important ancient Roman handbook on oratory and rhetoric. Poggio’s letters to his friends in Italy reveal that he saw books as living beings. In a moment of great uncertainty, when he lost a steady income, he continued visiting libraries. The chapter ends with a crucial moment when Poggio took the work *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura* from the shelf in January of 1417 in the monastery library, probably in Fulda.

The eighth chapter entitled *The Way Things Are* (pp. 175-190) deals with the work *De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of Things*). Philosophical poem consisting of 7400 verses in hexameter is an exceptionally demanding and complex work by Titus Lucretius Carus from the 1st century BC but Greenblatt deals more with time and circumstances of creation of the work. According to Greenblatt it was the moment of discovery of this work when the world left the Middle Ages, moment when the Modern Era was born, but this will be discussed later as this chapter

na kojima se temelji suvremeni život. Greenblatt izdvaja postojanje nevidljivih čestica koje Lukrecije naziva raznim terminima, beskonačnost vremena, beskonačnost čestica, ali i limitiranost po obliku i veličini, njihov pokret unutar beskrajne praznine, nepostojanje stvoritelja i oblikovatelja svemira, nepostojanje života nakon smrti, nepostojanje demona ni duhova, okrutnost religija i njihova obmana itd. To su samo neki od elemenata s Greenblattova kratkog popisa.

Greenblatt razmatra kako je Lukrecijev nazor utjecao na Poggia, a “nezainteresiranost bogova” (str. 177), svojevrsni ateizam, bio je samo jedna opreka Poggiovoj kršćanskoj vjeri. Za promjenu koja je potka knjige najvažnije je skretanje (*swerve*) ili kako ga Lukrecije naziva *declinatio*, *inclinatio* ili *clinamen* – ono je uzrok svega i zbog njega sve postaje.

I deveto se poglavlje bavi sudbinom djela u 15. st., no ipak veći dio tog poglavlja naslovljenog “Povratak” (str. 191-204) opisuje Poggiov život nakon pronalaska djela. Naime, čini se da je Poggio morao napustiti samostan bez rukopisa. Očito je i da ga je netko prepisao za njega, a kada je napokon dobio prijepis, Poggio ga je prosljedio prijatelju Niccoli Niccoliju u Firencu koji ga je još jednom prepisao. Sljedećih dvanaest godina Poggio je svako malo pisao prijatelju tražeći povratak rukopisa, a do toga je došlo svakako nakon 13. prosinca 1429. godine. U međuvremenu je Poggio četiri godine boravio u Engleskoj kao tajnik Henryja Beauforta, biskupa od Winchestera. Taj je boravak za njega bio veliko razočaranje jer u knjižnicama engleskih samostana nije našao klasične tekstove kakve je očekivao na početku. Stoga je povratak u Italiju 1422. godine za njega bio spas. Pronašao je tajničko mjesto, a sve je bolje i financijski stajao. To je bilo vrlo važno jer je s ljubavnicom Lucijom Pannelli imao 14 djece. Kupio si je imanje u Terranuovi blizu Firence, a 1436. godine oženio se sa 38 godina mlađom Vaggiom di Gino Buondelmonti, pripadnicom firentinske feudalne obitelji. U 25 godina braka Poggio je dobio pet sinova i kćer Lukreciju.

Posljednji, osmi papa kojem je Poggio služio kao tajnik bio je Nikola V. Zbog prepirki s drugim tajnicima, 1453. godine Poggio napušta tajničku službu i postaje kancelar Firence. Osim političkog djelovanja, pronasao je vremena za prevođenje pojedinih djela s grčkog na latinski i pisanja *Povijesti Firence*. Godine 1458. daje ostavku, a osamnaest mjeseci kasnije u listopadu 1459. godine umire.

Deseto poglavlje, pod naslovom “Skretanja” (str. 205-223), opisuje sudbinu rukopisa. Origi-

deals with elements of Lucretius’ work which make the basis of modern life. Greenblatt emphasize existence of invisible particles that are called by Lucretius with various terms, infinity of time, infinity of particles, but also their limited form and size, their movements in an endless void, nonexistence of the creator and designer of the universe, nonexistence of afterlife, nonexistence of demons and ghosts, cruelty of religions and their deceptions etc. These are only some of the elements from the Greenblatt’s short list.

Greenblatt considers how Lucretius’ views affected Poggio, and “the indifference of the gods” (p. 177), a kind of atheism, was just an opposition to Poggio’s Christian faith. Swerve was the most important factor for change which makes the basis of the book. Swerve or in Lucretius’ words *declinatio*, *inclinatio* or *clinamen* is the cause of everything and everything comes into being because of it.

The ninth chapter (entitled *The Return*) also deals with the destiny of the work in the 15th century but still larger portion of the chapter (pp. 191-204) describes Poggio’s life after the work had been discovered. Namely it seems that Poggio had to leave the monastery without the manuscript. It is evident that he had it copied, and he finally got the script. Poggio forwarded it to his friend Niccolò Niccoli in Florence who copied it once more. In the following twelve years Poggio repeatedly wrote to his friend demanding his script, and that happened after December 13, 1429. In the meantime Poggio spent four years in England as a secretary of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. This period was a great disappointment for him because he did not find classical texts as he expected in the English monastery libraries. Therefore, the return to Italy in 1422 was salvation for him. He started working as a secretary, and his finances improved as well. This was important because he had 14 children with his mistress Lucia Pannelli. He bought an estate in Terranuova near Florence, and in 1436 he married Vaggia di Gino Buondelmonti, member of Florentine feudal family, 38 years his junior. In 25 years of their marriage Poggio had five sons and a daughter Lucretia.

Nicholas V was the last, eighth pope for whom Poggio worked as a secretary. Because of quarrels with other secretaries in 1453 Poggio left secretary position and became a chancellor of Florence. In addition to political activity, he found time for translating certain works from Greek to Latin and for writing the *History of Florence*. In 1458 he resigned, and eighteen months later in October 1459 he died.

The tenth chapter entitled *Sweres* (pp. 205-223) describes the destiny of the manuscript. Original

nal iz samostanske knjižnice, kao ni prvi prepisani primjerak koji je Poggio poslao Niccoliju nisu očuvani do danas, no iz 15. st. preživjelo je više od pedeset rukopisa. Ideje iz djela brzo su počele davati nove plodove. Prema Greenblattu suvremenici ih nisu otvoreno zagovarali već su reagirali na Lukrecijeve ideje na tri načina. Jedan ilustrira djelovanje Marsilija Ficina koji je “većinu života proveo prilagođavajući Platona da bi izgradio domišljatu filozofijsku obranu kršćanstva” (str. 207). Na drugi način reagirao je Poggio, odvajajući vrhunski pjesnički stil od ideja koje su njime izražene. Treći način Greenblatt naziva dijaloškim odricanjem jer autor iznosi stavove kroz riječi govornika unutar dijaloga, od kojih jedan brani kršćanski stav i na kraju pobjeđuje ili prividno pobjeđuje, a primjer je djelo *O užitku* Lorenza Valle. S jedne strane, Crkva se bojala novih ideja o čemu svjedoči zabrana kršćanskog pogreba pjesniku Luigiju Pulciju zbog epikurejskih stavova, a s druge su strane pojedinci unutar Crkve spriječili da se djelo uvrsti u Indeks zabranjenih knjiga. Tiskanje rukopisa dovelo je do toga da bi zabrana djela imala malo učinka.

Na primjeru *Utopije* Thomasa Morea Greenblatt pokazuje utjecaj Lukrecijeva djela, no čak i u tom zamišljenom društvu, na kraju poznatoga svijeta, teške kazne namijenjene su onima koji zanijeku božansku providnost ili život nakon smrti. Kod Giordana Bruna vidljiv je sljedeći korak jer Bruno, koji odbacuje i Božju providnost, poredak svemira smatra već ugrađenim u prirodu stvari. Njegovim spaljivanjem na lomači 1600. godine završava poglavlje.

“Pokazalo se da je mnogo lakše bilo ušutkati Bruna nego *O prirodi* vratiti ponovno u tamu”, prva je rečenica jedanaestog poglavlja – “Život nakon smrti” (str. 225-243). Naravno *život* se odnosi na Lukrecijevo djelo, odnosno njegov odjek u djelima pisaca i umjetnika, od kojih se posebna pažnja posvetila Shakespeareu i Montaigneu. Greenblatt uočava kako sama ideja atomizma, koja nije zamrla ni u srednjem vijeku, s pronalaskom Lukrecijeva djela počinje biti opasna jer postaje podloga za mnogo opasnije tvrdnje zbog čega su teolozi na Tridentском koncilu 1551. godine atomizam označili suprotnim kršćanskoj vjeri. Greenblatt navedeno ilustrira sudbinom Galilea Galileija, a važnu promjenu vidi početkom 17. st. kada se Lukrecijevo djelo prevodi na francuski, talijanski i engleski. Time djelo čije je poznavanje bilo ograničeno dobrim poznavanjem latinskog jezika dobiva širu publiku. Greenblatt se tu više bavi unutarnjim

from the monastery library and the first copy which was sent to Niccoli by Poggio were not preserved, but more than fifty manuscripts from the 15th century have reached us. Ideas from the work soon started giving new fruit. According to Greenblatt the contemporaries did not advocate them openly but they reacted to Lucretius’ ideas in three ways. One of them is illustrated by activity of Marsilio Ficino who “spent much of his life adapting Plato to construct an ingenious philosophical defense of Christianity.” (p. 207). Poggio reacted in another way, distinguishing the supreme poetic style from the ideas it was intended to express. Dialogical rejection is Greenblatt’s third way, represented by the author who expresses attitudes through words of the dialogue participants, one of which defends Christian attitude and finally wins or seemingly wins, best illustrated by the work *On Pleasure (De voluptate)* by Lorenzo Valla. On the one hand Church was afraid of new ideas, which is testified by denying Christian funeral for the poet Luigi Pulci because of Epicurean ideas, and on the other hand individuals within Church prevented enlisting the work to the Index of forbidden books. Printing of the manuscript meant that book banning would have had little effect.

On the example of *Utopia* by Thomas More Greenblatt showed the influence of Lucretius’ work, but even in this imaginary society, at the end of the known world, severe punishments waited for those who denied divine providence or afterlife. The next step can be recognized with Giordano Bruno who rejects divine providence as well, and believes that order of the universe is incorporated in the nature of things. The chapter ends with Bruno’s death by burning at the stake in 1600.

“SILENCING BRUNO PROVED far easier than returning *On the Nature of Things* to the darkness.” is the first sentence of the eleventh chapter – *Afterlives* (pp. 225-243). Of course *lives* refers to Lucretius’ work i.e. its reflections in the works of writers and artists, with emphasis on Shakespeare and Montaigne. Greenblatt notices that the idea of atomism which was not completely extinguished in the Middle Ages became dangerous with the discovery of Lucretius’ work because it was used as a basis for more dangerous statements which is why theologians on the Council of Trent in 1551 proclaimed atomism as incompatible with the Christian faith. Greenblatt illustrates the aforementioned with the fate of Galileo Galilei, and recognizes important change only in the 17th century when Lucretius’ work was translated to French, Italian and English. In that way this work was no longer limited to the

previranjima Lucy Hutchinson koja je prevela djelo na engleski jezik, nego tragovima djela u kasnijem razvoju. Tu se u sasvim kratkim crtama spominju znanstvenici 17. st. (poimence Newton) koji pokušavaju pomiriti atomizam i kršćanstvo te Lukrecijev materijalizam vidi u temeljima skepticizma i nevjerice Prosvjetiteljstva. Lukrecijev utjecaj vidi i u Deklaraciji nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država gdje se uz pravo na život i slobodu navodi i pravo na potragu za srećom. Posljednja rečenica teksta potječe iz Jeffersonova pisma Johnu Adamu: "Ja sam epikurejac." (str. 243).

Nakon samog teksta knjige slijede "Zahvale", "Odabrana literatura", "Bilješke" i "Kazalo" te na ovitku korica bilješke o autoru i prevoditeljici Lidiji Bernardić koju treba pohvaliti za vrhunski i tečan prijevod.

Greenblattovo djelo ima pomalo enigmatičan naslov u skladu s angloameričkom publicističkom tradicijom, no već nakon čitanja ekscerpata na koricama knjige jasno je izrečena glavna hipoteza. No, autor nije usredotočen samo na Lukrecija, pronalazak njegova rukopisa i utjecaj djela, već nam nudi niz različitih tema koje se savršeno izmjenjuju kroz tekst – povijest knjige, život u samostanu ... – niz slikovitih opisa koji nas lakoćom uvode u jedan izgubljeni svijet na razmeđu srednjeg vijeka i renesanse, ali i drugih mjesta i vremena – Aleksandrija u 4. st., knjižnica u Herkulaneju ... Usprkos naslovu i hipotezi, po meni glavni lik je Poggio Bracciolini, ili možda glavni uz Lukrecija, što svjedoči o dva različita dijela knjige. Jedna razina priče jest Poggio, njegov stvarni život i bijeg od njega u doba klasičnog Rima strastvenom potragom za izgubljenim tekstovima. Druga je razina Lukrecijevo djelo kao najvažnija karika u povezivanju Demokrita i Epikura s jedne i modernog svijeta s druge strane.

Jim Hinch u svojoj kritici Greenblattova djela također primjećuje dvije razine, ali ih donekle drugačije definira. On duhovito govori o dvije knjige – jedna živopisno oslikava atmosferu renesanse i Lukrecijev utjecaj, a posebno Poggiovu potragu koja je prava "detektivska priča", a druga je "antireligiozna polemika". Po Hinchu, prva zaslužuje nagradu, a druga ne jer jednostavno nije točna.⁵ S tim se možemo složiti jer u kontrastu koji Greenblatt koristi srednji vijek je stereotipno "mračno doba".

public who knew Latin well. Greenblatt paid more attention to inner turmoil of Lucy Hutchinson who translated the work to English than to its traces in the later development. There is a brief mention of the scholars from the 17th century (Newton) who tried to reconcile atomism and Christianity. He observes Lucretius' materialism in the foundations of skepticism and disbelief of the Enlightenment. Lucretius' influence is evident in the United States Declaration of Independence where pursuit of happiness is mentioned alongside rights to life and liberty. The last sentence in the text was taken from the Jefferson's letter to John Adams: "I am an Epicurean." (p. 243).

"Acknowledgments", "Selected bibliography", "Notes" and "Index" are at the end of the text. On the cover are notes about the author and translator Lidija Bernardić who provided excellent and fluent translation.

Greenblatt's work has a kind of enigmatic title in accordance with Anglo-American publicistic traditions, but the main hypothesis is stated as soon as one reads excerpts on the cover. The author is not focused only on Lucretius, discovery of his manuscript and influence of his work, but he also offers a series of various topics alternating perfectly through the text such as history of books, life in a monastery, etc., and abundance of vivid descriptions which take us to a lost world somewhere between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but also other times and places such as Alexandria in the 4th century, library in Herculaneum ... Despite the title and hypothesis, in my opinion Poggio Bracciolini is the main character, or perhaps one of the two main characters alongside Lucretius, which testifies to the existence of two different levels in the book, one focusing on Poggio himself, his real life and escape from it to the classical Roman era through a passionate search for lost texts, and the other on Lucretius' work as the most important link connecting Democritus and Epicurus on the one hand and modern world on the other.

Jim Hinch in his review of the Greenblatt's work also notices two levels, but defines them somewhat differently. He wittily speaks of two books – one vividly depicting the atmosphere of the Renaissance and Lucretius' influence, and particularly Poggio's search which is a real "detective story", while the other one deals with "anti-religious polemic". The first one deserves an award after Hinch, and the second one not because it is just not accurate.⁵ We can agree with this because in the contrast used by Greenblatt the Middle Ages is stereotypical "dark age".

U širem smislu mogli bismo *Skretanje* odrediti i kao djelo koje se bavi poviješću znanosti i tu Hinchova kritika stavlja naglasak na Greenblattov obračun s kršćanskom desnicom. On smatra da je Greenblattova namjera prikazati Crkvu kao rigidnu organizaciju koja želi zatrti razvoj znanosti. S Hinchovim se kontraargumentima u vidu primjera gdje su crkveni ljudi oni koji krče put znanja možemo složiti, no moj je dojam da je taj dio u djelu posljedica Greenblattove želje za stvaranjem napetosti. Kakva bi to bila knjiga s pozitivnim likom bez svog antipoda, bez neke mračne sile koja prijati osujetiti njegovu misiju? Crkva se tu nameće sama po sebi jer nudi kao na pladnju i tu negativnu stranu, a to što je to samo jedna strana njezine povijesti Greenblattu nije ni važno u gradnji djela koje u svom najopširnijem dijelu zapravo balansira između povijesti i književnosti.

Možda *Skretanje* ne spada u sam vrh publicističke produkcije novog historizma, no ona predstavlja njegove najvažnije karakteristike – i dobre i loše. Nudi nam širi kontekst igrajući na kartu multidisciplinarnosti,⁶ ali iz povijesti ne posuđuje metodologiju, već momente koji će joj omogućiti da bude zanimljivije književno djelo.

Greenblatt je u toj namjeri svakako uspio. Najbolji dio knjige, usprkos drugačijim naglascima predstavljenima naslovom i ekscerptima, jest Poggiova potraga za rukopisima. Greenblatt tu vješto na povijesnim činjenicama gradi priču koja nam ne dopušta ispustiti knjigu iz ruku. On, naravno, na činjenice nadograđuje fiktionalne momente, ali nam je upravo zbog njih tako lako uroniti u svijet 1. polovice 16. stoljeća.

From a more general point of view we could determine *The Swerve* as a work dealing with history of science and this is where Hinch's review emphasizes Greenblatt's negative attitude towards the Christian right-wing political factions. He believes it was Greenblatt's intention to represent church as a rigid organization which tries to exterminate development of science. We can agree with Hinch's counterarguments that church officials opened way for knowledge, but I had the impression that this part was a consequence of Greenblatt's wish to create suspense. What kind of a book would have a positive character without the antipode, some dark force threatening to obstruct his mission? Church was the easiest solution as it offers the negative side as well, and the fact that it is only a segment of its history does not matter to Greenblatt in creation of his work, which balances between history and literature most of the time.

Perhaps *The Swerve* does not belong to the best examples of publicistic production of new historicism but it represents its most important characteristics – both good and bad. It offers us wider context, using multidisciplinary,⁶ although it does not borrow methodology from history but uses moments which make this book an interesting literary work.

Greenblatt succeeded in his intention. The best part of the book, despite different focuses in titles and excerpts, is Poggio's search for manuscripts. In this segment Greenblatt skillfully builds a story which based on historical facts which does not let us put the book down. He adds fictional moments to facts, but that is exactly why it is so easy to dive into the world of the first half of the 16th century.

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6 Ovdje je u prvom redu riječ o povijesti, odnosno socijalnoj povijesti, što je naravno ključno obilježje pravca koji u nazivu koristi riječ *historizam*, no na novi historizam utječu i brojne druge discipline npr. sociologija i antropologija (D. ŠPORDER 2007: 6-7).

6 This refers primarily to history, i.e. social history, which is crucial characteristic of school which uses term *historicism* in its name, but many other disciplines affected new historicism such as e. g. sociology and anthropology (D. ŠPORDER 2007: 6-7).