

THE ENLIGHTENED APOLOGY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE BY MARKO FAUSTIN GALJUF FROM DUBROVNIK*

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In recent Enlightenment studies, a trend can be termed as the “classical turn” because it places a focus on the classical heritage as an integral part of the eighteenth-century culture. Interest in antiquity encompassed Greek and Roman literature, philosophy, and art, and Enlightenment thinkers were particularly fascinated and inspired by the rationalism, humanism, and civic virtues of the ancient world. Archaeological excavations in Italy supported the development of neoclassical style, experiencing a true revival with Rome as its centre. Countless translations of classical authors were in line with “the taste of the time”, and improvisations of poetry from contemporary languages into Latin were especially valued. The Piarist from Dubrovnik, Marko Faustin Galjuf (1765-1834), was one of the most renowned Latin improvisers of his time. He began his teaching career in Rome and later became politically and academically engaged in the pro-French Roman and Ligurian Republics. After the fall of Napoleon’s Empire in 1815, Galjuf fell out of favour due to his past. In 1833, he published an apology for the use of the Latin language titled *Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language (Specimen de fortuna Latinitatis)*, seeking a way to return to the unforsaken Rome under the rule of Pope Gregory XVI. This paper will explore the Enlightenment socio-cultural context of the creation and arguments of this forgotten but significant piece for the history of cultural patterns of that period. It will be argued that Galjuf’s intention for writing his apology was of an enlightened rather than a conservative nature.

Keywords: Latin language; Enlightenment; cult of antiquity; universal language; Marko Faustin Galjuf

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“... there will be serious matters for the cries of Romantics, and [even] more for the French, whose language I vehemently attack.”¹

Introduction: Antiquity in Enlightenment Culture

In 1833, a mere year before passing away, Marko Faustin Galjuf (1765-1834), one of the last Latinists hailing from Dubrovnik and a famous extemporizer of Latin poetry, published an apologetic text in Turin titled *Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language (Specimen de fortuna Latinitatis)*². This work

¹ “... vi sarà materia grave alle grida dei Romantici, e più dei francesi, dei quali attacco la lingua con molta forza”. The letter from Marco Faustino Galjuf to Luigi Biondi dated March 20, 1833, from Turin, in which he announces and describes his essay on the fate of the Latin language. Đuro Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf (Gagliuffi), posedni naš znatiji latinist: (1765. – 1834.)” [Marko Faustin Galjuf (Gagliuffi) from Dubrovnik, our last prominent Latinist, 1765 – 1834] *Rad JAZU*, no. 194 (1912): 243. Körbler incorrectly mentions the first name of Galjuf’s friend and collaborator for the journal *Giornale Arcadico* and a well-known neoclassicist as Lodovico instead of Luigi Biondi. Cf. Viviana Jemolo, “Biondi, Luigi”, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (on-line)*, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, accessed September 20, 2023, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-biondi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

² Galjuf as a research topic is present in both Croatian and Italian literary and cultural history, with Italian studies being more extensive and recent. In Croatia, his biography and body of work have been predominantly explored by classical philologists interested in Neo-Latin literature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Đuro Körbler wrote the most comprehensive and comparatively analysed biography, grounded in archival research conducted in Dubrovnik and Roman institutions. He presented a condensed version at a session of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1910, with the detailed discussion published in the *JAZU* journal two years later. See Đuro Körbler “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf (Gagliuffi), posljednji naš znatiji latinist (1765. – 1834.): (izvadak iz rasprave) [Marko Faustin Galjuf (Gagliuffi), our last significant Latinist (1765 – 1834): (excerpt from the discussion)]” *Ljetopis JAZU*, 25 (1910): 73-75 and idem “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 182-249. Later, Veljko Gortan, along with Vladimir Vratović, revisited Galjuf, pulling him out of obscurity and incorporating him into the anthology *Five Centuries of Croatian Literature*. Veljko Gortan, “Marko Faustin Galjuf – Marcus Faustinus Gagliuffius 1765–1834,” in *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti. Hrvatski latinisti, vol. 2*, eds. Veljko Gortan and Vladimir Vratović, (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1970), 897–901; Veljko Gortan, “Posljednji hrvatski latinisti u Dubrovniku [The last Croatian Latinists in Dubrovnik],” *Živa antika* 21, no. 1 (1971): 325-334 and idem, “*Specimen de fortuna Latinitatis* Dubrovčanina Marka Faustina Galjufa,” *Živa antika* 28, no. 1-2 (1978): 379-384. The latter review by Gortan focusing on the content of Galjuf’s essay on the Latin language is the only one dedicated to this topic. See also the biography by Vladimir Vratović, “Galjuf, Marko Faustin,” in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (on-line)*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=6600>. A more recent research contribution to Galjuf’s poetic work is to be found in Tihana Dužević, “Književno-povijesna analiza djela *Navis Ragusina* Marka Faustina Galjufa

can be considered exceptional within the context of Croatian cultural and Neo-Latin literary history.³ According to the distinguished Belgian professor Jozef Ijsewijn, “a founder of Neo-Latin studies”, it represents an exceptionally rare rational defence of the general use of the Latin language in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴ During the restoration period following the collapse of Napoleon’s Empire in 1815 and the establishment of a new European order, Galjuf’s defence of the Latin language transcended the boundaries of literature and turned into a civilizational battle “against the impending barbarism advocated by those who had ‘become French’, as well as the romantics and enemies of the Holy See”.⁵ Galjuf’s essay on the history and perspective of the Latin language in post-Napoleonic Europe is utopian, but entirely original. His intention was not to write a scholarly book on the history of the Latin language, such as those that already existed at the time. Instead, he aimed to raise public awareness about the inferior position that this universal language

[A literary-historical analysis of the *Navis Ragusina* by Marko Faustin Galjuf],” (M.A. thesis, Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb, 2015). On the Italian side, the most comprehensive biography is in David Riccardo Armando, “Gagliuffi, Marco Faustino,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (on-line)*, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, accessed July 23, 2023, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-faustino-gagliuffi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-faustino-gagliuffi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). See also Giovanni Giannini, “Un insigne latinista raguseo ingiustamente dimenticato,” *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 3, 2, no. 13 (1927): 119–122; idem, “Elenco degli scritti a stampa di M. Faustino Gagliuffi,” *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 3, 2, no. 15 (1927): 13–30; Leodegar Picanyol, *Un insigne latinista: Marco Faustino Gagliuffi* (Rome: PP. Scolopi di S. Pantaleo, 1934); Stefano Pittaluga, ed. *Marco Faustino Gagliuffi (1765-1834) poeta estemporaneo e latinista. Atti del Convegno di studio (Genova, 30 ottobre 2008)* (Genoa: Accademia Ligure di Scienze, 2008); Stefano Verdino, “Gagliuffi il ‘rapper’ latinista”, *Il secolo XIX*, (Genoa), 27. 10. 2008., <https://www.ilsecoloxix.it/mondo/2008/10/27/news/gagliuffi-il-rapper-latinista-1.33366507>, accessed September 1, 2023; Roberto Benso, “Marco Faustino Gagliuffi dalla Dalmazia a Novi”, in: *Umanisti in Oltregiogo. Lettere e arti fra XVI e XIX secolo*, ed. Gianluca Ameri, (Novi Ligure: Centro studi ‘In novitate’, 2013), 159-170.

³ Irena Bratičević, “Latin poets in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth – Century Dubrovnik,” in *Neo-Latin contexts in Croatia and Tyrol. Challenges, Prospects, Case Studies*, eds. Neven Jovanović et al., (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 145.

⁴ Jozef Ijsewijn and Dirk Sacré, “The ultimate efforts to save Latin as the means of international communication,” *History of European ideas* 16, nos. 1-3 (1993): 54. At that time, active use of the Latin language was largely waning, except within the Croatian-Hungarian cultural circle where it remained the dominant linguistic medium in education and public services. More on this see Zvezdana Sikirić, “Latinitet u hrvatskom društvu prve polovice 19. stoljeća [The Latin language in Croatian society in the first half of the nineteenth century],” *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 41, no 1 (2009): 257-265, and Šime Demo, “Stubborn persistence at the outskirts of the West: Latin in nineteenth-century Croatia,” in *Le latin et la littérature néo-latine au XIXe siècle: Pratiques et représentations*, eds. Christophe Bertiau and Dirk Sacré (Turnhout: Brepols 2020), 115–132.

⁵ Armando, “Gagliuffi”.

found itself in after a period of intense Frenchification of European culture, amid the Romantic enthusiasm for national languages.

However, if Galjuf's work is even a little bit biographically contextualized, his advocacy for preserving the Latin language as the language of science, the Catholic Church, and international communication, along with his criticism of the esteem of the French language in contemporary Europe, may cause surprise. This is because, at one point in his life, Galjuf was a loyal subject of French authorities, and he even achieved a political and legal career in Napoleon's France, going so far as to versify Napoleon's legal code into Latin!⁶ In fact, after the establishment of the pro-French Roman Republic in the spring of 1798, despite being a respected member of the Piarist school order, Galjuf actively participated in the political events that introduced a democratic system of governance in the Papal States following the exile of Pope Pius VI.⁷ After the collapse of the Roman Republic in 1799, Galjuf found refuge in Genoa in the neighbouring Ligurian Republic (Genoa became his second homeland!) and even spent some time as its envoy and law student in Paris.⁸ However, his engagements on the French side became a blemish on his later career (in reactionary literature, he is sometimes referred to as "apostate Galjuf"⁹), which prevented him from returning to Rome, a city that he held dear to his heart ("but I am a Roman at heart"¹⁰).

⁶ Galjuf executed this translation upon assuming the professorships of eloquence and the interpretation of Napoleon's legal code at the University of Genoa. Regrettably, these verses have not been preserved. Consequently, he garnered admiration from the eminent French comparatist and scholar of European Enlightenment ideas, Paul Hazard, who deemed him the "most astonishing" (*le plus étonnant de tous*) among improvisers of that era. Paul Hazard, *La révolution française et les lettres italiennes, 1789-1815* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), 355.

⁷ The active political engagement of the "apostate Galjuf" in the Jacobin Roman Republic from 1798 to 1799 is a subject of interest for several prominent Italian historians. See Luigi Rava, "Il cittadino Gagliuffi, raguseo, presidente del Tribunato della Repubblica Romana nel 1798," *Nuova Antologia* 285 (1919): 144-157; David Armando, "La 'vertigine' nel chiostro. Gli Scolopi romani nella crisi giacobina," *Research for the Religious History of Rome* 9 (1992): 245-304, and idem, *La repubblica in collegio. Gli scolopi a Roma tra Lumi e Rivoluzione* (Rome: ISPF Lab, 2023), notably Chapter 1.5 titled "Faustino Gagliuffi tra condanna della monarchia pontificia e impegno repubblicano". Additionally, Maria Pia Donato touches upon Galjuf in her works on the culture of antiquity in the Roman Republic, such as "Lo specchio di un progetto politico: l'antichità nella Repubblica giacobina romana", *Dimensions and Issues of Historical Research* 1 (1994), no. 1: 82-119.

⁸ Körbler, "Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf", 195-6.

⁹ E. g. Francesco Valentinielli, *Memorie storiche sulle principali cagioni e circostanze della rivoluzione di Roma, e di Napoli, vol. 1* (s. l.: s. n, 1800), 198, 228, 230, 255, 288, 295.

¹⁰ ...*ma io sono Romano di cuore*. The letter from Marco Faustino Galjuf to Luigi Biondi dated April 19, 1833. Körbler, "Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf", 245.

On the other hand, the Croatian historian of Neo-Latin literature, Đuro Körbler summarily assesses Galjuf's biography, stating that his inconsistency entirely aligns with the political pragmatism of the Dubrovnik mentality embodied in the old diplomatic saying "Be nice with everyone, but sincere with no one (*Sa svakim lijepo, ni s kim iskreno*)"! This sentiment was not foreign to Galjuf's contemporaries either:

He seems to have been a true citizen of Dubrovnik of his time, not only in his fluctuating political opinions but also in his readiness to align with any government in power and swiftly adapt to new rulers when the old ones fell. He distanced himself from both Pope Pius VI and Napoleon, and he would have even disowned the Sardinian kings if Austria had accepted him into its service, as he desired.¹¹

Nevertheless, the complexity of Galjuf's political culture can be linked to his profound classical education and cherishing a cult of antiquity, a form of "anticomania" that prevailed in European culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in the urban atmosphere of neoclassical Rome where Galjuf lived and created. Classical humanistic education with an emphasis on the Latin language played a significant role in transmitting knowledge about Greek and Roman antiquities, which included the political thought of Roman republicanism that was capturing the imagination of many patriots at that time, including Galjuf.¹² Through the Dubrovnik Latinist tradition, he had the opportunity to connect with Italian cultural circles that highly valued achievements in the field of Latin literature and expression due to their appreciation of the ancient heritage.

Recent research within Enlightenment studies has refocused attention on various aspects of engagement with the omnipresent antiquity in the eighteenth century. Examination of ancient thought and philosophy has contributed to discussions encompassing themes such as religious tolerance, imperialism, republicanism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism as philosophical foundations for interpretations of human nature and sociability, natural and

¹¹ Körbler, "Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf", 204. For example, at that time, neither Bernard Zamagna did demonstrate firm political affinities or positions either towards the Napoleonic or the Austrian authorities. Josip Mihojević, "Pučiški rukopis pjesama Ignjata Đurđevića", *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 33 (1991): 33.

¹² The contemplation about the ancient republics and about the contrasting images of Sparta and Athens, played a pivotal role in the French Enlightenment political discourse, often hostile to the absolutist monarchy and Catholic morality. Maria Pia Donato, "Cultura dell'antico e cultura dei Lumi a Roma nel Settecento: la politicizzazione dello scambio culturale durante il pontificato di Pio VI", *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 104, no. 2 (1992): 504.

revealed morality, and diverse aesthetic theories. The evocation of antiquity facilitated introspection and the construction of national identities, particularly evident in the Illyrian ideologem¹³ as a cornerstone of Croatian identity during that period. Ancient history has been studied within the framework of humanistic-erudite and philosophical-Enlightenment historiography as a stimulus for contemplating contemporary civilizational accomplishments. Furthermore, ancient thought has been influential in shaping modern social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, and comparative religion. Remarkably, research on antiquarian and collecting practices of ancient artefacts and their role in the creation of networks and the circulation of ideas has gained popularity.¹⁴

In line with the research trends that allude to the “classical turn” within Enlightenment studies¹⁵, emphasizing topics related to antiquity, this paper will argue that Galjuf’s struggle for the survival of the Latin language was, in fact, a fight to retain a universal linguistic medium for the transmission of knowledge among European nations. This approach aimed to circumvent questions of superiority and inferiority among modern languages. It will be argued that the reemphasis on the importance of the Latin language as a vital component of the classical heritage was not a manifestation of conservative thought but rather a part of Galjuf’s Enlightenment endeavours and contemplation about the future of Europe and European culture in the modern era.

Marko Faustin Galjuf’s Cult of Antiquity and the Catholic Enlightenment

Galjuf’s existence unfolded predominantly beyond the confines of his homeland. An epigram notably underscores his layered identity as “a native of Dubrovnik by fate, an Italian by life, and a Latin [speaker] by language” (*Sorte Ragusinus, vita Italus, ore Latinus*)¹⁶. Hailing from the Dubrovnik merchant

¹³ On its content see Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma [Illyrism before Illyrism]*, (Zagreb: Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2008).

¹⁴ Felicity Loughlin and Alexandre Johnston, “Introduction”, in: *Antiquity and Enlightenment Culture. New Approaches and Perspectives*, eds. Felicity Loughlin and Alexandre Johnston, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 1-3.

¹⁵ Dan Edelstein, “The Classical Turn in Enlightenment Studies”, *Modern Intellectual History* 9 (2012), no. 1: 61-63.

¹⁶ Marko Faustin Galjuf, *Scherzi poetici latini del signor avvocato D. Faustino Gagliuffi in una bella campagna del signor conte Marco Lomellini Tabarca cominciati il 3 settembre e terminati il 5 ottobre 1828* (Milan: Giulio Ferrario, 1829), 2r.

family Ivanović, bestowed with the distinctive nickname “Galjuf”¹⁷ in the late sixteenth century, in 1780 he embarked on a pivotal journey at the tender age of fifteen, sailing from Dubrovnik to Rome to enrol at the Piarist *Collegium Nazarenum*, and never set foot on native soil again. Abroad, Galjuf ascended to prominence primarily as an exceptional connoisseur of the Latin language, aligning himself with fellow members of the famous Dubrovnik “Roman colony” such as Rajmund Kunić, Benedikt Stay, Bernard Zamagna and Ruđer Bošković.¹⁸ Over an extended period, he served at prestigious Piarist institutions, initially in Urbino and subsequently in Rome at the renowned *Collegium Nazarenum*, where he dedicated twelve years to his roles as a professor of Latin, rhetoric, and oratory. Acknowledged for his eloquent Latin speeches, he was appointed as an apostolic scribe (*scriptor apostolicus*) at the Vatican and assumed the responsibility of creating personal correspondences for Pope Pius VI,¹⁹ a distinguished patron of neoclassical art.

Contemporaries also referred to him as the “Latinist of the century” (*il latinista del secolo*).²⁰ He was renowned as one of the finest improvisers of his time, an *ad hoc* translator from living languages to Latin, a language that Galjuf himself mastered in the manner of writers from the Augustan Golden Age of Latin literature: “Galjuf was a unique genius to whom nature bestowed such an extraordinary gift, [almost] a privilege”.²¹ Especially valuable is the

¹⁷ Italian *gaglioffo* = “scoundrel”.

¹⁸ Žarko Muljačić, “F. Münter, R. Bošković i rimska kolonija hrvatskih latinista [F. Münter, R. Bošković and the Roman colony of the Croatian Latinists],” *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 12, (1970): 345-354.

¹⁹ Gortan, “Marko Faustin Galjuf,” 897.

²⁰ “Gagliuffi, (Marco Faustino),” *Biografia degli italiani illustri nelle scienze, lettere ed arti del secolo XVIII, e de’ contemporanei compilata da letterati italiani di ogni provincia*, vol. 5. (Venice: Alvosopoli, 1837), 472.

²¹ *Gagliuffi fu l’unico genio, a cui la natura concesso abbia un dono, un privilegio così straordinario*. Ibid. Several collections of improvised poems collected by Galjuf’s friends have been published: *Alcuni versi latini estemporanei del sig. professore abate Faustino Gagliuffi raccolti in Milano dai suoi amici* (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1817); *Scherzi estemporanei latini del sig. avvocato don Faustino Gagliuffi in occasione di viaggio per la Svizzera Monaco e Verona* (Verona: Paolo Libanti, 1826); *Versi estemporanei latini detti in Alessandria dall’avvocato don Faustino Gagliuffi e raccolti dall’avv.o Giovanni Aliora* (Alessandria: Luigi Capriolo, 1826); *Scherzi poetici latini del signor avvocato D. Faustino Gagliuffi in una bella campagna del signor conte Marco Lomellini Tabarca cominciati il 3 settembre e terminati il 5 ottobre 1828* (Milan: Giulio Ferrario, 1829). While in Paris, he gained fame for improvising a poem on the Battle of Marengo by Francesco Gianni. *Versi estemporanei di Francesco Gianni colla traduzione improvvisa di Faustino Gagliuffi* (Paris: P. Didot Il Maggiore, 1800), 7-17 Galjuf’s most esteemed “meditated” or “deliberated”, that is intentionally composed Latin poem (*carmen meditatum*), was *Navis Ragusina [The Ragusan Ship]*. It was composed at the initiative of Ivan Antun Kaznačić, the last consul of the Republic of Dubrovnik in Genoa, who had it published in 1819.

testimony by the Italian Luigi Carrer, Galjuf's biographer. He socialised with Galjuf in person in the Venetian residence of Countess Isabella Abruzzi, where ladies gathered to hear his impromptu Latin verses. Carrer was utterly impressed by Galjuf's exceptional skills:

Apart from the clarity and precision of his thoughts (a very good reason for them to be easily interpreted even by those unfamiliar with the language), his mastery in recitation was immense. He accompanied the hidden meaning of words with the expressions of an extremely mobile countenance and very fitting gestures. Listening to Gagliuffi improvise in Latin, and attentively observing him, were people who knew little or nothing of Latin.²²

Besides, Galjuf was also celebrated for composing Latin epigraphic inscriptions on monuments for individuals from all social classes.²³ One of the most famous is the inscription he wrote for Christopher Columbus on the house in his hometown of Cogoleto near Genoa: *Unus erat mundus; duo sunt, ait ISTE: fuere* ["One was the world; two are, says HE: [and] they were."²⁴

Galjuf's extraordinary improvisational abilities, which elevated him to some kind of celebrity in that era²⁵, made him a sought-after figure in aristocratic and highly educated circles. They attested to an exceptional, almost

The occasion was the launching of a new merchant ship for which a suitable name among the great figures of Dubrovnik's science and literature was sought. See more in Dužević, "Književno-povijesna analiza". Galjuf published the poem with the parallel Italian translation by Lazaro Papio. Marko Faustin Galjuf, *Navis Ragusina* (Lucca: Francesco Bertini, 1819).

²² ...che oltre alla perspicuità e giustezza de' suoi pensieri (assai buona ragione perchè fossero interpretati agevolmente anche da lingua mal nota), grandissima era la sua maestria nel recitare, accompagnando colle attitudini di una fisionomia mobilissima, e con gesti molto appropriati il significato recondito della parola. Udendo improvvisare latino il Gagliuffi, e attente ascoltarlo persone che poco o nulla sapevano di latino, ... Luigi Carrer, "M. Faustino Gagliuffi", in: *Galleria di Ragusei illustri* (Dubrovnik: Pier-Francesco Martecchini, 1841), 4.

²³ Giovanni A. Scazzola, ed., *M. F. Gagliuffi Ragusini Inscriptiones cura et diligentia Ioannis Antoni Scazzola ab Alexandria primum in lucem editae* (Alexandria: typis Alosii Capriolo, 1837). See also Isidoro Parodi, "Incisive memorie: Gagliuffi epigrafista e le iscrizioni commemorative nel primo Ottocento", in: *Umanisti in Oltregiogo. Lettere e arti fra XVI e XIX secolo*, ed. Gianluca Ameri, (Novi Ligure: Centro studi 'In novitate', 2013), 171-191.

²⁴ "Ducato di Genova. Genova 2 dicembre", *Gazzetta di Milano*, (Milan), no. 340, 6. 12. 1826., 1345.

²⁵ "... that Faustin Galjuf, because of whom Dubrovnik has not yet lost its primacy in Latin poetry, which Stay, Bošković, Kunić, and Zamagna gained with immortal poems (... di quel Faustino Gagliuffi, per cui Ragusa non è ancora scaduta dal principato della poesia latina, che con poemi immortali le acquistarono gli Stay, i Boscovich, i Cunich e gli Zamagna)" Tomo Krša, *Degli illustri Toscani stati in diversi tempi a Ragusa commentario di Tommaso Chersa* (Padua: Minerva, 1828), 23. Quoted at Bratičević, "Latin poets", 145.

Ciceronian mastery of the Latin language. Thanks to his impeccable memory, he could spontaneously translate verses from living languages, especially Italian and French, garnering admiration from diverse audiences in France and Italy, where he resided. In 1784, at the age of nineteen, Galjuf became a member of the Roman Academy of Arcadia (*Accademia dell'Arcadia*), with the Arcadic name *Chelintus Epiroticus*,²⁶ and many of his works were published in *Giornale Arcadico*. He later specialised in extemporisations of Latin verses at the Academy's gatherings. These verses were often from the works of renowned Italian neoclassical poets and writers, including the biographer and playwright Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, the translator of the *Iliad* Vincenzo Monti, the Hellenist Luigi Lamberti, and the improviser Teresa Bandettini, better known by the Arcadian name *Amarilla Etrusca*.²⁷ In such an Arcadia, Galjuf ranked among the most distinguished names, well known throughout the literary republic.²⁸

It is important to emphasize that during that time, the Academy of Arcadia had already undergone the so-called "rationalistic turn" from the early eighteenth century. In its gatherings, members democratically and rationally discussed various ideas related to the social community, including those of a controversial nature. Such practices facilitated the formation of a well-informed and homogeneous audience with the intention of contributing to societal improvement. According to some assessments, the roots of the Enlightenment in Italy were associated with the Academy of Arcadia, although it was never its focal point.²⁹ The question of the public utility of academics was frequently raised, aligning with numerous Enlightenment discussions on the role of intellectuals in society.³⁰ During Galjuf's era, the presidents or general guardians of Arcadia were Gioacchino Pizzi and later Luigi Godard. They discreetly introduced innovations and reformed Arcadia by breaking with the idyllic-pastoral tradition, turning towards neoclassical tastes, and dedicating greater attention to Enlightenment philosophical and scientific culture. In Luigi Gonzaga di Castiglione's programmatic Arcadian discourse on the civic role of the *litterati*, or Arcadians, delivered on May 6, 1776, their Enlightenment role in society is optimistically emphasized:

Behold, my courageous Arcadians and learned fellow shepherds, before my gaze stands the most tender and greatest being in nature: this is the

²⁶ Körbler, "Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf", 189.

²⁷ Giannini, "Un insigne latinista", 4.

²⁸ Armando, *La repubblica*, 56.

²⁹ Susan M. Dixon, "Vasi, Piranesi, and the Accademia degli Arcadi: Toward a Definition of Arcadianism in the Visual Arts", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 61 (2016): 224.

³⁰ Donato, "Cultura dell'antico", 514.

man of letters as a good citizen. He loves the ruler, cherishes the homeland, venerates religion, and condemns its abuses. Deaf to the insidious voices of pernicious prejudices, no longer dominant thanks to philosophy, he enlightens and instructs his fellow citizens in the victorious principles of universal benevolence, founded on the basis of sociability, inherent to man as the seal of perfection impressed on natural law by Christianity.³¹

In the eighteenth century, Rome was acknowledged as the centre of both antiquarian pursuits and neoclassicism, receiving renewed impetus through the ambitious initiatives of Pope Pius VI. Both he and his predecessor, Clement XIV, undertook the gathering and systematic categorization of the Vatican's collections of antiquities, culminating in the establishment of the world's wealthiest museum. An additional catalyst for the fervour surrounding antiquities was the archaeological excavations of the city of Pompeii at the foothills of Mount Vesuvius, whose imagery and architectural forms found extensive emulation. In addition, the founder of modern archaeology and curator of Roman antiquities, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, along with his follower and painter Anton Raphael Mengs, revived the theory of ancient art in *History of the Art of Antiquity (Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums)* (1764), illustrating it with monuments that were being excavated one after another.³² Rome thus experienced an inundation of archaeological manuals, museums, collection

³¹ Ora, Arcadi miei valorosi, e dotti Compastori, s'offre a' miei sguardi l' essere il più tenero, il più grande della natura; è questi il Letterato buon Cittadino. Ama il Principe, ama la Patria, adora la Religione, e ne detesta gli abusi. Sordo alle voci insidiose de' funesti pregiudizi, che mercè della Filosofia non sono più dominanti, illumina ed istruisce i propri concittadini ne' principi vittoriosi di universal benevolenza, fondata sulla base della sociabilità, ed inerente all'uomo qual sigillo di perfezione dal Cristianesimo impresso sulla legge naturale. Luigi Gonzaga di Castiglione, *Il letterato buon cittadino. Discorso filosofico e politico...colle note dell'abate Luigi Godard* (Rome: Benedetto Francesi, 1776), xlvi. In the printed version, the preface and notes were written by Pizzi and Godard. It is a treatise that emphasized the role of the intellectual in the context of the 'century of philosophy', but with a firm respect for the existing political-religious order. It also discussed the contribution of modern philosophy to the well-being and happiness not only of society but also of religion, which was far from accusations of atheism. David R. Armando, "Godard, Luigi", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (on-line)*, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, accessed on September 21, 2023 [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-godard_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-godard_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). For the programmatic character of this treatise, see also Stefania Baragetti, "Il 'vero sistema del mondo': la scienza nell'Arcadia di Gioacchino Pizzi", in: *Scienza e poesia scientifica in Arcadia (1690-1870)*, eds. Elisabetta Appetecchi et al. (Rome: Accademia dell'Arcadia, 2022), 262-263.

³² Hazard, *La révolution française*, 353-354. Winckelmann articulated the essence of the classicism program in art in his work *Gedanken ueber die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* (1754). Joachim Jacob and Johannes Süßmann, "Einleitung", in: *Das 18. Jahrhundert. Lexikon zur Antikerezeption in Aufklärung und Klassizismus*, eds. Joachim Jacob and Johannes Süßmann (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2018), xiii.

catalogues, historical guides, and general and local histories. These were devised to provide to the burgeoning demand of an expanding audience and to cultivate an appreciation for ancient heritage. The rediscovery of antiquity also fuelled the republishing and translation of classical authors, promoted in literary magazines as novelties essential for every library.³³ The dissemination of knowledge about antiquity was thus popularised beyond academic circles through various media, aligning with the goals of the Enlightenment.³⁴

In the cultural landscape of Rome, the Piarists were renowned for their innovative pedagogy and dedication to the teaching of scientific subjects, utilizing modern experimental methods. The Nazarene college where Galjuf worked was reportedly a centre for the dissemination of the works of French Enlightenment thinkers, according to accounts from contemporaries. Count Nicola Martinelli from Rimini, a student of the college from the mid-1770s and a future supporter of the revolution in the Romagna region and its annexation to the Cisalpine Republic, claimed that he “became a philosopher at *Collegium Nazarenum*, where, for the first time, he received Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, and similar thinkers from those good fathers.”³⁵ In addition, the Piarists at the college possessed a significant mineralogical collection, which at that time served as the foundation for chemical education. Understanding chemical processes and extracting metals from ores were considered valuable knowledge in the eighteenth century, capable of aiding in the generation of income and subsequently the wealth of individuals and nations. Italian physicist and chemist Domenico Morichini, who also supported the establishment of the democratic Roman Republic in 1798, praised the reputation of the Roman Piarists in both the humanistic and natural sciences in his memoirs:

In very recent times, the Pious Schools, through the efforts of Fasce, Monti, Paziani, and Gagliuffi, had rekindled the appreciation for classical Latin among the youth; almost simultaneously, the natural sciences, particularly mineralogy, were cultivated and taught with success by their colleagues Fathers Petrini, Breislack, and Gismondi. It could be asserted with truth that the natural sciences and the humanities had their most fervent cultivators and advocates among the members of this religious order.³⁶

³³ Donato, “Cultura dell’antico”, 511.

³⁴ Jacob and Süßmann, “Einleitung”, xiii.

³⁵ Armando, “La vertigine nel chiostro”, 261-262.

³⁶ *In tempi assai vicini le Scuole Pie per opera di Fasce, Monti, Paziani, e Gagliuffi avevano ravvivato il gusto dei classici latini nella gioventù; e quasi contemporaneamente le scienze naturali, ma soprattutto la mineralogia erano con frutto coltivate ed insegnate dai loro colleghi i PP. Petrini, Breislack, e Gismondi, in guisa che poteva dirsi con verità che le scienze naturali,*

The Piarists' commitment to scientific methodologies and their reliance on experimentation in the pursuit of truth unmistakably align them with the currents of Catholic Enlightenment and Reform Catholicism, akin to the intellectual trends championed in Catholic Europe and particularly within the Habsburg Monarchy by the Italian Enlightenment figure Lodovico Antonio Muratori.³⁷ Nonetheless, certain Roman Piarists, notably Marko Faustin Galjuf, took an additional step during the French occupation and the existence of the Roman Republic from 1798 to 1799. In the course of Napoleon's conquest of Italy, the Papal State, governed by Pope Pius VI as an absolutist monarch, was dismantled following a series of events. The Pope, compelled to abandon Rome, entered into exile, where he eventually passed away in the summer of 1799. Subsequent to the arrival of French troops in the Eternal City, the democratic Roman Republic was declared on February 15, 1798, thus depriving the Pope of his temporal, or secular, authority. Galjuf shed his monastic habit, transitioning to lay status, and threw his support behind the nascent government.³⁸ This allegiance is evident from a letter addressed to his friend and Arcadian colleague Andrea Malacari, published in the *Gazetto di Roma* two days after the establishment of the republic:

Yesterday (as a very affectionate French officer just told me,) you have secured your freedom. Indeed (I replied him faithfully), your freedom is secured. At these words, a noise of applause was heard among the people who repeated my name. This applause is quite different from that in Arcadia, where insipid praises bothered me, and the air of protection, with eighteen-year-old prelates smoking, repulsed me. [...] Citizen, Rome is no longer what it was; Rome is a city that enchants. Rome will set an example for nations with its morality and vigour. Long live the French Republic, long live the resurrected Roman Republic, long live the Army of Italy, long live Religion, and Liberty!³⁹

e le belle lettere avessero i loro più fervorosi cultori e banditori fra i religiosi di quest'ordine. Armando, "La 'vertigine' nel chiostro", 262.

³⁷ On the Catholic Enlightenment see Teodora Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića. Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentskoga katolicizma i katoličkoga prosvjetiteljstva* [The World of Baltazar Adam Krčelić] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2009), 34-44.

³⁸ See *Discorso del cittadino Faustino Gagliuffi recitato il giorno 23. Febr. (5. Ventoso) anno VI. repubblicano 1. della Repub[blica] Romana. Eroi della Repubblica Francese // Discours prononcé par le citoyen Faustine Gagliuffi le 5. Ventose (23. Février) An 6.e Rep. et 1. de la République Romaine. Héros de la République Française*, [Rim], [1798.]. Galjuf's oration was one of the most famous texts in the Roman Republic. Armando, "La 'vertigine' nel chiostro", 252-253.

³⁹ *Jeri (così poc'anzi mi ha detto un'affettuosissimo Ufficiale Francese) voi avete assicurata la vostra libertà. Jeri (gli ho risposto io con tutta la lealtà) si è assicurata la vostra. Si è sentito a tali parole un rumore di applauso in mezzo al Popolo che ripeteva il mio nome. Questo è ben'*

Marko Faustin Galjuf's adherence to Catholic Enlightenment, as he never admitted renouncing the Catholic faith, was evident through his active participation in the assembly of tribunes.⁴⁰ Following the ancient model, the Tribunate acquired legislative functions in the newly established Roman Republic, of which Galjuf was the elected president for a period. He was particularly dedicated to initiatives in legal and economic matters and advocated for the promotion of the "public spirit" (*spirito pubblico*) among the citizenry. He emphasized the need for educational and religious reforms and the return of Roman religion to its "natural simplicity". Galjuf was also counted among the editors of the republican journal *Monitore di Roma* but withdrew due to overly radical articles, which were published there. After his appointment as a professor and prefect of studies at the Roman College in 1799, he aligned himself with circles of moderate Catholics, for which revolutionary authorities criticised him. However, these positions later helped him maintain relations with representatives of the Roman Curia and Piarist leaders.⁴¹

It is evident that Galjuf saw an opportunity for the realization of the ancient Roman Republic in the new political situation, an ambition likely grounded in his extensive knowledge derived from reading Roman classics. As such, he must have been an advocate for the cult of antiquity, an attitude promoted both in the French Republic and in Napoleon's Empire at the time.⁴²

*altro che l'applauso dell'Arcadia, dove m'incomodavano gl'insipidi elogi, e mi ributtava l'aria di protezione, onde vedevo fumanti i Prelati di 18. anni. [...] Cittadino, Roma non è più quella: Roma è una Città che inamora: Roma darà l'esempio ai popoli colla sua morale ed energia. Viva La Repubblica Francese, viva la rediviva Repubblica Romana, viva l'Armata dell'Italia, viva la Religione, e la Libertà. [Marko Faustin Galjuf], "Copia di lettera. Libertà Eguaglianza. Roma 16. Feb. Anno VI. Repub. I. della Repub. Romana. Al Cittadino Andrea Malacari dimorante in Firenze Il Cittadino Faustino Gagliuffi", *Gazetto di Roma*, no. 1 (21. 2. 1798): 15-16. Miljenko Foretić included the translation of this letter into his collection about Dubrovnik and the French Revolution. Marko Faustin Galjuf, "Pismo. Sloboda=Jednakost," translated by Morana Čale-Knežević, in *Dubrovačka Republika i Francuska Revolucija./ La République de Dubrovnik et la Révolution François*, ed. Miljenko Foretić (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik, 1996), 145-146.*

⁴⁰ See Galjuf, *Specimen*, 27. In his tribunal speech held on 29 March 1799 Galjuf nevertheless praises "the religion that limits itself to purify its morality" (...la religione che si limita a depurarne la morale) and invokes the Supreme Being (*grazie all'Essere Supremo*), though this can be attributed to propagandistic purposes. [Marko Faustin Galjuf], *Libertà Eguaglianza. Repubblica Romana. Tribunato. Mozione del cittadino Gagliuffi Faustino... fatta nella seduta de' 9 germile [29 March] anno VII.* ([Rome]: L. P. Salvioni, [1799]), 2. Valentinelli asserts that Galjuf suggested the concept of natural religion (*religione naturale*) to the National Institute in a manner reminiscent of Voltaire. Valentinelli, *Memorie*, 297.

⁴¹ Armando, "Gagliuffi".

⁴² Hazard, *La révolution française*, 353-354 and Harold Talbot Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit*

This affinity and comparison with ancient political models are apparent in Galjuf's inaugural speech as a tribune of the newly established Roman Republic during the elections held on March 20, 1798:

I will act with all my might to support its weight. But let us mutually assist each other, I implore you, to make our Fatherland glorious and happy, restored to its freedom by French generosity. May the title of tribunate, revived in us after so many centuries, emulate the ancient one in glory for the defence of liberty and the sovereignty of the people, and may it surpass it in wisdom, moderation, and the exercise of all republican virtues.⁴³

Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language (1833) as a Means of Political Rehabilitation

After the fall of the Roman Republic, Galjuf spent most of his career initially as a librarian, then as a professor of literature and law at the University of Genoa, and later as a criminal law attorney. However, in 1816, he was removed from all positions. From then on, he devoted himself solely to literary activities, spending almost twenty years traveling, among other places, in Switzerland where some of his most accomplished improvisations came into being.⁴⁴ It was only in 1831 that the Piedmontese king, Karl Albert, appointed him as a librarian at the University of Genoa again. Nevertheless, Galjuf's heart remained set on returning to Rome, from which he had to depart in 1799 and never got the chance to return. Galjuf's prose work, *Specimen de fortuna Latinitatis (Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language)*, is considered in historiography as his ticket for a comeback to Rome after the decline of Napoleon's empire in 1815.⁴⁵ This interpretation coincides with information found in his correspondence with his friend Luigi Biondi in 1833. In a letter dated March 20, 1833, Galjuf informs Biondi that he is preparing a book containing

(Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1934).

⁴³ *Io agirò con tutte le mie forze per sostenerne il peso. Ma noi soccorriamoci a vicenda, io ve ne scongiuro, per rendere gloriosa e felice la nostra Patria, che la generosità francese rende alla sua libertà. Il nome tribunizio, in noi rinnovato, dopo tanti secoli, possa emulare l'antico nella gloria per la difesa della libertà e della sovranità del popolo, e lo possa superare nella saviezza nella moderazione e nell'esercizio di tutte le virtù repubblicane.* Rava, "Il cittadino Gagliuffi", 145. This is Galjuf's speech before the tribunate when he was elected president.

⁴⁴ During the journey across France, Monaco, Switzerland, and Italy, in his improvisations, Galjuf addressed the places where, for example, Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and Francis de Sales lived. Galjuf, *Scherzi estemporanei, passim*.

⁴⁵ Armando, "Gagliuffi".

Specimen along with deliberately composed and improvised poems. Therefore, he needs a review in *Giornale Arcadico*, where Biondi was a collaborator. Galjuf emphasizes that Rome is highly interested, and they desire a “well-reasoned, lengthy, and strong article” (*un articolo ragionato, lunghetto e forte*). However, the decision depends on Biondi. Galjuf provides the content and subtitles of the discussion for Biondi’s information and asks if he is interested in taking on the task of writing the article, promising him a manuscript copy before printing.⁴⁶ In conclusion, Galjuf requests discretion in every respect (*silenzio con tutti*), indicating that he was preparing the text in secret.

In the subsequent preserved letter addressed to Biondi dated April 19, 1833, Galjuf once again emphasizes the confidential nature of the matter (*Il tutto in massima confidenza*). Evidently, Biondi agreed, so Galjuf sends him texts, starting with “my *Specimen*” (*Il mio Specimen*), for which he says, “appropriately called *specimen*, because I believe that you will consider that I could enrich the work with great special things, and that some scholar who would make notes or additions could collaborate with the entire literary republic. It is enough for me that I was the first to launch an attack on the enemy walls”⁴⁷. Biondi later wrote a review that was published in *Giornale Arcadico*.⁴⁸ Galjuf was fully aware that he was entering a public battle with the “enemies of the Latin language,” which were numerous in the Romantic era. He referred to this fact in a letter he intended to send to Pope Gregory XVI, along with a copy of his work, and included the concept of the letter in the communication to Biondi, asking for advice.

Dutiful respect to Pope Gregory XVI from Faustin Galjuf.

Receive, Holy Father, a copy of my work. It concerns the fortune of the Latin language, or, more precisely, the necessity of rejecting the growing barbarization in studies and customs. Let the heralds of novelties rise against me: I am confident that I will not regret having written something I hope will neither be unpleasant nor futile for thoughtful people. I have

⁴⁶ The letter from Marko Faustin Galjuf to Luigi Biondi dated March 20, 1833. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 243-244.

⁴⁷ *Eccovi 1°. Il mio Specimen. Giustamente Specimen, perchè credo che crederete che avrei potuto arricchire l'opera di grandi cose speciali, e che qualche erudito, il qual volesse farmi note o aggiunte, potrebbe mettere a contribuzione tutta la repubblica letteraria. A me basta di essere stato il primo all'assalto delle mura nemiche.* The letter from Marko Faustin Galjuf to Luigi Biondi dated April 19, 1833. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 244.

⁴⁸ B[iondi], L[uiigi], “Faustini Gagliuffi Specimen de fortuna latininitatis. Accedunt poemata varia meditata et extemporalia. Augustae Taurinorum ex officina Favale MDCCCXXXIII. (Un volume in 8.o di pag. 200),” *Giornale arcadico di scienze lettere ed arti* 56, (1832): 360-366. Volume 56 for the year 1832 certainly experienced delays in its publication, as the *Specimen* was published only in the middle of 1833. The publication’s title has the correct date.

also brought it to light with the intention that those who loved me as a young man in Rome easily notice that despite the vicissitudes, to which I have succumbed as well⁴⁹, I have never deviated from my former way of thinking and acting. Therefore, if I may ask you, Father, please tell me “all right” as a good [man].⁵⁰

In the same letter to Biondi, [Galjuf] opens his heart about the consequences of his misguided political engagement during the short-lived Roman Republic and how he planned to rehabilitate himself before papal authority by defending the Latin language: “I have suffered many vicissitudes because I served in Rome an illegitimate government. I served out of fear and necessity... but you also know that Cardinal Rivarola⁵¹, who wanted me in Rome, encouraged [me] several times, not to withdraw, but to write a work that would reflect my way of thinking. I told him that it was my intention, and that the work to be published could be more than sufficient for an honest goal in accordance with my conscience.”⁵²

Galjuf’s letters clearly reveal the author’s intention in writing the work, which is also evident in a superficial analysis. The *Essay* is meticulously structured and consists of 28 pages divided into three books with ten individually titled chapters. Following the *Introduction* is the first book titled *The State*

⁴⁹ Galjuf refers to the French Revolution and the establishment of the French Republic, which consequently led to the founding of the sisterly and democratic Roman Republic, in which he himself participated.

⁵⁰ *Gregorio XVI. Pontifici Maximo Obsequium Faustini Gagliuffi. Excipe, Beatissime Pater, exemplar opusculi mei. Agitur de Fortuna Latinitatis, vel potius de repellenda, quae gliscit, studiorum et morum barbarie. Insurgant in me novarum rerum praecones: me certe scripsisse non poenitebit, quae cordatis hominibus nec ingrata nec inania fore spero, quaeque in lucem ea etiam mente dedi, ut, qui me adolescentem Romae dilexerunt, facile sentiant, me nunquam inter vicissitudines, quibus et ego cesseram, a mea pristina cogitandi agendique ratione descivisse. Quapropter, si me fas est obsecrare abs te, Pater, obsecro, ut bonus bene mihi dicas.* Galjuf’s supplement to the letter to Luigi Biondi from April 19, 1833. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 246.

⁵¹ Cardinal Agostino Rivarola (1758-1843) was one of the key reactionary officials in the Papal States after the restoration of papal authority in 1814, during which he was appointed as the governor of Rome. Mario Menghini, “Rivarola, Agostino”, in: *Enciclopedia italiana (on-line)*, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, accessed on 27 September 2023, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/agostino-rivarola_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

⁵² *Io ho sofferto alcune peripezie per aver servito in Roma un Governo illegittimo. L’ho servito per timore e per bisogno: [...] ma sappiate anche, che il Card. Rivarola il quale mi voleva in Roma, mi ha più volte impegnato non già a fare una ritrattazione, ma un’ opera da cui si rilevasse la mia maniera di pensare: che io gli dissi essere questa la mia intenzione: che realmente l’opera da pubblicarsi può essere più che sufficiente ad un fine onesto e conforme alla mia coscienza.* The letter from Marko Faustin Galjuf to Luigi Biondi dated April 19, 1833. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 245.

of the Latin Language, which encompasses two chapters: “On the Ability to Judge the Latin Language” and “On Events Unfavourable to the Latin Language”. The second book is titled *A Comparison of the Latin Language with Other Languages* and includes four chapters: “On the Diversity of Languages”, “On Modern Languages”, “On Ancient Languages”, and “On Teaching in Schools”. The third book comprises the chapter *Suitability of the Latin Language* with special notes on “On the State”, “On the National Language”, and “On the instruction of the People”, along with three additional chapters: “On the Exact Sciences”, “On Belles-Lettres”, and “On Catholic Rites”. A very brief conclusion is presented at the end, along with an appeal to halt the looming barbarization, by which Galjuf means the use of national languages in studies and customs, i.e. communication in scholarly and aristocratic circles.⁵³

Galjuf does not compose an erudite history of the Latin language like those already existing at the time. The reviewer of the *Essay*, Luigi Biondi, cites a title comparison with Giuseppe Antonio Aldini’s work, *De varia Latinae linguae fortuna* (1775), noting a clear difference between the two books. Aldini describes the rise of the Latin language to its Golden Age during the time of Emperor Augustus, followed by an irreversible decline and barbarization due to its mingling with the languages of barbarian peoples who inundated Italy and all of Europe. On the other hand, Galjuf believes that Latin was revived after Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca, and writers from the sixteenth century, the period of Humanism, a point that Aldini mentions only incidentally. Galjuf perceives and laments a new decline of the Latin language, striving to prevent the resurgence of barbarism (*la barbarie*). Biondi further notes that Galjuf was correct in naming his work *Specimen*⁵⁴, as the author explains in his introduction:

that the discussion (*argumentum*) in question is much more open-ended than one might typically believe. In the meantime, we will gradually trace the fortune of the Latin language to the best of our ability, and we will congratulate ourselves for having satisfied our conscience if the conclusion of our discourse resembles the cry of a man who, upon seeing an uncontrollable fire, calls upon his sleeping friends to awaken.⁵⁵

⁵³ See how Galjuf himself summarizes the content of his work in the letter to Luigi Biondi. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Marko Faustin Galjuf”, 243-244.

⁵⁴ The Latin word *specimen* encompasses the meaning of “example”, “sample”, or “model” and does not imply a comprehensive discussion but rather an exploration of a particular issue or question. In its full sense, it is an “essay” – a shorter presentation or commentary, as well as an examination to assess the value of something. See meanings on the Croatian Language Portal (*Hrvatski jezični portal*).

⁵⁵ .. *argumentum de quo agitur, multo latius patere, quam vulgo credi potest. Nos interea fortunam Latinitatis, quantum in nobis erit, gradatim secuturi, satis conscientiae nostrae*

In the *Essay*, Galjuf constructs his argument around the Latin concept of *fortuna*, which we have translated as “fortune” or “fate”. Discussing the vicissitudes of the fate of the Latin language, Galjuf thematizes the Renaissance Fortuna. She occupied the consciousness of the early modern individual, synthesizing the ancient and medieval understanding of Fortune, capriciously steering the wheel of fate. The Dubrovnik Baroque poet Ivan Gundulić vividly depicted her in verses from the first canto of the epic poem *Osman*: “The wheel of fate spins about / And about ceaselessly: / He who would be above, is cast down, / And he below is left on high”⁵⁶.

In the discourse on the fortune of the Latin language, Galjuf introduces a new argumentation connected with the cultural and political circumstances in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Specifically, he identifies the privileged position, or rather the primacy, of the French language in communication as the main culprit for the decline of Latin in cultural circles. Galjuf eloquently describes events that have been unfavourable to the Latin language over the last 150 years, citing the causes of French cultural imperialism. He asserts that, unlike previous centuries when the decline of Latin was caused by barbarian invasions, in the modern era, the culprit for this phenomenon is the “unbelievable triumph of elegant literature (*politioris humanitatis*)” or belles-lettres.

Up until the eighteenth century, Latin lived within academies, during ceremonial events, and in all sorts of liberal arts. However, when certain individuals, neither simpleminded nor uneducated, began to find its esteemed position increasingly burdensome and aligned themselves with Luther, Sozzini, or some other sect, in France, I do not know whether for the fortune or misfortune of Europe, Louis XIV started to shine forth. Under his patronage, a war was declared against the Latin language, a conflict that raged more vehemently after the great French Revolution and especially during the rapid rise of Napoleon, and which shows no signs of abating to this day, as it would be appropriate.⁵⁷

fecisse gratulabimur, si orationis nostrae conclusio erit tamquam clamor illius hominis, qui, viso incendio, quod unus nequit restinguere, quiescentes amicos, ut expurgantur, appellat. Galjuf, *Specimen*, 3.

⁵⁶ Ivan Gundulić, *Osman*, trans. by E. D. Goy (Zagreb: JAZU, 1991), 1. See also Luko Paljetak, “Fortuna,” in: *Leksikon Marina Držića*, ed. Slobodan P. Novak et al. (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža: Zagreb, 2009), 233.

⁵⁷ *Vigebat ad seculum XVIII Latinitas in academiis, in actis solemnioribus, in omni genere liberalium disciplinarum. At, postquam hanc eius praestantiam aegre ferre iam coeperant quidam non vulgares nec indocti viri, qui Lutheranam, Socinianam aliamve sectam secuti sunt, effulsit in Gallia, nescimus quonam Europae fato, Ludovicus XIII, cuius auspicio illud Latinitati*

Galjuf further explains the ways in which this “literary war” against the Latin language was conducted, namely, that light-hearted literature written in French was elegantly produced and sought after for its freedom and wit in thought. Consequently, teachers of the French language, which celebrated the victory, became increasingly prevalent. Fashion also greatly contributed to the supremacy of French expression; a girl who read French books gained value and prestige, and visiting cards were exclusively written in the French language. French speakers were warmly received in noble houses, and travellers ceased to learn diverse languages, as French alone sufficed for communication in foreign lands. “We do not dispute the excellent qualities of the French language, but we do dispute its superiority over other languages!” emphasizes Galjuf.⁵⁸ Moreover, he considers French emigrants, 100,000 of whom had to go into exile to preserve their lives during revolutionary purges, as culprits for the flood of the French language. They lacked knowledge of other languages but were warmly welcomed in every country. At the same time, French conquerors in subjected kingdoms introduced their language, even in internal affairs. French publications were voraciously read everywhere: some people did so to learn what to fear of, while others what to hope for. Spain, England, Germany, and Poland experienced the strong presence of the French language, notes Galjuf, including Florence, the “parent of the Italian language”, and Rome, the “eternal patron and advocate of the Latin language”. “And then, “the voice that had already strengthened enough boldly sounded against the Latin language: it was shouted that everything Latin should be removed from the midst!”, concludes the former French citizen – *il cittadino Gagliuffi*.⁵⁹

Enlightenment Question of a Universal Language – Latin as the Solution

Galjuf’s invective against French cultural hegemony in the form of imposing the French language as a universal means of communication across Europe vividly depicted contemporary cultural wars. As Galjuf himself noted, the French conquest of Europe began with the court culture of Louis XIV, and – we can add – the so-called “Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns” (*la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*) in the seventeenth century. Already in 1784, French writer Antoine de Rivarol, in the essay *On the Universality*

bellum indictum est, quod post immensam rerum Gallicarum conversionem et praesertim Napoleone fulgurante magis insaeviit, neque adhuc, ut deceret, componitur. Galjuf, *Specimen*, 7.

⁵⁸ *Suam nos sermoni Gallico excellentiam non negamus, negamus privilegium.* Ibid., 8.

⁵⁹ *Tunc autem, quae vox iam satis precebuerat, audacior in Latinitatem insonuit: Latina omnia e medio tollenda conclamatum est.* Ibid., 9.

of the French Language (*De l'universalité de la langue française*), speaks of a "French world" resembling the former "Roman world" where people, once divided by different political interests, now form a republic under the rule of the same language.⁶⁰ Enlightened linguistic theory significantly contributed to the desirability of the literary French language over other dialects in France (*patois*) and any other languages. After 1760, France invested a lot of intellectual effort into the general understanding of language and the natural superiority of the French language. According to theorists, in the past, people spoke only one language, i.e., there was only one universal language. There was a legitimate optimism that such a possibility could occur in the contemporary era. Inevitably, the preference would be given to the French language, recognized for its abstraction and its capability precisely to articulate the increasingly abstract thoughts of the modern individual.⁶¹

Galjuf was evidently familiar with all these debates. He refers to them in his *Essay*, particularly in the second book titled "Comparison of the Latin Language with Other Languages" (*Linguae Latinae cum aliis linguis comparatio*). In the chapter "On the Diversity of Languages" (*De varietate linguarum*), he mentions two human capabilities: one that makes humans similar to animals, the ability to express feelings through gestures and movements, and another, far superior ability to articulate clearly and swiftly whatever one thinks, so that another person who shares the same mode of expression immediately understands. The problem lies in the fact that the first capability is constant and unchanging, while the second capability is subject to changes, meaning that languages are diverse.⁶²

Galjuf further notes that there are conflicting opinions among philosophers about why so many languages have degenerated from the original language. Some rejoice in this deviation, which has allowed greater freedom of expression, enduring love for one's home and homeland (*domunculae patriaeque caritas*), and better organization for the general good (*ad generalem utilitatem*). Against them are those who claim that language diversity is a nasty consequence of ignorance, disagreement, and discord. Galjuf aligns with philosophers who acknowledge that there are many knots in human nature that cannot be untied without Divine intervention. In everything, there are advantages and disadvantages, but Galjuf emphasizes that he himself would

⁶⁰ Antoine de Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la langue française* (Paris: Obsidiane, 1991), 7. Tim Blanning, *Romantična revolucija [The Romantic Revolution]* trans. by Ivan Zrinskić (Zagreb: Alfa, 2012), 143.

⁶¹ Patrice L.-R. Higonnet, "The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism and Grammatical Hegemony during the French Revolution," *Social History*, 5 (1980), no. 1: 50-51.

⁶² Galjuf, *Specimen*, 11.

consider a philosopher who sought to reduce all people to the same language either joking or mad. In his opinion, the water flowing from the Alps would sooner return to its original source after so many twists and turns than the entire human race could return “to the knowledge of one speech” (*ad unius sermonis familiaritatem*).⁶³

Galjuf further explores the philosophers’ quest to determine, while preserving the languages of nations, provinces, and cities, some existing or new language that could ensure successful mutual communication. In the third chapter, he analyses modern languages in this regard (*De linguis recentibus*) and immediately emphasises that it would be foolish to invent a completely new language if any of the modern languages were suitable. As languages that fortune (*fortuna*) had elevated to a higher position by that time, Galjuf mentions Italian, German, French, Spanish, and English, all of which he likely knew more or less and could compare. According to him, grammatically, German would be the most difficult, French slightly less difficult, Spanish and Italian easier, and English the easiest. The gradation of languages based on “abundance, brilliance, and effectiveness” was a sensitive issue. According to Galjuf, every language holds equal value for its users, and all national literary histories claim their own merits. Certain languages boast a higher number of writers, yet this can be attributed to the prevailing circumstances of the epoch.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Galjuf emphasises the importance of patriotism in cultivating national languages: the most commendable is the nation that fights for its national language (*lingua patria*) as “for altars and fires” (*pro aris et focis*), that is, for home or one’s dearest possessions. In an egalitarian approach to linguistic issues, it is clear that Galjuf condemns the imposition of the French language as a common one, as well as any other instances of asserting linguistic superiority over others: “Therefore, let all the languages we use be equally honoured and free from any hateful dictatorship”.⁶⁵

In the third chapter, titled “On Classical Languages” (*De linguis veteribus*), Galjuf introduces the Latin language into his argument, assigning it a distinctive position with specific advantages, surpassing even the erudite Greek language. Notably, Latin is easily taught by the average teacher, is enriched with numerous details from antiquity, and, crucially, remains less obsolete and more closely related to contemporary matters. Its daily instruction and appropriation renders it preferable not only in comparison to modern

⁶³ Ibid., 12.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 13-14.

⁶⁵ *Gaudent igitur omnes linguae, quibus utimur, honore non dissimili et sine ulla invidiosa dictatura.* Ibid., 14.

languages but also to classical ones.⁶⁶ Towards the conclusion of the third book, Galjuf embarks on a noteworthy digression concerning the challenges associated with teaching the Latin language in the schools of that era (*De disciplina scholarum*). This topic holds significant potential for exploration in the realm of educational history. Additionally, he incorporates an autobiographical recollection of his formative years spent at the Piarist *Collegium Ragusinum* in Dubrovnik, shedding light on the educational curriculum pursued at that institution:

We, too, can reflect with utmost satisfaction on the most joyful period of our lives when, assembled in the Dubrovnik lyceum before reaching the age of twelve, we engaged in competition with our peers, notably with Andro Altesti⁶⁷, who was already deserving of admiration due to his remarkable talent and generosity. At that time, the focus was not on what is often emphasized in some schools today, namely, knowledge. We only delved a little into both ecclesiastical and secular history. While we conversed in Illyrian, we independently composed brief Italian speeches and Latin verses, occasionally receiving applause from the elders.⁶⁸

In the third book of the *Essay*, Galjuf dedicates himself to proving the suitability and utility of the Latin language in various fields, especially in the exercise of supreme authority that demands communication in foreign languages across numerous segments. This is also particularly evident in the sciences, where, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, the Latin language served as the primary means of communication among scientists across Europe. Galjuf poses strong rhetorical questions to the reader: “Will you say that those were barbaric times? Or that in the Latin labyrinth, the immortal individuals of those times, who spun uninterrupted Daedalian threads⁶⁹ for all physicists, mathematicians, jurists, and philosophers, got lost? Or do you think the Dark Age finally disappeared when the title of the

⁶⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁷ Andro Altesti.

⁶⁸ *Nec nos quidem sine maxima voluptate meminisse possumus felicissimi temporis, quo nos in lyceo Ragusino ante annum aetatis duodecimum ad rhetoricam aggregati aemulabamur aequales nostros et in primis Andream Altestium magno vere ingenio et magno animo iam inde admirabilem. Non erat postro in numero, quae nunc in quibusdam scholis redundare fertur, doctrina. Attigeramus dumtaxat aliquid ab historia sacra et civili: Illirice loquebamur, sed oratiunculas Italicas et versiculos Latinos, quibus aliquando seniores plaudebant, sponte etiam nostra scribebamus.* Galjuf, *Specimen*, 18.

⁶⁹ Daedalus was a mythical skilled craftsman who made the Labyrinth for the Cretan king Minos.

French *Encyclopedia* filled our ears?”⁷⁰ He emphasises that many important studies in all areas of social and natural sciences were written in Latin, rhetorically asking, “If that was yesterday, why not today, why not tomorrow?”⁷¹ Here, Galjuf is in line with the efforts of Enlightenment scientific circles, who became aware that various languages impede the circulation of ideas and that there should be a universal language used for this purpose.⁷²

In the belletristic field (*De literis amoenioribus*), Galjuf encourages, at the very least, the reading of works by classical authors, namely, comedies, tragedies, poems, and histories. He also mentions the readership and writers who still compose verses in the Latin language, such as himself and his friends, both “from Dubrovnik and Italy”. In this context, he quotes in full a letter from a friend he recently received, praising the intention and content of the *Essay*. Prompted by Galju’s initiative, the letter’s author presents a radical proposal that public matters be discussed only in the Latin language (a situation reminiscent of the Kingdom of Hungary!), as this would reduce the number of meaningless and irrational debates and the expression of unnecessary opinions in various newspapers. Only the most intelligent people would engage in discussions, shielding them from the influence of an endless number of unreasonable individuals. The letter’s author concludes with an elitist statement, suggesting that this approach “would better anticipate the progress of humanity and align true justice with genuine freedom”.⁷³

The final chapter in which Galjuf discusses Catholic rituals (*De ritibus Catholicis*) is crucial for his authorial intention. It serves to rehabilitate him before the Holy See, dispelling doubts and possibilities that he was in any way an opponent of the Catholic faith or even a Freemason, for which he was accused at one point.

Let them now turn, let each one turn their eyes, whoever claims there is no or that there is some natural religion; let even those turn their eyes who discuss religion as a wholly human institution and argue that the Christian religion has not only served for the redemption of humanity from

⁷⁰ *Dicesne barbara fuisse illa tempora? Aut Latino in labyrintho periisse tot immortales illorum temporum homines, qui physicis et mathematicis, iurisperitis et philosophis omnibus perpetua Daedalea fila elaborarunt? Aut tenebras tunc tandem evanuisse, quum Encyclopediae Gallicae titulus nostras aures implevit?*, Ibid., 22.

⁷¹ *Si heri, cur non hodie, cur non cras?* Ibid., 23.

⁷² According to the French mathematician Pierre Louis Maupertuis, the best candidates for this purpose were the French and Latin languages. Françoise Sylvos, “L’Europe latiniste de l’abbé Olmo (1816-1824),” *Travaux & documents* 23, (2005): 97.

⁷³ (...) *facilior speraretur humani generis ad meliora progressus, et vera iustitia cum vera libertate congrueret.* Galjuf, *Specimen*, 26.

slavery but also for the plundering of everything, and that now it drags itself along exhausted, soiled with superstition, and so dehumanized that some alternative must already be devised, which, by discarding the Old and New Testaments, would reconcile wisdom with pleasure, serenity with freedom [...]⁷⁴

Furthermore, he reminds that the Latin was the language of the Roman Christian seat, i.e., Rome, at a time when it was most prominent, and therefore the Latin copy of the Old and New Testaments was consecrated in a secure and solemn manner. The Latin words in that codex were carefully counted and marked to avoid deviations from the original. Such Holy Scripture could be a help and solace to all Christians. Galjuf believes that Bibles in national languages are dangerous because they allow multiple interpretations of certain mysterious concepts. Sermons and private prayers should be in the vernacular, as well as religious instruction, but according to the customs of the ancestors, everything related to the preservation of the integrity of the Catholic faith should be written and read in the Latin language, which is particularly helpful when attending worship abroad. Galjuf concludes that at whatever level the Latin language may be, priests, i.e., guardians of sacred matters, must advocate for it. "Latin is the language of our society; nothing but Latin should appear in the churches; young men called to the priesthood should engage in the study of Latin books day and night. What we are saying is neither new nor ours: what we received in Rome as young men, we profess as elders".⁷⁵

At the conclusion of his *Essay*, Galjuf draws attention to phenomena that threaten if the Latin language continues to be removed as a means of communication. The progress of high knowledge could become more difficult and slow due to the discord among the successors of the Latin language, elegant literature could, by abandoning the Latin home of Graces, transform into a Fury, and by removing the Latin language from the altars, the simplicity and beauty of religion would be diminished. In the defence of the Latin language and the dangers that threaten its removal, Galjuf sees himself as a promoter of Enlightenment, an advocate of the elite, and emphasises his desire to spread

⁷⁴ *Avertat nunc, avertat oculos, quicumque nullam vel nescimus quam naturalem religionem habere se dicit: avertat et suos, qui de religione tamquam de institutione prorsus humana disceptat, et religionem Christianam ait non modo ad hominem e servitute redimendum, sed etiam ad omnia expolienda profuisse, nunc vero effoetam, superstitione inquinatam et ita inhumanam se trahere, ut iam excogitari aliquid debeat, quod, veteri et novo testamento abrogato, sapientiam cum voluptate, quietem cum libertate conciliet: avertat tandem et suos, qui, quamvis Christianum se esse gloriatur, Catholicae tamen religionis infulam reformidat.* Ibid., 27.

⁷⁵ *Latina est societas nostra: nihil in templis nisi Latinum appareat: iuventus ad sacerdotium vocata diurno nocturnoque studio in libris Latinis versetur. Neque haec quae dicimus nostra vel nova sunt: haec Romae adolescentes accepimus, haec senescentes profitemur.* Ibid., 29.

light (*lucis dilatandae desiderio*). Eventually, he reminds that even the most advanced people in all fields can go astray if they deviate from the path of their ancestors and surrender to a new barbarisation of customs and studies.⁷⁶

Conclusion: The Utopian Dreams of Latin Survival

Marko Faustin Galjuf's *Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language* is a significant text in which the author, a citizen intellectual, articulates his beliefs about the importance of the Latin language with the intention of publicly justifying himself before the Holy See and convincingly distancing himself from his previous political errors. The rational approach in explaining the necessity of retaining the Latin language is a consequence of Galju's Catholic Enlightenment, which was imbued with a cult of antiquity. As a Latinist renowned for his ability to improvise Italian and French verses in the living Latin language that he mastered perfectly, he was deeply immersed in classical culture and ancient political thought. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that, coming from the republican environment of Dubrovnik himself, Galjuf engaged in politics during the brief period of the democratic Roman Republic. He might have seen it as an opportunity for the revival of Roman republican values and the political system. This adventure, along with loyalty to French authorities, cost him his position at the University of Genoa after the fall of the French Empire and the annexation of those territories to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. Galjuf fell out of favour for almost 15 years, but the desire to return to Rome never left him.

The Essay on the Fortune of the Latin Language by Galjuf, although written as a means for restoring his reputation before the Holy See, coincides with other similar projects, such as the idea put forth by the Spanish abbot Miguel María del Olmo y Herrera, residing in the French city of Toulouse. In 1816 he published a booklet titled *Recreations from Villaudric... to the Eight Great Princes who, in Vienna in the year 1815, established peace in the world: A Unique Book on Cultivating the Latin Language and Establishing a Latin City (Otia Villaudricensia.... ad octo magnos Principes qui Vindobonae anno 1815 pacem orbis sanxerunt, de Lingua Latina colenda et Civitate Latina fundanda liber singularis)*.⁷⁷ There he presented to the participants of the Congress of Vienna (1815) the idea of establishing a city in Central Europe where

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ French translation: *Traduction avec le Texte en Regard, de l'Adresse latine signée par plusieurs Professeurs et Gens de Lettres, et présentée à S.M. Louis XVIII, le 22 octobre 1821, sur le Projet de la Fondation d'une Ville latine, par le moyen d'une Souscription européenne, par M. l'abbé M.M. Olmo, Docteur en Théologie* (Paris: Maurice, 1824).

citizens would speak only the Latin language. Like Galjuf, Olmo advocates for the circulation of knowledge and ideas throughout Europe through the medium of the Latin language. Olmo also supported the Catholic version of Enlightenment and advocated for the universality of the Latin language. According to him, the use of the Latin language, in the form of a linguistic passport, could connect people of esteemed society across borders, and in this case, “universal” would be synonymous with “transnational”. However, both Galjuf’s and Olmo’s projects remained not only utopian, but also fully neglected in the European cultural history. Further comparative research could reveal many other connections in the cultural and intellectual history of the Latin language.

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