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Bilingual Europe

Latin and Vernacular Cultures, Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism c. 1300–1800

Edited by

Jan Bloemendal

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Introduction: Bilingualism, Multilingualism and the Formation of Europe

Jan Bloemendal

If we were to exaggerate slightly, we might state that the formation of European national cultures starts and ends with a treatise in Latin in praise of the vernacular, viz. Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* ('On the Vernacular', ca. 1300), the first manifest example of a work about the use of the vernacular, and Jacob Grimm's inaugural lecture at Göttingen, *De desiderio patriae* ('On the Longing for the Homeland', 1830).[1] Both treatises advocated a new ideology of national identity based on the mother tongue, expressed in Latin. Within the polyglot world of Europe the international Latin was not merely a language, but the carrier of European culture par excellence, conveying common values and beliefs. If research into the *questione della lingua* (a dispute in the *Cinquecento* on the language to be used in Italy, viz. Latin or the vernacular) has treated Latin and the vernacular languages as conflicting opposites representing a world in transition from a culture based mainly on Latin to a culture expressed mainly in the vernacular languages, the examples of Dante and Grimm qualify this, as well as the vast number of Latin poems, for instance, written after the battle of Jena and Auerstedt as late as 1806.[2] In the Hungarian Parliament Latin was used from 1825 when it first reconvened until the year of revolution 1848 in order to avoid affording linguistic hegemony to one of the languages in the nation. Latin is the official language of the Roman Catholic Church even to the present day. When Pope Benedict XVI announced his abdication on 11 February 2013, he did so in a Latin 'tweet' of 140 characters. The only Vatican journalist who knew Latin, Giovanna Chirri, had the scoop.[3] His official speech of abdication was also in this language.

The traditional account of history fixed the downfall of Latin as a world language (presumed 'elitist') in the seventeenth century, with the demotic idioms (presumed 'egalitarian') taking over as part of what is usually described

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[1] See Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*, p. 54 on Dante, and pp. 146–47 on Grimm. See for Latin and national identities also: Coroleu, Caruso and Laird, *The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World*.

[2] Presented by Hermann Krüssel at the 15th congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, Münster 2012.

[3] See Butterfield, 'Latin and the Social Media', p. 1015.

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as the emergence of the nation states. However, there is a growing awareness that Latin and the vernacular did not take turns representing an old and new Europe, but rather coexisted together for centuries in overlapping and mutually influential communities. Interest in the intersection between Latin and the vernaculars and its dynamics has increased during the last decade, witness, for instance, some issues of the journal *Renaessanceforum*, the study by Nikolaus Thurn on 'Neo-Latin and the Vernaculars', the work of the Centre for Renaissance Studies in Warwick and the project *Dynamics of Latin and the Vernacular* at the Huygens Institute in The Hague, and Amsterdam and Nijmegen.[4] In particular, the cultures of translation have been studied and reflected upon.[5] Whereas previous investigations were carried out in a more comparative way, nowadays a more dynamic view of Latin and vernacular cultures prevails.

One study deserves special mention. In chapters two and three of his informative study on languages and communities in early modern Europe, Peter Burke discusses the place of Latin in Europe's linguistic spectre. Chapter two, 'Latin: A Language in Search of a Community', states that by the ninth century no native speakers of Latin existed any more. Latin 'sought' speech communities and found them in the Roman Catholic Church, where it was the liturgical language for ages, and in the international *respublica literaria* and other inter- or supra-national communities, where it became the lingua franca of literates, lawyers, diplomats, scientists and many more. Latin and the vernaculars coexisted and provided an example of 'diglossia', 'in the sense that it was considered appropriate to use in some situations and domains'.[6] In the next chapter, 'Vernaculars in Competition', Burke discusses the emancipation of the vernacular languages at the expense of Latin. This is only partly true, he states, viz. for the increase of vernacular printing. However, for a long time Latin kept its position as international language. Burke suggests a comparative approach, which is highly informative. The present volume, however, takes a further step in its approach in terms of dynamics of languages and mutual exchange, although both studies resemble one another in their sociolinguistic approach.[7]

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[4] Coroleu, Caruso and Laird (eds.), *The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World*; Hass and Ramminger (eds.), *Latin and the Vernaculars in Early Modern Europe*; Thurn, *Neulatein und Volkssprachen*. See also Ford's study *The Judgment of Palaemon*, on the use of Latin or French in Renaissance poetry in France.

[5] See, for instance, Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation* and Burke and Po-chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*.

[6] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 43.

[7] See also Deneire, 'Chapter 22: 'Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Methodological Issues'.

In this volume crossroads between Europe's Latin and vernacular cultures are explored, and their points of convergence and divergence identified. These questions were the starting point: To what extent did the language systems and the windows of cultural references open up as a result of social interactions within the communities and political, religious and educational institutions of early modern Europe? What was the impact of bilingualism or 'diglossia' on social stratification and the self-fashioning and self-presentation of individuals or groups?[8] And what were the implications of the fact that a considerable number of authors, including Dante, Petrarch, Thomas More, Martin Luther and Hugo Grotius, published both in Latin and in the vernacular?

To some extent, these questions may themselves be questioned. We tend to speak of 'bilingualism' or 'diglossia', to indicate that an author had the choice to write in Latin or in the vernacular. However, the terms vernacular and Latin have to be qualified. 'The' vernacular consists of many languages and dialects, and even sociolects and idiolects, and people may speak and write, or at least understand, more than one of them. Someone in Germany could choose between the use of 'Alemannic', 'Hochdeutsch' (when that had come into existence), or a local dialect, for instance. The same is true for Dutch, where the Brabantic and Hollandic dialects, to name two of them had much in common, but also differed considerably. Even the dialects of the Low Countries and the German lands were considered to be akin to the extent that 'Dutch' dialects were considered dialects of 'German'. The dialect of the Rhineland stretched from Germany to the southern parts of the Netherlands. The dialects spoken along the Rhine, from Basel to Rotterdam, were, certainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not considered as different languages, such as 'Alemannic', 'Deutsch' or 'Dutch'.

For the Latin part, too, we should speak of Latin languages in the plural as Françoise Waquet suggests in her contribution, since the mastery of Latin varied so widely at the universities, ranging from men who knew Latin as well as their mother tongue, to those who only knew enough Latin for their particular purpose. Yet, one could choose. Immanuel Kant, for instance, wrote his doctoral thesis and his *Habilitationsschrift* in Latin, *Meditationum quarundam de igne*

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[8] Self-fashioning is understood as the image someone conceives of himself by what he communicates about his own person, combined with what others communicate about him and the cultural and social conventions, which takes place more on a subconscious level, and self-presentation as a deliberate attempt to have others conceive a particular image of oneself. See Deneire, 'Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetics of Self-Fashioning'. For more information, see Pieters and Rogiest, 'Self-fashioning in de vroeg-moderne literatuur- en cultuurgeschiedenis', and Geerdink, ' "Self-fashioning" of zelfrepresentatie?'

succincta delineatio ('Short Outline of Some Thoughts on Fire') and *Principiorum primorum cognitionis metaphysicae nova dilucidatio* ('New Light on the First Principles of Metaphysical Knowledge') respectively (both in 1755!), and then turned to German.[9] At the same time, when he coined a technical philosophical vocabulary for the German language, he made use of Latin. In this respect, he did exactly the same as Cicero had done in Rome in the first century BC, when the latter created a set of philosophical terms for Latin by using Greek, either transcribing Greek terms, or translating them from Greek into Latin, thus forming neologisms like *qualitas*, quality, and inventing 'the Western World's philosophical vocabulary'.[10]

We also have to bear in mind that Latin started as a vernacular language in Rome and Latium. Even in classical times, there was no 'one' Latin, as can be induced from this sentence: 'Latinitas est incorrupte loquendi observatio secundum Romanam linguam' ('right Latin is the faultless use of the language according to the accent in Rome').[11] The *questione della lingua* found its origins in a discussion on the several 'levels' of Latin, viz. literary versus colloquial language. That language conquered the world and became the mother tongue of many more people, even though in the eastern part of the Empire Greek remained the language used. In the Middle Ages Latin became more and more the people's 'second' language, for which the term *Vatersprache* ('father tongue') was formed. However, it remained a language that could be used and had to be adapted to new needs. For instance, feeling the need for new words for new concepts, the scholastic philosophers coined them with the use of principles with which they were familiar (for instance, adding -(*i*)*tas* to a word to form an abstract word, cf. the English -(i)ty), such as the word *quidditas*, 'quiddity', 'essence'.

The same applies to the early modern period. Neologisms were coined and used. A famous example is the title of Thomas More's vision of an ideal state *Utopia* ('Nowhere-Place'), but many others can be indicated. Other Latin words were loaded with new meanings. Both phenomena can be amply seen in Hoven's *Dictionary of Renaissance Latin*.[12]

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[9] Kant, AA, I: *Vorkritische Schriften I*, 1747–1756, pp. 369–384 and 385–416. See also the contribution by Wiep van Bunge in this volume.

[10] McKendrik, *The Roman Mind at Work*, p. 64.

[11] Fr. 268 Funaioli.

[12] Hoven, Grailet, transl. by Coen Maas, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance / Dictionary of Renaissance Latin from Prose Sources*. See also Helander, 'Ch. 3: On Neologisms in Neo-Latin'.

The relationship between Latin and vernacular languages changed over time, 'from rivalry to cross-fertilization, from an agenda of defence of Latin—or matter-of-fact statements of the superiority of the Latin language—and newly found assertiveness of the vernaculars to concerted bilingual or multilingual strategies of propaganda and outreach'.[13] In the *Quattrocento*, for instance, Italian humanists felt the need for a theoretical framework and a vocabulary for the relationship between Latin and the *volgare*.[14] As a matter of fact, it mattered whether one spoke of *lingua vulgaris* ('language belonging to the mob', with the connotation of a low status) or *lingua vernacula* ('indigenous language', with the connotation of authenticity).[15]

The relationship between Latin and vernacular languages shifted over time, but differed for each geographic region, 'due to the asynchronous spread of Latin humanist culture'.[16] Thurn already pointed to the character of neo-Latin literature as both international and regionalist.[17] *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies for the formation of 'nation states' with some kind of 'national' language. This is also a phenomenon that might differ for each region or country. In France, a 'nation' was formed at an early stage, as was the case in England. But in Italy and Germany the several small states became a union in the nineteenth century, in the process of Risorgimento between 1815 and the 1870s and the unification of 1871 to form a German Empire respectively. This also affected the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. However, the questions of how and to what extent require further investigation. The compilation of early modern dictionaries of Latin-vernaculars and vice versa can also been seen in the light of the assessment of the balance between Latin and other languages.[18]

The balance between the use of Latin and the vernaculars may also differ for each branch of knowledge. As Wiep van Bunge shows in his contribution, in philosophy Latin was substituted by vernaculars in the eighteenth century, whereas in his chapter Floris Cohen attributes this shift mainly to the use of 'old', authority-based science versus 'new', experimental science in the same period. However, for the university in general this need not to be so, as proved by Françoise Waquet, who demonstrates that the universities throughout the eighteenth century kept feeling the need for a distinctive language that could be labelled 'elitist'. More research on the 'death of Latin' needs to be carried out to establish whether, how and why these differences in view applied.

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[13] Hass and Ramminger, 'Preface', p. ii.

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] See Ramminger, 'Humanists and the Vernaculars'.

[16] Hass and Ramminger, 'Preface', p. ii.

[17] Turn, *Neulatein und Volkssprachen*; id., 'Chapter 23: Neo-Latin and the Verncular: Poetry'. See also my adaptation of Thurn's methodological questionnaire, 'Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Some Thoughts Regarding Its Approach'.

[18] See Considine, *Dictionaries of Early Modern Europe*.

In the early modern period, many authors spoke and wrote their treatises and poetry both in Latin and in the vernacular, even though there are differences. The 'father of Northern humanism' Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), for instance, spoke far more Latin than Dutch. Allegedly he spoke Dutch—or Alemannic—on his deathbed, saying: 'Liever Gott'.[19] However, in his works he used numerous proverbs, a considerable number of them originating in the vernaculars, viz. Dutch or one of the German dialects, as Ari Wesseling has shown.[20] Other authors, too, were 'bilingual' or even 'multilingual' in their writings. The 'arch-humanist' Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) wrote some works in Latin and others in the 'volgare', ranging from an epic in Latin, *Africa*, to Italian poetry in his *Canzoniere*. A few other instances among many are the Dutch humanists such as Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who wrote poetry in Latin and in Greek, and even transposed some of their own Latin writings into the vernacular,[21] whereas Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), diplomat and secretary to the Stadtholders of the House of Orange, wrote verses in several languages including Latin, Dutch, French and Italian. As much as two centuries later the French poet Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891) still wrote Latin poems during his education. Part of this 'bilingualism' is closely connected to the humanists' wish to emancipate literature in the vernacular through imitation of classical and humanist poetics. With their poetry and prose, these authors also contributed to the 'formation of Europe' as a whole and of its several countries.

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[19] See, for instance, Van der Blom, 'Die letzten Worte des Erasmus', who quotes the source, the preface by Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus's posthumously printed edition of Origin: '[…] assidue clamans: "O Iesu, misericordia, Domine, libera me, Domine, fac finem, Domine, miserere mei", et Germanica lingua "Lieuer Gott", hoc est "Chare Deus"'. ('[…] constantly shouting: "O Jesus, have mercy, Lord, redeem me, Lord, bring the end, Lord, have mercy upon me": and in Dutch/German: "Liever God", that is "Dear God"'. He could have spoken both Dutch, 'Lieve God', or Alemannic, 'Liebe Gott' or German: 'Lieber Gott'. The term 'Germanica lingua' can indicate both Dutch (or one of its dialects) and German; Dutch was by then considered a dialect of German or Alemannic.

[20] However, the evidence compiled by Ari Wesseling in 'Are the Dutch Uncivilized?', 'Dutch Proverbs and Ancient Sources in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*', 'Dutch Proverbs and Expressions in Erasmus' *Adages, Colloquies* and Letters', and 'Intertextual Play: Erasmus' Use of Adages in the *Colloquies*', is convincing enough to think primarily of Dutch, and only in the second instance of the German dialects or Alemannic.

[21] Grotius, *Bewijs van de Ware Godsdienst / De veritate*; Heinsius, 'Dulcis puella', see Deneire, 'Heinsius, Opitz and Vernacular Self-translation'.

The choice of language could be made on the basis of convention. Some genres were written in Latin, others in vernacular languages. Anyone writing an epic would tend to write it in Latin, for instance. In the speculative sciences works were likely to be written in Latin, whereas works on empirical investigations were often written in the vernacular. Choices could be made deliberately, as the case of René Descartes shows.[22] However, the choice of language is not necessarily implying an 'elitist' audience for Latin versus a 'common' readership for the vernacular.

Another significant issue is typography. In most of Northern Europe, different typefaces were often used when printing Latin and the vernacular: Roman fonts for Latin and Gothic ones for the vernaculars (the development of the vernaculars is related to printing). Approximately the same holds for manuscripts, where different hands were applied. Latin was mostly written in the humanist minuscule that became a model for the roman typeface.

We speak about bilingual and multilingual Europe. In this context, we have to bear in mind that in early modern times, on the Continent only very few scholars could read English. However, in other cases, too, the knowledge of languages other than Latin and the mother tongue was scarce and frequently scholars who had a sound reading knowledge of a number of classical and oriental languages only knew one vernacular language or dialect. In eighteenth-century Germany, for instance, relatively few intellectuals knew English, but even more remarkable was the inability of most scholars to read French.

The chronologically ordered contributions in this volume give evidence of this wide variety of applying Latin or vernacular languages, by diverse authors in diverse branches of knowledge, as well as the role of languages in the formation of national identities. The idea that Latin gradually made way for the vernaculars is qualified by the study of Arie Schippers. In his chapter, he shows that the linguistic situation in Italy and Spain was highly complicated. Traditionally, the languages are classified as *langue d'oïl* (French), *langue d'oc* (Occitan) and *lingua di si* (Italian), spoken by French, Spanish troubadours and Italians or *Latini* respectively. In Italy and Spain a multitude of languages and literatures coexisted together: Latin, used for learned epistles and scientific treatises, epics and other solemn genres, coexisted with several Romance vernaculars, e.g. French for popular prose and Occitan for poetry, and in both countries a literature in classical and vernacular Arabic as well as Classical [= "Biblical"] Hebrew was important as well. Arabic had substituted Latin in

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[22] See the contributions to this volume by Floris Cohen and Wiep van Bunge.

Muslim Spain as an official language. In some Latin and Judeo-Arabic writings we find passages about the coexistence of Latin and Arabic.

The various Romance languages had a variety of literary functions, distributed over the genres. There were French prose works written in Italy, and Italian and Spanish troubadours used the Occitan (Provençal) language in their poems. Some early Italian poet practised Italian poetry as well as Hebrew poetry. Immanuele Romano (1270–1330), alias Manollo Giudeo, enriched the standard Hebrew sonnet years before Petrarch wrote his Italian sonnets for Laura. In Spain, Gallego-Portuguese was used as a poetic language by King Alphonse X the Wise and his court in the thirteenth century: the same circles used the Castilian language for chancellery prose. Toledo at the time of Alphonse the Wise was not only a centre of troubadour poetry in the Occitan language, but also of Hebrew and Arabic poetry. In addition, it was the place where Arabic and Hebrew scientific works were translated into Latin and Castilian. The situation, Schippers argues, was therefore multilingual rather than bilingual, and the languages existed next to each other, Latin being more in opposition to the vernaculars and the vernaculars interacting.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) was a Dutch priest as well as a European humanist. In contrast to many others, he seemed to have used Latin exclusively, ignoring his native language. However, the impact of Dutch or 'Hollands', or German-Alemannic, is an underestimated aspect of his work.[23] It can be shown that he used—in Latin translation—a fair number of vernacular proverbs and expressions, not only in letters, but also in various works, ranging from his early *De contemptu mundi* to the more light-hearted *Praise of Folly* and *Lingua*, as the late Ari Wesseling points out. Erasmus employs these proverbs as additional evidence or even treats them on a par with ancient wisdom. He also uses them to lend wit and spice to his style. What does this mean in terms of his attitude towards the vernacular? The traditional view needs to be revised. Although he did disdain vernacular languages (out of ignorance and because he revered the *bonae litterae*), he valued his native language and cherished its proverbial lore. His mother tongue must have had special emotional value for him. The question arises how this preference or inclination relates to his ambivalent attitude towards his fellow countrymen, which is best described in terms of a negative attachment. In fact, the case of Erasmus points to the phenomenon of 'veiled bilingualism'.[24]

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[23] See also above, n. 20.

[24] Bloemendal, 'Veiled Bilingualism and Editing the Erasmi Opera Omnia'. One may also think of Porzio's Latin, which at times reads as Italian in Latin or even as Latinized words.

Latin and vernacular cultures also meet in the contribution by Arjan van Dixhoorn, who discusses the state of affairs in the Low Countries. The chambers of rhetoric and their performative literary culture that flourished there have long been seen as a peculiar phenomenon of the vernacular popular culture of the Dutch-speaking Low Countries, distinct from and often opposing the neo-Latin humanist culture of the same region. This view has been challenged by literary scholars and historians in the last two decades on the basis of new evidence or new perspectives on existing evidence that show exchange in many ways and on various levels, especially between the Latin-, French-, and Dutch-speaking worlds. It can now be argued that multilingual exchange was essential to the dynamics of the (to a large extent *oral*) world of the rhetoricians. Van Dixhoorn proposes to focus on the chambers of rhetoric of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Antwerp, their performative literary culture, and their leading members, as go-betweens for local vernacular culture and cosmopolitan Latin, French and Dutch culture. To demonstrate this, he analyses networks of leading rhetoricians and scholars and translations as the rhetorical adaptation of texts from other languages. In this contribution, similar processes of transfer, integration and assimilation of literary forms are demonstrated to those described and analysed by Schippers.

Speaking of multilingualism, we should also look at formal aspects of printed works. A substantial number of publications printed during the early modern period contained two or more languages. These books are an eloquent testimony to the polyglot reality of early modern Europe, marked by the coexistence of the overlapping and interactive communities of Latin and the national languages. The said polyglot publications appeared in several genres (emblem books, collections of occasional verse, dictionaries, language courses, translations, etc.), each serving their own distinct purpose. The languages used in these books could also interact in any number of ways, and consequently appeared on the printed page in different formats and different types, reflecting the different status and use of the various languages. Developments in book production ensured that authors and publishers were better able to respond to the editorial challenges posed by the use of different languages in one and the same publication.

Demmy Verbeke analyses a selection of bilingual books in which Latin appears alongside a vernacular language. He discusses what indications the mise-en-page can give us about the function of these bilingual publications, and what they teach us about the status of Latin during the early modern period. In particular, he looks at several bilingual editions of Terence printed in early modern England, and contrasts these examples with a number of other bilingual publications in which Latin has a different role and thus appears differently on the printed page.

When we look at the relationship between Latin and the vernacular languages, we usually consider the *bonae litterae* (belles-lettres, literature). But in the sciences and philosophy Latin and the vernacular were used simultaneously as well. The contribution of Eva del Soldato points to the highly interesting position of cultural egalitarianism or relativism that Aristotle took, assuming that no language is superior to another. By affirming the prevalence of *res* over *verba*, Aristotelianism substantially legitimized the practice of translation, or at least this is how the Italian philosopher Sperone Speroni interpreted him in 1542. The famous Neapolitan Aristotelian *magister* and member of the *Accademia Fiorentina*, Simone Porzio (1497–1554), is likewise an illustrative case. He favoured the dissemination of philosophical ideas by translations into the vernaculars. After he published a considerable number of Latin books, his companion Giovan Battista Gelli vernacularized—in a sort of instant translation—many of them; he translated his medical books, but 'transferred' them 'culturally', emphasizing in his introductions topics like morality and physiognomy that were secondary in the original works, but more captivating for a larger audience, and some short books about *miranda naturae*, written for Cosimo's court and admired by it. Latin, however, remained Porzio's preferred means of expression for dense and technical subjects. In the academic world, he used Latin, both in his writings and in his teaching, whereas at court he spoke and wrote the *vulgare*.

Ingrid Rowland discusses the use of Latin or the vernacular in two works of science, Giordano Bruno's Latin didactic poem *De immenso et innummerabilibus* ('On the Infinite and Innumerable', 1592) and Galileo Galilei's *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo Tolemaico e Copernicano* ('Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems, of Ptolemy and Copernicus', 1632) in Italian. Whereas Bruno presented his ideas in the traditional form of a didactic poem in Latin, Galilei did so in the scintillating form of a vernacular dialogue, as Plato had done, as Cicero and Seneca had done, and as Bruno himself had done too. What were the reasons for the scientists to choose their form and language? And what is more: what was the role of diagrams in mathematical formulas in their works?

Guillaume van Gemert investigates the relation between Latin and the vernacular in German lands. Van Gemert's first *pièce de résistance* is Martin Opitz's *Aristarchus* (1617), an oration he held at the Silesian Academy. In it, he expressed the great German past and pleaded for the use of German—in a speech in Latin. His aim was a political rather than purely literary one: by creating an overall German culture, national identity should be realized as a preliminary stage on the road to (ultimately) overcoming the political fragmentation of the German Lands. Seven years later, in his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624), now in German, Opitz expanded upon this approach and fleshed out the detail. He and most of his contemporaries as well as his like-minded followers till the end of the seventeenth century were convinced that the German language could only emancipate into an adequate vehicle for literary activity by referring to and dissociating itself from Latin and Latin-based ancient culture, a process they still regarded as the only way to achieve political unification within the German-speaking countries.

In natural philosophy authors also had to decide—if they were able to—whether to write in Latin or in their mother tongue. The criteria on which they made their choices are highly intricate and interesting. Floris Cohen draws some provisional conclusions from his reading of scientific works from the early modern period. He discerns some tendencies in the use of Latin and the vernacular in the sciences. Until 1600 the standard language for mathematics and speculative natural philosophy was Latin, whereas the preferred language for empirical studies was the vernacular. In the seventeenth century, Latin remained the standard for mathematics. For natural history, however, blending theoretical and empirical methods, the choice seems to be arbitrary. Purely experimental natural history tends to use the vernaculars, with the exception of the Jesuit scholars, who wrote in Latin only. The advent of the scientific societies such as the Royal Society strengthened the tendency towards the vernacular. Its journal, the *Philosophical Transactions*, preferred to report in English, although Latin was allowed too. Perhaps the 'topography' of the natural sciences was an additional factor in the choice, Latin being the language of the universities, the places of speculative science, while the empirical sciences were investigated mainly outside the academic world in the strict sense. Curiously, a few works were a blend of Latin and the vernacular. For instance, Galilei's *Discorsi* (1638) now and then alternate between Latin and Italian, whereas the *Opus Paramirum* (1581) by Andreas Vesalius mixed Latin and German. The situation of the choice of language in natural philosophy, therefore, is quite complicated, varying between the methods applied, the period under investigation, and geography. In the Netherlands there was a purist tendency, translating Greek and Latin texts into Dutch terms, or coining new ones.

Wiep van Bunge discusses the use of Latin and the vernaculars in philosophy. He explicitly discerns a difference between academics and non-academics. Philosophy still had a crucial position at the universities, which continued to use Latin as their *lingua franca*. Even though the vernaculars gradually took the central place of Latin, a philosopher as late as Descartes had to have his writings translated into Latin to create an academic following. Kant, as was said before in this introduction, wrote in Latin before turning to German. While it could be argued that the downfall of Latin signalled the rise of a more egalitarian notion of philosophy, enabling a wider audience to participate in the debates to which it gave rise, Kant's creation of a highly specific, technical vocabulary expressing his 'critical', 'transcendental' philosophy hardly contributed to a further proliferation of his insights. Kant's main ambition, rather than to be read by the masses, was to redefine the professional competence of philosophy following the emancipation of the natural sciences. The main issue addressed in Van Bunge's contribution concerns the evolving relationship between the language of early modern philosophy and the way in which it sought to justify its specific expertise as well as its authority.

Françoise Waquet focuses on the eighteenth-century universities, and especially on the languages used in the academic world. The questions she asks include those related to the circumstances in which Latin or one of the vernacular languages was used, what kind of Latin was written and spoken there, and by what reasons members of the academic society themselves explain or justify their choice. There turn out to be multiple reasons, linguistic as well as social, to use Latin and to refuse passage to the vernacular, or to use both languages. It turns out that it was not the quality of Latin that was decisive, but tradition and convenience, the decorum of the University, and the prestige of academic professorships. Waquet takes her examples from Italy, Sweden and France.

Joep Leerssen also engages with Latin in the area of academic learning. He points at the long-lasting use of Latin in this area and at the role of philology and the Latin language in the formation of national identities. Between 1750 and 1850, a development took place which led to a Europe-wide reconceptualization of culture: the philological idea that all cultures are specifically tied to their nationality and their individual (vernacular) language of expression. The rise of the modern philologies alongside the Classics gave expression and an institutional framework to this. Ironically, some key texts in this new national view of culture were couched in the transnational language of learning, Latin. Leerssen argues this resulted in the irony of pleading for the vernacular in Latin. His starting point is Jacob Grimm's already mentioned inaugural lecture at the University of Göttingen, *De desiderio patriae* (1830).

Bilingual Europe thus offers a broad overview of many aspects of bilingualism and multilingualism in the period between 1300 and 1800, a decisive period in the formation of Europe, and in the formation of European nation states. As a common ground, Latin provided a language for sciences, cultures and nationalistic feelings, but was gradually replaced by the vernaculars. At the same time, Latin and the vernacular languages met and interacted for a far longer period that has been assumed until now, as attested by the studies compiled in this volume. Reciprocal translations were made, vernacular poetry saw its reception in Latin verse, and vice versa. In some instances, the alternatives even competed with each other, both rivaling and cooperating.[25] The studies brought together in this book accordingly challenge the construction of Latin and the vernaculars as isolated opposites, and the idea that the vernaculars had an overarching influence on the formation of the European nation states. As the reader will notice, the Middle Ages are under-represented, whereas the volume focuses on the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. This is partly due to the state of arts in research on the several periods. It is also a result of the fact that in the eighteenth century there is a gradual and relative shift from Latin to the vernacular: not in all regions, nor in all branches of knowledge at the same time. Moreover, research now tends to focus on this period of change, labelled by Leerssen following Reinhart Koselleck as 'Sattelzeit', a 'saddle' period of transition. Looking at different subjects or different regions, or from different points of view, may now lead to conflicting claims, such as Van Bunge's idea that for philosophy a shift is visible that for the universities in general is not, as Waquet showed; or that there is a Scientific Revolution with a language shift, as Cohen demonstrates; or that one should be careful with the term 'scientific revolution', as proposed by Van Bunge. The change from Latin to the vernacular can be seen as a consequence of the shift from 'bookish' to empiricist knowledge, or as a result of the difference between the international language needed for universities and the usefulness of vernacular language for 'artisanal knowledge'. Many questions still need an answer. Therefore, this volume is also an invitation to carry out further research into the fascinating relationship—whether in opposition, competition or interaction—between Latin and the vernaculars and the questions of at what places, at what times, in what subjects and why Latin was supplanted by the 'modern' languages.

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[25] See Ford, *The Judgment of Palaemon*.

these organizations for their financial support.[26] Thanks are also due to the anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable remarks. Finally, I would like to thank my colleague Tom Deneire for reading and commenting on a first draft of this introduction. Since Ari Wesseling did not see his article materialize because of his unexpected death on 2 July 2010, I would like to dedicate this volume to his pious memory.

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[26] Will Kelly of Minerva Professional Language Services (www.minerva-pls.com) corrected the English of this introduction.

CHAPTER 1

Hispania, Italia and Occitania: Latin and the Vernaculars, Bilingualism or Multilingualism?

Arie Schippers

Romance Vernaculars

From medieval times in Italy, the Romance vernaculars and their literatures stood opposite Latin, which was the official, Church and literary language. Dante Alighieri's Latin work *De vulgari eloquentia* is a testimony to this linguistic situation. The work describes the situation in Italy and is to a large extent the justification of the place that Dante's poetry school occupied in the overall picture. But the situation in Italy—the cradle of Latin—does not stand in isolation from the rest of southern Europe, such as Hispania (Arabic al-Andalus and the region of present-day Spain and Portugal) and their respective literatures, and Occitania, the region where the oldest vernacular lyric of medieval Europe manifested itself, mainly in the love poetry of the troubadours.

Occitan

The linguistic space of Occitania was originally around Toulouse, in the Languedoc, in Provence and in Aquitania, the region that today we call the Midi. Occitania is a relatively new name for the region where Occitan was spoken. The name is derived from the word *oc* (Latin *hoc*), which means 'yes'. The earlier terms Provence, Provençal, or Languedoc or Aquitania were not sufficient to denote the linguistic region. Today, however, the language from the north of France called *langue d'oïl* (Latin *hoc illud / hoc ille*) dominates the whole area that we call the Midi or southern France. There are some specific language pockets where Occitan dialects are still spoken, for example in the Aran valley in Spain, where the Aranese Occitan dialect is an officially recognized language.[1] Moreover, there is a certain artificial revival of forms of

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[1] In Val d'Aran teaching at elementary schools starts with three years of Aranes. In his seventh year the pupil also learns the other two official languages of Spain, Catalan and Castilian. So here we find a multilingual educational system.

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written standard Occitan language in the Occitan region of France: many bulletins on and announcements of cultural events appear on the internet in Occitan. Catalan, Valencian and Occitan are kindred languages, perhaps variants of one and the same language and culture.

After his victory over the Almohads at las Navas de Tolosa in 1212,[2] Peter II of Aragon dreamt of having a kingdom that would span the Pyrenees and comprise the Occitan and Catalan regions. Later that year, however, he perished during the battle of Muret.[3] Occitan thus failed to become a 'national' language.

Culturally speaking, Occitan was exceedingly diffuse, not least owing to the love poetry of the troubadours,[4] although much of their poetry was devoted to political subjects, not only in Provence, Languedoc and Aquitania, but also in Spain and Italy.

Occitan in Spain

In Spain, Catalan is very close to Occitan. One isogloss that marks the Occitan/Catalan region is the names of the days of the week. In French, Italian and Castilian, the words for Tuesday are *mardi, martedì* and *martes* (Latin: *Martis dies*) respectively, whereas Catalan and Occitan have *dimars* and *dimarts* (Latin: *dies Martis*), respectively. The same applies to the other days of the week.[5]

The importance of Occitan in Spain is reflected in the great number of troubadours who were born in or emigrated to Catalonia or Valencia. It is also reflected in the importance of Guiraut Riquer's *Supplicatiò*, which was directed to Alphonse X the Wise (1221–1284) followed by a *Declaratiò* about the different functions of *joglar* (performer) and *trobador* (poet).[6] In a sense, the Catalans were represented by the Occitan troubadours. Because at the time there were many Catalan settlements in the Mediterranean, it is unsurprising that in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (I, 8) Dante Alighieri does not mention the Castilian language as the language of the Hispani, but instead mentions Occitan, which played a conspicuous role in Italy because many Occitan troubadours—both native Italians and immigrants—also lived in Italy. In Italy, the science of philology of the Occitan troubadours started early, as did the conservation of *vidas* (the lives and biographies of troubadours) and *razos* (poetry comments).

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[2] Alvira Cabrer, *Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212*.

[3] Alvira Cabrer, *El jueves de Muret*.

[4] The word 'troubadour' [Occitan: *trobador*] comes from 'find a melody' (*trobar*), or from *tropator* (maker of melodic or rhythmic compositions) or from Arabic *ṭarab* (music, pleasure) and *muṭrib* 'singer, musician'.

[5] In Portuguese, Russian and Arabic, the weekdays are counted: cf. *Terça-feira* 'Tuesday' (Latin: *tertia feria*), Cf. Arabic: *yawm ath-thalāthā'i*.

[6] De Riquer, *Los trobadores*, introducciòn.

Occitan in Italy

In Italy, Occitan was used for poetry: the oldest Occitan poem in Italy was written by an Italian, Pier de la Cavarana, who, probably in the spring of 1194, wrote a *sirventes* (political satire) to call upon the Italians to take up arms against the German Emperor.[7] It is remarkable that at such an early date this poem was sent into the world, and in Occitan, not Italian, even though the poem was aimed at Italians and their national feelings. Thus many poets living in Italy wrote their poems in Occitan. Italian as a poetic language came later, but its love poetry was inspired by Occitan love poetry, as first evidenced by the Sicilian school.

Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Divina commedia* on Romance Vernacular Poetry and Prose

Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* is not merely a book about the contrast between vernacular languages and Latin. It is above all a book that is devoted to the Italian situation, with the focus on poetry and the place that Dante's school took therein. Dante knew that he had to be modest and could not mention his name, but he often says in a veiled manner that he is the best poet of the best poetry school, and has the best master from the classical age, namely Virgil.[8]

Poetry and poets also occupy an important place in the *Divina Commedia*.[9] In *Purgatorio*, Dante discusses the place and rank of the poets of his time. He also deals with Occitan poets, for instance Giraut de Borneil and Arnaut Daniel. The latter is called 'the best smith of his mother tongue' and he is introduced speaking Occitan, whereas most of the *Divina Commedia* is written in Italian. The three vernaculars that are literary languages in Italy are named after the word for 'yes', that is, *Oc* for Occitan, *Oïl* for French and *Sì* (Latin: *sic est*) for Italian. Dante presents a kind of *contrasto* (juridical dispute) in which each of the three vernaculars defends herself on the basis of her qualities. The Occitan vernacular is the first to speak, and she puts her expansion down to her love poetry. French is mainly known for her historic prose writings or epic writings. In Italy, both Occitan and French were popular literary languages, each in its own domain. There were vulgarizations of historical texts, but also the travels of Marco Polo or the *Trésor* by Brunetto Latini, who is known as the 'master' of Dante. Furthermore, there were Arthurian romances in French.

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[7] Crespo, 'Frans, Provençaals en Italiaans', p. 24.

[8] Cf. Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, I, x; *Divina Commedia, Inferno* 1, ll. 85–87.

[9] Cf. Dante, *Divina Commedia, Purgatorio* 26, ll. 91 ff.

Roberto Crespo found it remarkable that in his *De vulgari eloquentia* Dante does not refer to the *Roman de la Rose* when talking about French, even though Dante was the author of an Italian adaptation of the *Roman de la Rose*, entitled *Il Fiore*, which he wrote entirely in the new strophic form of the sonnet.[10]

Italian Poetry Schools and Love Poetry

After Occitan and French, Italian comes to the front, and Dante Alighieri is proud of his *dolce stil novo* ('sweet new style'), a style in love poetry that makes the language 'sweeter' and 'more subtle', because of the clarity of the language, which is closer to Latin than the other two Romance languages, and 'more subtle' because of the philosophic language that is used in poetry to describe love.[11] For instance, in one of his poems, he invokes people who move the sphere of Venus, the third heaven. Dante's poetry was preceded in Tuscany by other schools of love poetry, with poets such as Guittone d'Arezzo and Guido Cavalcanti. Before that there was the Sicilian school (*scuola siciliana*) in Sicily, influenced by troubadours and *trouvères*, where Jacopo da Lentini in particular was an important poet. This school was linked with the court of Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), in the third decade of the 13th century. His grandfather Roger II (1095–1154) had been a patron of Arabic poets. In al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), and also in Sicily, were written early on Arabic love lyrics, for instance by the poet Billanūbī, who sometimes even wrote strophic poetry. In Dante's writings it is evident that he places himself in the tradition of the troubadours, the Sicilian school and the poetry schools of Tuscany. The love themes are important in more than one poetry and literature in Italy and Spain.

Hebrew poets from Spain and Sicily also wrote love poems. In this context, the strophic forms—*muwashshaḥāt* and *azjāl*—are important for both Arabic and Hebrew poetry. These strophic genres originated in al-Andalus and then spread to the rest of the Arabic and the Hebrew world.[12]

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[10] Crespo, 'Frans, Provençaals en Italiaans', p. 21.

[11] See Crespo, 'Frans, Provençaals en Italiaans', Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia* I, x, Schippers, 'Les troubadours', Schippers, 'Liebesleid'.

Strophic Love Poetry in Arabic, Hebrew and Occitan

The *muwashshaḥ*[13] or 'girdle poem' (strophic poetry in classical Arabic) was developed from the eleventh century onwards together with the strophic genre of the *zajal* in colloquial Arabic.[14] This colloquial form was a western Arabic dialect, which we call *andalusi*. We find in the *muwashshaḥ*, which is normally conceived in classical Arabic, quotations in colloquial Arabic and even quotations in Romance language in the last part of the poem, the *kharja* ('exit refrain'). Both strophic genres often have bilingual or trilingual characteristics: Romance sentences, classical Arabic, and colloquial Arabic and Hebrew.[15]

As a matter of fact, the description of the wind as a messenger can be combined with the theme of suffering from love as we can see in some strophes of the *muwashshaḥ* by Ibn Baqī:[16]

0. Ajrat la-nā min diyāri -l-khilli//
rīḥu'l-ṣabā ʿabarāti -l-dhilli//

0. From the dwelling place of the beloved //
the wind of dawn leads towards us tears of humility//

1. Habbat hubūba -l-ḍanā fī badanī//
wa-hayyajat mā maḍā min shajanī//
tahdī taḥiyyata man ʿadhdhaba-nī //
jawan ʿalā kabidi -l-muʿtalli//
lā kāna yawmu -l-nawā fī ḥilli!//

1. Languishing sighs [of the wind of daybreak] penetrate my being //
They revive old anguishes//
They bring greetings towards me from the one who torments me

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[12] Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*; Zwartjes, *Love Songs*.

[13] Corriente, *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús*.

[14] The most important *zajal* poet was Ibn Quzmān, see Schippers, 'The *mujūn* Genre'.

[15] Schippers, 'Muwaššaḥ', idem, 'Semantic Rhyme (Parallellism)'.

[16] Schippers, 'De rol van het Arabisch', *Appendix*; idem, 'Medieval Languages', pp. 24–25.

With lovesickness in my sick heart//
Oh, may the day of departure be cursed!//

2. Mādhā ʿalayya -l-hawā ajnā-hu//
Mudh ṣadda ʿan-nī-l-ladhī ahwā-hu//
Wa-laysa lī fī-l-hawā illā-hu//
Kayf-ṣṭibārī abā ʿan waṣlī //
Wa-mā-ḥtiyālī ʿalay-hi ? Qul-lī.//

2. Why was Love behaving so cruelly with me!//
Since the one I loved turned himself away from me//
And I have only him as a beloved//
How can I bear that he refused to meet me?//
What kind of strategy do I have to follow? Tell me.//

3. Ūbī ʿalay-hi a-rīḥu ūbī //
wa-ballighī waṭana-l- maḥbūbi//
taḥiyyata-l-ʿāshiqi-l-makrūbi//
wa-qabbilī fī makāni-l-qubli//
ʿan-nī wa-ḥayyī bi-ʿarfi-l-dalli//

Go back to him (my beloved), go back oh breeze//
And bring to the homeland of the beloved//
A greeting of a sad lover//
And kiss on the place to be kissed (on the cheek)//
In my name and greet with the perfume of elegance.//

4. Dallin ka-fāḥimi laylin jaʿdi//
Qad khaṭṭa fi ṣafḥatin min wardi//
Ka-ʿaṭfati-l-nūni fawqa-l-khaddi//
Aw ṣawlajin ʿākifin aw ṣilli//
ḥamat ḥamā-hu shifāru-l-naṣli//

4. The little hair on the temple black as the coal of night and curled//
Is sketched on a surface consisting of roses//
Like a kind of curve of a letter N on the cheek//
Or a curved stick or a viper //
Whose cave is defended by the blade of a sword.//

5. Wa-rubba khawdin jafā-hā- l- wajdu//
Wa-shaffa-hā-l-baynu thumma-l-buʿdu//
Fa-aʿlanat bi-l-firāqi tashdū: //
« Benid la Pascua, [ed] aun shin elli//
Com Cande meu corajon por elli »//

5. And many a maiden who was vexed by her love passion//
While separation as well as distance from her beloved had made her meagre//
Announced her divorce by singing:
'The appointed time of the tryst has come, but without him//
How burns my heart for him.'//

The strophes cited have some themes and motifs in common with the troubadours' Occitan love poetry. First, there is the theme of the wind as a messenger of the beloved. This can also be found in troubadour poetry. To give some examples by Bernard de Ventadour:[17]

Quan la frej' aüra venta//
Deves vostre païs//
Vejaire m'es que senta//
Un ven de paradis/
per amor de la genta /
vas cui eu sui aclis//

When the fresh air blows/
From your country,/
It appears me that I feel/
A wind coming from paradise,/
Because of my love for the people/
To whom I am attached.//

And by Peire Vidal:[18]

Ab l'alen tir vas me l'aire/
qu'ieu sen venir de Proensa;/
tot quant es de lai m'agensa/;

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[17] Riquer, *Trovadores*, I, p. 388.

[18] Riquer, *Trovadores*, II, p. 872.

When breathing, I inhale the air/
Which I feel coming from Provence;/
Everything that comes from there, makes me happy./

And by an anonymous poet:[19]

Per la douss'aura qu'es venguda de lay/
Del mieu amic belh e cortes e gay,/
Del sieu alen ai begut un dous ray/;

Because of the sweet air that came from there,/
from my beautiful, courteous and gay friend,/
I have got a sweet ray of his breath. /

And by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras:[20]

Oy, aura dulza, qui vens dever lai,/
Un mun amic dorm e sejormn e jai/
del dolz aleyn un beure m'aportay/
La bocha obre, per gran desir qu'en ai/.[21]

O, sweet air, which comes from there,/
where my friend sleeps, sojourns and lies,/
give me a sip from his sweet breath,/
I open my mouth because of the great desire I have for it./

In the second strophe of the above-mentioned *muwashshaḥ*, the poet/lover complains that Love was cruel to him, which is also a well-known troubadour motif. In the third strophe the sad poet/lover wants, in his turn, the breeze or the wind to take his greetings to his beloved. The fourth strophe presents the physical qualities of the beloved. In troubadour poetry, the physical qualities of the beloved lady are sometimes praised. But here the picture is typically Arabic, with its colour-based metaphors: the hair on the beloved lad's temple is black and curling like the letter N, and the red blushing cheeks are like roses. The poet constructs a fantastic aetiology for the behaviour of the hair: the roses of the lad's cheeks must be prevented from being 'plucked' or

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[19] Riquer, *Trovadores*, III, p. 1696.

[20] Riquer, *Trovadores*, II, p. 844.

[21] Schippers, 'Medieval Languages', pp. 24–25.

‘kissed’. The role of defending the cheeks is given to the hair, which looks like a viper, or sword or curved stick, whose task it is to defend the ‘cave’ of roses. A kind of imaginary link is constructed between these hairs and the red cheeks of the lad. Typical of Arabic is also the possibility of a homosexual beloved: the beloved can be a boy or a girl, whereas in Christian poetry only heterosexuality is possible.

The Romance kharja (‘Exit Refrain’) in Arabic and Hebrew

In the fifth strophe the sad male beloved is compared with a sad Christian girl whose lover did not come to the appointed place at the appointed time. We know from Hebrew poetry that the girl is often a Christian: there the girl is said to be *Edomit* (Christian) or to speak *edomit* (Christian language),[22] namely a Romance dialect. So the fifth strophe, called *kharja* (‘exit refrain’), often contains a Romance text, apparently a quote from a supposed daily reality in a love affair. The text says: Easter, or ‘the time of the appointment’, has come, but the supposedly Arabic love partner has not come yet. The same Romance *kharja* text can also be found in a Hebrew *muwashshaḥ*[23] by the poet Yehudah ha-Lewi (1074–1141), who sent his condolences to his fellow poet Moses ibn Ezra (1035–1138) whose brothers had passed away, leaving him feeling lonely and sad like the Christian girl whose lover did not come to the rendezvous:[24]

5. Shir aḥ meforad be-libbi kidod//
Yashir ke-ʿalmah lebabah yiddod//
Ki moʿadah ba we-lo ba had-dod//
Benid la Pascua ediyawn shin-elu//
Kom cande meu corajon por-elu//

5. The song of the brother who has been left alone scars my heart like fire//
His song is like that of a maiden whose heart flutters//
Because the appointed hour has come, and the beloved has not arrived://
‘The appointed time of the tryst has come, but without him//
How burns my heart for him.’//

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[22] Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, pp. 141, 147.

[23] Yehudah ha-Levi, *Dīwān*, ed. Brody, Berlin 1904, I, pp. 168–69 [no. 111].

[24] Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, p. 135.

Interactions between Arabic, Hebrew and Romance Poetry

The Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshaḥāt* mentioned in the preceding passage suggest a strong interaction between Arabic, Hebrew and Occitan love poetry, especially in Spain. However, we cannot prove it. One of the interactions between the troubadour literature and the secular Hebrew literature of the Arabic tradition[25] that have actually been proved is a catalogue poem by Abraham Bedershi (second half of the thirteenth century CE) entitled the *Turning Sword*,[26] which mentions lots of Hebrew poets from Spain and Provence from the eleventh century CE onwards, as well as two Occitan and two Arabic poets.

Another interaction is the poetic work consisting of the *Cantos* or *Maḥbarot* by the Italian Hebrew poet Immanuele Romano or Manollo Giudeo (1270–1328).[27] Immanuele Romano was inspired by the Arabic tradition that originated in Spain,[28] and he inserted the Romance poetic form called *sonnet* into his rhymed prose texts of the *Cantos*. His rhymed prose narrations were inspired by the Hebrew *maqāmāt* or *maḥbarot* of Yehudah al-Ḥarīzī, who was born in Spain, travelled to Provence and Egypt, and died as an Arabic poet in Aleppo (Syria) in 1225.[29]

Immanuele was also inspired by his colleague Dante, and some typical 'philosophical' expressions from the *dolce stil novo* are to be found in his Hebrew work. In his sixth *Maḥberet* or *Canto* he deals with the same kind of poetic rivalries as Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Divina Commedia: Purgatorio*, this time between Spanish Hebrew poets, Hebrew poets from Provence, and Hebrew poets from Rome and Italy. His Hebrew poems have metres derived from the Arab classical metres. His Hebrew sonnets are according to quantitative Arabic metres as well as the Romance accentuation of the sonnet.[30]

Moreover, Immanuele was also an Italian poet, belonging to the *poeti giocosi* (humoristic poets) of the same school as Cecco Angiolieri (1260–1312). In one of his Italian elegies, we find a clear Arabic influence in his use of hyperbolic images.

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[25] Schippers, 'Les troubadours et la tradition poétique hébraïque', idem., 'Les poètes juifs en Occitanie'.

[26] Polak, *Chotam tochnit*.

[27] Yarden, *The Cantos*.

[28] Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*.

[29] Schippers, 'Medieval Opinions on the Spanish school'.

[30] Schippers, 'Some Questions of Italian Hebrew poetics'.

Latin and the Vernaculars in Italy

Speaking about the relationship between Latin and the vernaculars, the best thing to do is look at the local circumstances in Spain and Italy respectively. At first sight, the situation of Latin is linked to the local situation, especially in Italy where the three great Italian writers of the Trecento—Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio—made important contributions to Latin or did important philological work, such as Boccaccio's 'discovery' of Tacitus. I have already quoted some Latin work by Dante, such as *De vulgari eloquentia*; also important are *De monarchia*, which gives his view on the papacy in relation to the Emperor, and his letters (*Epistulae*). Dante's Latin works are clearly secondary to his poetic works in Italian, but he uses Latin for concepts he could not express otherwise.

Petrarch uses Latin for his main writings, such as his 'letters' (for instance the *Seniles*) and his epic writings, such as his *Africa*. He considers his Italian poems *nugae* ('trifles'), in other words, as not being so important. Boccaccio, with his *Decámeron*, developed Italian vernacular in prose style. So in Italy, the most important vernacular writers also wrote in Latin. The Italian vernaculars did not develop to an extent sufficient to supplant Latin entirely.

In Italy the dichotomy Latin–Italian is not the whole story, because in the beginning Italian poets mainly used Occitan as a vernacular. For example, Dante occasionally used Occitan in his description of the poet Arnaut Daniel in his *Purgatorio*. For prose, including epics and 'historiographic' texts, they often used French, as did Dante's 'master', Brunetto Latini.

In the beginning, the use of vernaculars was functional: Occitan for lyrics, and French for prose. Italian started with lyrics, the *Scuola siciliana* and the various poetry schools of Tuscany; later, it was also used for prose: for storytelling such as Masuccio Salernitano's *Novellino*, and Boccaccio's *Decámeron*. And the Italian *volgarizzamenti* replaced French as the language of 'historiographic' texts.

Latin and the Vernaculars in Spain

In Spain, there are important Latin texts about language and poetry (the *Indiculus Luminosus* by Albar,[31] marking the beginning of Arabic influence on poetry) and religious history (religious debates between Jews, Christians and Muslims), general history (*Historia Gothica, Historia Arabum* by De Rada) and literature (*Disciplina clericalis*, 'translated from the Arabic' by Petrus Alphonsi, alias Moshe Sefardi, a Jewish convert to Christianity, who lived from 1062–1121).

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[31] Schippers, 'Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī's Psalms'.

In the thirteenth century CE, Latin acquired a prominent position in science and philosophy, because of the school of translators in Toledo. This ultimately led to the translation of Arabic (and Hebrew) storytelling and scientific works into Castilian during the reign of Alphonse X the Wise (1221–1284; Alfonso el Sabio).[32]

In the beginning, Occitan, together with its kindred language Catalan, occupied the most prominent position thanks to the troubadours and the Catalan presence in the Mediterranean. Its position was much stronger than that of Castilian, which is also clear from the fact that Dante, in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, mentions only Occitan as a language of Spain; he had apparently never heard of Castilian. Due to Alphonse the Wise's translation school, Castilian finally acquired a position. In Spain we cannot speak of a dichotomy between Latin and a particular vernacular, because at the court of Alphonse the Wise, for instance, several vernaculars were used for various purposes: Occitan was used for troubadour poetry by Spanish poets, among them Guiraut Riquer who asked Alphonse to make an official distinction between *trobador* (poet) and *joglar* (performer); moreover, Galician Portuguese was also used as a poetic language at his court, namely for his obscene poems and for the *Cantigas de Santa María* ('Strophic Songs in Honour of Saint Mary'). Galician Portuguese started as a language for love lyrics resembling the troubadour love lyrics. Castilian was mainly used for prose, in the many translations from Arabic as well as in the *Siete Partidas* ('Law Books') and books about chess and other games. Arabic and Hebrew poetry were also represented at his court by the famous Hebrew poet Todros Abū-'l-ʿĀfiyah (1247–1296), whose introductory texts and poems were composed in Arabic. Just like in Italy, more than one vernacular was used, and also here there was a distribution of functions or 'task' allocation between poetry and prose and other genres.

Conclusion

So in Spain and Italy there is no dichotomy between Latin and a single vernacular; multiple vernaculars are involved. There is thus no question of bilingualism; instead, there was multilingualism. To this I have to add that in Spain as well as in Italy there were also two other important cultural languages in which prose and poetry genres were written, namely Arabic and Hebrew, which exercised their influence on love poetry, storytelling and scientific writings. In lyrical Arabic and Hebrew poetry, use was even sometimes made of Arabic and Romance dialects.

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[32] Schippers; 'Wetenschap vertaald'; Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*.

Appendix: Languages and Literatures in Hispania, Italia and Occitania

HISPANIA 11th–Beginning 14th Century

Languages and Literatures

LATIN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, LITERATURE: Alvar, author of the *Indiculus luminosus*; Petrus Alphonsi [= Moshe Sefardi] (d. *c.* 1140) *Disciplina clericalis*; science; Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, archbishop Toledo: 1210–1247, wrote *Historia Gothica* and *Historia Arabum*; Hermannus Alemannus of Carinthia: *De essentiis*; translator Arabic comment Averroes on Aristotle into Latin; Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), Michael Scot (in 1217 in Toledo); Daniel van Morley, *Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum* (between 1175 and 1187); Ramon de Llull (1252–1315).

CATALAN James the Conqueror, Catalonia (–1276), *Llibre dels Leyts*; Ramon de Llull (1252–1315).

CASTILIAN Alphonse X the Wise (1221–1284) *Siete partidas, Libro de los Juegos de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas.*

GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE Alphonse X the Wise (1221–1284) cantigas de Santa Maria; some obscene poems; in Portugal: cantigas de amigo; cantigas de amor; *Cancioneiro da Ajuda.*

OCCITAN TROUBADOURS WORKING OR COMING FROM SPAIN: Raimon de Miraval (…1190–1220…); Peire Vidal (…1183–1204…); Marcabru (…1130–1149…); Peire d'Alvernha (…1149–1168…); Folquet de Lunel (…1244–1284…); Giraut de Bornelh (…1162–1199…); Huguet de Mataplana (…1185–1213…); Guiraut Riquier (…1254–1296…); Jofre de Foixa (…1267–1295…) Alphonse II of Aragon/ I van Barcelona (1154–1196); Pong de la Guardia (…1154–1188…); Guillem de Bergueda (…1138–1192…). Other poets: Ramon de Llull (1252–1315).

ARABIC POETRY AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE: Abū-l-Walīd al-Ḥimyari (418/1026–440/1048); Ibn Zaydūn (394/1003–463/1071); Wallāda bint Muḥammad al-Mustakfī (d. 484/1091); Ibn Shuhayd (382/992 426/ 103 5); Ibn ʿAmmar (422/1031–476/1084); al-Muʿtamid (1040–1095); Ibn Khafāja (533/1058–533/1139), Ash-Shaqundi (d. 629/1231); Ibn az-Zaqqāq (489/1096–528/1134); Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1148); Ibn Sahl (d. 649/1251); Ibn Zamrak (1333–1398); Ḥafṣah bint al-Ḥajj al-Rakūniyya (12th c.); al-Ruṣāfi (d. 1177); Ibn al-ʿArabi (1076–1148); Ibn Sahl (13th c.); Ibn Rushd, Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Bājjah (12th c.); Abraham ibn Da'ud (12th c.); Moses ibn Ezra (1055–1138), Ramon de Llull (1252–1315).

HEBREW POETRY: Shelomoh Ibn Gabirol (1021–1055); Moses ibn Ezra (1055=1138); Yehudah hal-Lewi (1075–1141); Samuel ha-Nagid (993–1056); Todros Abū'l-ʿĀfiyah (1247–1298…); stories in rhymed prose: Yosef Ibn Zabbārah (b.1140); Yehudah ibn Shabbetay (1168–1225…); Yaʿaqov ben Elʿazar (end 12th–begin. 13th c.); Meshullam da Piers (first half 13th c.–1260…); Shem Tob ben Yosef Falaquera (1225–1290…); Yisḥaq ben Shelomoh Ibn Sahulah (1244–1281…); science and religion: Abraham ibn Da'ud (12th c.).

ITALIA 12th, 13th and Beginning 14th Century
Languages and Literatures

LATIN official documents, treatises, letters, epic works: Dante, Petrarch, *Africa*, and Boccaccio; science: Thomas of Aquino; Constantine of Africa; historiography, didactic poetry; *teatro sacro*.

FRENCH popular historical and didactic writings: Brunetto Latini, *Trésor* (1260–1266); Martino da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise*; (1267–1275); Rustichello da Pisa, *Livres des merveilles de l'Inde*; Marco Polo (*ca.* 1298).

OCCITAN troubadours in Italy: Frederico III di Sicilia (1272–1337); Bartolomeo Zorzi (1266–1273); Alberto Malaspina di Lunigiana (b. second half 11th c.); Lanfranco Cigala (1235–1257); Bonifacio Calvo (1253–1266); Rambertino Buvallelli; Sordello di Goito (1220–1269); Paolo Lanfranchi; Pier de la Caravana di Pistoia (1282–1295); Perseval Doria (1228–1264); important occitan troubadours in Italy: Peire Vidal, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Aimeric the Peguilhan.

ITALIAN DIALECTS poets of Sicilian school: Pier de la Vigna; Jacopo da Lentini, Guido delle Colonne, Rinaldo d'Aquino, Stefano Protonotaro da Messina, Giacomino Pugliese; poesia cortese: Guittone d'Arezzo, Buonagiunta Orbicciani, Chiaro Davanzati; Dante da Maiano; Dolce stil nuovo: Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Gianni Alfani, Dino Frescobaldi, Cino da Pistoia; poesia giocosa, comica realistica: Rustico Filippi, Cecco Angiolieri, Manollo Giudeo [=Immanuele da Roma]; Federico II (1194–1258); Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio.

ARABIC on Sicily: poetry: Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (10th c.), Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (late 10th/early 11th c.), Ibn Ḥamdīs (1056–1133), ʿAli al-Ballanūbi; ʿAbd al-Raḥman ibn Abī al-ʿAbbās al-Kātib, known as al-Aṭrābanishi (i.e. from Trapani); science: Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Ḥasan; Ibn Sabʿīn.

HEBREW poetry and prose: Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167); Immanuele da Roma (1261–1332); Sicily: poet Anatoli ben Joseph (1150–1215); science and history: Abraham ibn Ezra, Yehudah ben Shlomoh ha-Kohen Ibn Mitqah.

OCCITANIA 12th, 13th and Beginning of 14th Century
Languages and Literatures

LATIN Andreas Cappellanus 'De Amore' [around 1185]; Petrarch; etc.

OCCITAN poetry: Alfonso of Aragon; Richard Cor de Leo; Guilhem d'Aquitania; Martín Codax; Azalais de Porcairagues; Bertran de Born; Beatriz de Dia; Folquet de Marselha; Jaufré Rudel; Raimbaut de Vaqueyras; Guillem Ademar; Peire d'Alvernha; Monge de Montaudon; Peirol (Hugues de Peirols); Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun (ou Provençal); Uc la Tor; Guilhem de Ventadorn; Peire Cardenal.

HEBREW POETRY AND PROSE: Yehudah al-Ḥarīzī (1160–1225); Abraham Bedershi; Yisḥaq bar Yehudah bar Nethaniel ha-Seniri (1170–1230); David de Lunel (Yerahi); Aryeh Yehudah of Montpellier; Yehoshaʿ; Melguieri; Yedaiah ben Abraham Bedarshi ha-Penini [En Bonet] (*ca.* 1270–1340); Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167); Yehudah ibn Tibbon (1120–1190); Samuel ibn Tibbon (*ca.* 1235); Joseph Qimḥi (1105–1170); David Qimḥi (1160–1235); Mosheh Qimḥi (d. 1190); Profiat Duran (d. *ca.* 1414).

CHAPTER 2

Latin and the Vernaculars: The Case of Erasmus

Ari H. Wesseling†

> Just imagine the *Colloquies* written in the racy Dutch of the sixteenth century! What could he not have produced if, instead of gleaning and commenting upon ancient adages, he had made a collection of Dutch proverbs?[1]

The interaction and competition between Latin and the vernacular languages is a fascinating feature of the Renaissance and the Reformation.[2] Many authors were bilingual; the names of Petrarch, More, and Milton spring to mind, not to mention Luther, Ulrich von Hutten, and Zwingli. Erasmus, by contrast, wrote Latin exclusively. On the basis of his lifelong devotion to the cause of classical Latinity, one might infer, with Huizinga, that he had no use for vernacular proverbs. The opposite, however, is true. In the *Adagia* he quotes—in Latin translation—over 250 sayings of Dutch provenance. A rare and, in fact, unique testimony to his interest in the vernacular is found in the *Collectanea* (1500). In it he quotes and explains a Dutch proverb as an independent item (no. 723), on a par with ancient adages, and notes that he includes it out of respect for the popular speech of his day ('ne nihil a vulgo mutuati videamur neve nostram aetatem usquequaque contempsisse'). That he includes a Dutch proverb in his (earliest) collection of ancient adages is certainly surprising. Although he never used it in other works, it must have been one of his favourite proverbs. It has all the characteristics of an adage, he says, except that it is neither ancient nor found in a classical author. He quotes the proverb in the following way: 'Prospectandum vetulo cane latrante.' The Dutch original is 'Als die oude hont bast so salmen uutsien' ('Beware when the old dog is barking', that is, an old watch dog never barks without good reason). The sense is: when a greybeard gives the alarm, there is real danger lurking.[3]

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[1] Huizinga, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, p. 54.

[2] This article is partly based on my 'Dutch Proverbs and Ancient Sources'.

[3] *ASD* II, 9, pp. 243–44, ll. 270–75. See Suringar, no. 70. Petrus Montanus plagiarized this item from Erasmus's *Collectanea* and included it in his own *Adagia* (1504). He appended a piece of propaganda 'pro Germania' against the cultural superiority of the Italians. See the commentary on Erasmus, *Adagia* 3535, *ASD* II, 8, p. 43.

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He follows it with two other proverbs on barking dogs. The first, no. 724, 'Canes qui plurimum latrant, perraro mordent' ('Barking dogs don't bite'), may well be of vernacular provenance as well. Anyway, it is not found in this form in ancient authors. It is in Walther's dictionary of medieval Latin proverbs, but the source cited there is late, dating from the 17th century.[4] Erasmus notes: 'This proverb, too,[5] is used *nowadays* to refer to slanderous and menacing people' ('Dicitur hac aetate et hoc in homines maledicos et minaces'). Equivalents from Dutch and German are quoted by Suringar; the Dutch equivalent is 'Blaffende honden bijten niet', the German one 'Hunde die bellen, beissen nicht'.[6]

His comment on the second, no. 725, 'Canes omnibus ignotis allatrant' ('Dogs bark at everyone they don't know'), is very brief. He merely notes that it applies to people who rebuke what they fail to understand, 'in eos qui quicquid non intelligunt, id damnant ac repraehendunt.'[7] He undoubtedly took this from Giovanni Pico's famous *Oratio de dignitate hominis* (60): defending the noble science of natural magic, which explores the mysterious harmony of the universe, Pico concludes: 'Et haec satis de magia, de qua haec diximus, quod scio esse plures qui, sicut canes ignotos semper adlatrant, ita et ipsi saepe damnant oderuntque quae non intelligunt.'[8] There is a precise parallel in a saying of Heraclitus, quoted by Plutarch, *Moralia* 787C: Κύνες γὰρ καὶ βαύζουσιν ὧν ἂν μὴ γινώσκουσι ('Dogs bark at everyone they don't know'). Erasmus surprisingly never refers to the Greek saying.

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[4] No. 2287a 'Canes plurimum latrantes raro mordent,' quoted from MS Cassel, Philolog. 8^ {***} 11 (s. xvii), fol. 27.

[5] *ASD* II, 9, p. 244, ll. 276–78. 'Et' in Erasmus's comment refers back to no. 722, a Greek proverb on the subject of vain threats. It may seem strange that 'et' should not refer to the immediately preceding item, but such editorial irregularities are not uncommon for Erasmus, at least in the *Adagia* (for a striking example see no. 3774, *ASD* II, 8, p. 164, ll. 828–32). I surmise that he incorporated no. 723 into the materials for the 1500 edition only at a later stage.

[6] Sartorius, *Adagiorum chiliades tres*, no. 2778, quoted by Suringar, no. 34. See also Singer, s.v. Hund, nrs. 346–58; a French version (no. 349) is 'Chacun chien qui aboye ne mort pas' (Not every barking dog bites). The Latin proverb in Erasmus' *Collectanea* also appears in Fausto Andrelini's *Epistolae proverbiales* (at the end of no. 2), printed in 1508; but its composition dates back to 1490, which raises the question as to who borrowed from whom; see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Andrelini, 1, p. 55. See also the head-note on *Adagia* 2700 (entitled 'Canes timidi vehementius latrant'), *ASD* II, 6, p. 479.

[7] *ASD* II, 9, p. 244, ll. 279–80, and the commentary of Van Poll, p. 245.

[8] Erasmus flouts natural magic along with alchemy in his defense of the *Colloquies, ASD* I, 3, p. 746, ll. 199–202. He quotes another expression explicitly from Pico ('Picus Mirandulanus') in *Collectanea* 466, namely, 'Non omnia pari filo conuenit,' while expressing doubt as to its antiquity ('e medio fortasse sumptum'). Accordingly, he excluded it from the *Adagia*. (It may have escaped his attention that Pico apparently borrowed from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.340–41: 'Debent … non … omnia prorsum esse pari filo,' i.e. 'It must needs be that not all [atoms] are of equal size.') In the preface to the *Collectanea* Erasmus counts Pico, Ermolao Barbaro, and Angelo Poliziano among the greatest authors ('maximi authores') and praises

These three proverbs do not reappear in the *Adagia*, with the exception of no. 723, relegated to the very end of *Adagia* no. 208 to illustrate the ancient proverb 'Eum ausculta, cui quatuor sunt aures' ('Listen to the person who has four ears').[9] Erasmus wanted to limit the enlarged collection exclusively to ancient adages;[10] this also explains why he suppressed his praise for the Neo-Latin authors Pico, Barbaro, and Poliziano in the new introduction. One can only speculate as to why he decided to exclude no. 725, a truly ancient adage, from the enlarged collection. It seems that the passage in Plutarch escaped his attention (he translated several moral essays of Plutarch, but not the one in question).

As noted above, the presence of vernacular proverbs in the *Adagia* is quite strong. An interesting example is found in Erasmus's explanation of 'a Sardonic laugh.' He illustrates the ancient etymology of this expression (ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι τοὺς ὀδόντας, i.e., to part the lips and show the closed teeth, as people may do when laughing bitterly or sneeringly) by referring to the habit of horses, which bare the teeth when they are about to bite. Erasmus, though often enough on horseback himself, does not rely here on personal experience. Rather, he has in mind the Dutch proverb 'Hy lacht als een peert dat bijten wil' ('He laughs like a horse that wants to bite'). We also learn from his comment that 'een paardelach' (in Dutch; in German: 'Pferdelachen' or 'Rossgelächter', 'a horselaugh') was a current expression.[11]

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them for their copious use of adages (*Ep.* 126, ll. 127–43). He quotes at least eight proverbs from Poliziano in the *Collectanea* (nrs. 12, 38, 321, 396, 404, 477, 481, 496), but suppressed his name in the corresponding items in the *Adagia*, after he had identified relevant classical sources. On his use of works by Italian humanists in compiling the *Collectanea* see also Heinimann, 'Zu den Anfängen der humanistischen Paroemiologie'. A humanist source used by Erasmus for the Aldine 1508 edition of the *Adagia* is Aldus Manutius' own prefaces to various editions—a link which still needs to be explored.

[9] *ASD* II, 1, pp. 320–22, ll. 429–69. 'Idem,' says Erasmus, 'nunc vulgus nostratium effert subsordida quidem, sed tamen apta metaphora, cum aiunt: 'Prospectantum vetulo latrante cane.' (*ibid.* p. 322, ll. 466–67).

[10] An interesting exception is the non-classical proverb 'E cantu dignoscitur auis' (*Adagia* 3121, *ASD* II, 7, p. 108, ll. 194–99), which Erasmus probably took from an Italian humanist source: 'Refertur et hoc a quibusdam,' he says, 'etiam si mihi nondum apud idoneos autores [i.e. ancient authors] repertum.' See Singer, s.v. Vogel, nrs. 1–10, for medieval versions (Latin and German) of the proverb.

[11] *Adagia* no. 2401 'Risus Sardonius,' *ASD* II, 5, p. 290, ll. 44–45: 'Quem morem [to uncover the teeth] aiunt equis etiam inesse, si quando parent mordere, unde vulgo nunc risum

Although the amount of vernacular proverbs cited in the *Adagia* is considerable, their role is subservient and instrumental. Erasmus uses them only as a means to clarify or illustrate a given ancient adage, or to demonstrate that it lives on in his own time.[12] In his other works, vernacular proverbs, though far fewer in number, play a more important part. He uses them as additional evidence or even treats them on a par with ancient wisdom. Originating from and used by the linguistic community of his own day, they can serve as evidence and have a persuasive power in their own right; and so he employs them, like ancient adages, to confirm an assertion or to bolster an argument. He also uses them to lend wit and spice to his style. His use of vernacular expressions is not limited to a specific genre or period: they are found in a large variety of his works, ranging from the deeply serious *De contemptu mundi* to the more light-hearted *Praise of Folly* and *Lingua*, from various colloquies to a number of letters.

In *De contemptu mundi*, as its modern editor has seen, the sentence 'Concoloribus plumis aves una volitant' is a translation of the proverb 'Vogelen van eender veer vligen gern tsamen' ('Birds of a feather flock together'). This non-classical maxim is introduced as 'a proverb commonly used by everyone' ('proverbium quod vulgo nemo non dictitat').[13] Erasmus has paraphrased another proverb from the vernacular ('vulgi sermo') in the following passage: 'Quin esto iuxta vulgi sermonem quantum eis malitiae tantum sit et fortunae…' ('Let that popular proverb be true: "Their luck is as good as they are wicked" [but the day of revenge will come!]').[14] The underlying Dutch version is 'Hoe argher schalck hoe beter gheluck' ('The worse a scoundrel is, the better his luck'). In *Lingua*, 'Vasa quae sunt inania plurimum sonare' is the proverb 'Ledighe vaten clincken seer,' or, in its modern version, 'Holle vaten klinken het meest' ('Empty vessels make the most sound').[15] An interesting example

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huiusmodi risum equinum vocant.' The Dutch proverb is quoted by Sartorius, no. 2479. See Harrebomée, 2, p. 164. Another expression which may be added to Suringar's nearly exhaustive compilation of Dutch proverbs in the *Adagia* is found in no. 3674 (*ASD* II, 8, p. 112, ll. 904–911), 'Calliae defluunt pennae,' where Erasmus remarks that those who have been stripped of their possessions are said to have been 'plucked and sheared' ('*Deplumati* dicuntur ac *detonsi* qui facultatibus exuti sunt'). In ancient Latin, neither word is found in the metaphorical sense required here ('plundered, robbed'). Perhaps, he was thinking of the expression 'ghepluct en gheschooren' ('plucked and fleeced'); see *WNT*, s.v. scheren, 14, col. 473.

[12] See Suringar's compilation from the *Adagia*.

[13] *ASD* V, 1 p. 58, l. 516.

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 70, ll. 852–53.

[15] *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 54, ll. 905–06. Other vernacular proverbs are found on p. 43, l. 574; p. 73, ll. 534–37; and p. 83, ll. 893–94.

is in *Exomologesis*, Erasmus' treatise on confession (1524).[16] Inveighing against craftsmen of his own time and their habit of cheating customers, he declares that this practice is so common and accepted that it has given rise to a proverb: 'adeo ut proverbio quoque dicatur unumquemque in suo opificio furem esse' ('so much so that there is even a proverb "Everyone is a thief in his own trade" '). This non-classical proverb is taken from the Dutch or German vernacular. The Dutch version is 'Elck is een dief tsijnder neeringe';[17] a German collection has 'Alleman ein deif [sic] in syner neringe.'[18]

De pueris instituendis has a vernacular saying on old parrots ('vulgi proverbio: Psittacum vetulum negligere ferulam.', 'an old parrot ignores the rod').[19] Erasmus cites it in the *Adagia* (no. 161) to illustrate the expression 'senis mutare linguam' ('to teach an old man a new language').[20] The (non-classical) saying is not attested in Dutch proverb collections, but Wander quotes 'Ein alter Papagai achtet die Ruthe nicht' ('An old parrot does not heed the rod').[21] Unfortunately, he gives no source. The question of Erasmus' familiarity with German is discussed below (p. 40).

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[16] LB V, col. 164 C.

[17] Quoted from Sartorius, no. 2697; it also appears in a Dutch proverb collection of the late fifteenth century; see Harrebomée, 1, p. 130 and 3, p. 160; WNT, s.v. dief, 3, col. 2519. Erasmus censures the same practice of cheating in his *Explanatio Symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 317, ll. 338–40: 'Nec ideo molitores, pistores ac vestiarii fures non sunt, rem alienam vel subtrahentes vel vitiantes, quia fit a plerisque.' I am grateful to Michael Heath for calling my attention to the proverb under discussion; his translation (and commentary) of *Exomologesis* will appear in *Collected Works of Erasmus*.

[18] Quoted from the *Monosticha* (1514; 1, 73) by Antonius Tunnicius, a native of Münster in Westphalia. He provided each proverb with a translation in Latin hexameters. His translation of the proverb under discussion is 'Cleptes in proprio quaestu deprehenditur omnis.' See Wander, 1, s.v. Dieb, no. 155; compare *ibid.* 2, s.v. Handwerk, nrs. 23 and 68. See also Walther, no. 32247 e, which is based on Wander.

[19] ASD I, 2, p. 28, ll. 3–4.

[20] *Adagia* no. 161, ASD II, 1, p. 274, ll. 461–62. In the prefatory letter to the *Colloquies* in the 1519 edition, Erasmus remarks that the epitome of Valla's *Elegantiae*, which he had made on the request of some acquaintance, was wasted on this 'old parrot': 'usque adeo plumbeum erat ingenium vetuli psitaci.' This phrase, too, is based on the proverb 'Senex psittacus negligit ferulam.' See ASD I, 3, p. 73, ll. 11–12; *Ep.* 909, l. 14; and, for the identity of the 'parrot' (Robert Fisher?), the introduction to the epitome or *Paraphrasis,* ASD I, 4, p. 193. Interestingly, Aldus Manutius quotes in Greek a precise parallel in the prefatory letter to his edition of Firmicus Maternus (1499): γερόντιον γαρ ψιττακος _μελε_ σκυτάλην (Dionisotti and Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore*, vol. 1, p. 28).

[21] Wander, 3, s.v. Papagai.

He occasionally employs a vernacular proverb in such a casual and implicit way that we need to depend on evidence from other works to recognize it as such. For example, in the *Annotations* on the New Testament, when paraphrasing Paul's words on the arcane wisdom of God, which should remain hidden from the profane crowd (1. Corinthians 2, 7), Erasmus uses the expression 'to cast roses before swine,' 'ne rosas obiiciamus porcis', where we would expect 'to cast pearls [margaritas] before swine,' as Matthew (7, 6) famously has it.[22] A casual variation, perhaps? No: in discussing the latter passage in the *Collectanea* (no. 4), Erasmus again quotes the expression 'Don't strew *roses* before swine,' which he explicitly identifies there as a vernacular saying of his own time: 'Manet hodieque vulgo tritum adagium "Ne suibus rosas obsperseris." '[23] The Dutch expression is 'rozen voor de varkens strooien' or, as Sartorius has it, 'Ghy stroijt roesen voer verkens' ('You are strewing roses before swine').[24] Incidentally, the Bible passage in the *Collectanea* (no. 4) does not appear in the *Adagia*, in accordance with Erasmus' intention to limit the enlarged collection exclusively to ancient adages.

A rather problematic example is Erasmus' annotation on Paul's words addressed to the Corinthians, 'For you are the very seal of my apostleship' (1. Corinthians 9, 2). To elucidate the 'seal' metaphor ('sigillum'), he proposes the following parallel: 'Likewise, when we want to make clear that something is absolutely certain and unquestionable, we say (using commonly known expressions) that it is "attested by a sealed letter" ('quemadmodum *vulgatis* etiam proverbiis quod vehementer certum et indubitatum intelligi volumus, id *dicimus* "obsignatis literis testatum" '). The words introducing the expression seem to suggest that it is taken from the vernacular. Perhaps the Dutch saying referred to is 'Gij hebt daer segel ende brief af' ('You have seal and letter on that matter', that is, you can be absolutely sure that what I said is true).[25]

How can we recognize a vernacular proverb as such in Erasmus's works? In the examples given above, the words that introduce each proverb suggest that Erasmus was thinking of a vernacular expression. The next step to be taken is to identify the proverb he had in mind. At this point, German and, above all, Dutch sources come in for consideration. A familiarity with Erasmus' native language is in fact indispensable.

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[22] *ASD* VI, 8, p. 60, l. 333.

[23] *ASD* II, 9, p. 48, ll. 290–91.

[24] Sartorius, *Adagiorum chiliades tres*, no. 419, quoted with other early sources by Suringar, no. 198; *WNT*, s.v. roos, 13, col. 1311. Cf. Walther, no. 31947 'Turpe rosas suibus, sanctum dare turpe catellis.' See also Singer, s.v. Schwein, nrs. 41 and 44.

[25] Quoted by Sartorius, *Adagiorum chiliades tres*, no. 1550. See also Harrebomée, 1, p. 89 and *WNT*, s.v. zegel, 27, col. 1568, which quotes another example of the metaphorical use of 'zegel en brief geven.' See also Singer, s.v. Siegel, no. 6, quoted from Luther (1542). I wish to thank Miekske van Poll-van de Lisdonk, the editor of Erasmus' *Annotations, ASD* VI, 8, for this information.

Erasmus rarely refers to his native language by name, with the exception of *De recta pronuntiatione*, in which he occasionally compares features of pronunciation in a few regional dialects within the Low Countries.[26] In the *Adagia* he contents himself with such vague formulas as 'hodieque vulgo dicitur,' 'apud nos,' 'apud nostrates.'[27] Discussing the pronunciation of diphthongs in Greek, in his annotations on the New Testament, he specifically refers to 'lingua nostra, Hollandicam dico.'[28] Hollanders speak 'Hollands', a form of Dutch, 'Hollandice': in early Christianity, even common sailors spoke Greek or Latin, 'like we speak "Hollands" ' ('nautae Graece Latineque loquebantur, quemadmodum nos Hollandice'), he writes from Basel to a Hollander.[29]

In addition to the vernacular, Erasmus occasionally draws on popular beliefs in the Low Countries concerning health and the human body. In *De pueris instituendis* he recalls that when struck in the face by some object, an expectant mother immediately plucks it away and transfers it to a less obvious, hidden part of the body. By doing so, the inevitable deformation of her child is transferred from its face to a different part of its body. From the context it is clear that Erasmus himself shared this widely held belief, which has it that a pregnant woman must not be frightened because the evil impression is transmitted to the foetus.[30] Even though Erasmus' attention is focused predominantly on the ancient world and that of early Christianity, memories and associations connected with the Low Countries crop up in many of his works.[31]

In the following I focus on the *Colloquies* and attempt to present an exhaustive discussion of proverbs which are probably taken from the vernacular.

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[26] See Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, 1, pp. 111–18; Poelhekke, 'The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus'.

[27] See Suringar, iv.

[28] 'Apud Gallos adhuc audias diphthongum *oi* et *ai, ou* et *eu*, in *fide* [foi], *facto* [fait], *fulgure* [foudre] seu *pulvere* [poudre] et *duo* [deux], itidem in lingua nostra, Hollandicam dico, in *foeno* [hooi], *tenaci* [taai], *sene* [oud], *mendacio* [leugen].' *LB* VI, col. 399 F.

[29] *Ep.* 1469, ll. 139–40.

[30] *ASD* I, 2, p. 27, ll. 12–16. The passage has been clarified by IJsewijn, 'A Passage of Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis*, Explained', who points out that the belief under discussion is still alive in Flanders. See also Roodenburg, 'The Maternal Imagination', and my 'Dutch Proverbs and Ancient Sources', p. 362 and n. 40.

[31] I here paraphrase an observation made by IJsewijn, who has been so kind as to read an early version of this chapter.

A clear example is found in the dispute between the learned lady and the abbot, *Colloquium abbatis et eruditae* ('The abbot and the Learned Woman'). Opposed to learning in women, the abbot comes up with the following objection: 'I have often heard the common saying "A wise woman is twice foolish"' ('Frequenter audivi vulgo dici foeminam sapientem bis stultam esse'), to which the lady retorts, 'That saying is common indeed, but it is used only by fools' ('Istuc quidem dici solet, sed a stultis.').[32] The saying is the Dutch proverb 'Een wijze vrouw is tweewerf zot.'[33]

In *Convivium profanum* ('The Profane Feast', 1522) one reads: 'It is hard to accustom an old dog to a leash' ('Difficile est canem vetulum loris assuescere … Vetulus canis non facile assuescit loro.').[34] This is the Dutch proverb 'Oude honden sijn quaet bandich te maken.'[35] Erasmus identifies it as a vernacular proverb in the *Adagia*, no. 161, where he uses it to illustrate the expression 'senis mutare linguam' (to teach an old man a new language), saying: 'A popular but nonetheless elegant proverb has it that it is too late to accustom old dogs to leashes' ('vulgo quidem, attamen haudquaquam ineleganter dicitur, serum esse canes vetulos loris assuefacere').[36] In the same colloquy he also quotes a metrical variant of this proverb, which he probably took from a medieval Latin source; it appears in Walther's dictionary of medieval proverbs, no. 2936, 'Colla canum veterum nequeunt attingere lora.'

In the opening scene of *Convivium religiosum* ('The Godly Feast', 1522), Erasmus contrasts life in the countryside with the bustle of the city. He then censures the greed of priests and monks, 'who for the sake of gain usually prefer to live in populous cities, following the precept of a certain blind beggar who took pleasure in the jostling of a crowd because, he would say, business is where the people are' ('caeci cuiusquam mendici cui dulce erat premi turbis hominum, quod diceret illic esse quaestum, ubi esset populus').[37] The same anecdote appears in *Adagia* no. 2945 'Qui eget, in turba versetur' ('Those in need should hang around in a crowd'). Here Erasmus points out that he took the anecdote from the vernacular ('hodiernis temporibus vulgo iactatur fabula de caeco mendico') and suggests that the saying uttered by the beggar is also of popular provenance ('sententiam populari ioco celebrem, ibi quaestum esse, ubi sit hominum frequentia'). The Dutch saying referred to is 'Bi dat volc leyt de neringe' ('Business is where the people are').[38] Erasmus associates it with a blind beggar. Later sources put it in the mouth of a fishmonger. Petrus Rabus of Rotterdam, who translated (and annotated) the *Colloquies* in the late seventeenth century, recalls 'the Dutch proverb about the fishmonger who wheeled his cart into church, saying, "Business is where the people are." '[39]

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[32] *ASD* I, 3, p. 407, ll. 133–35.

[33] See below, pp. 40–41.

[34] *ASD* I, 3, p. 201, ll. 2464–65; p. 49, l. 553.

[35] Quoted from *Proverbia communia* (a fifteenth-century collection of Dutch proverbs) by Harrebomée, 1, p. 30; 3, p. 115. Suringar, no. 206. An anonymous translation of the *Colloquies*, first published in 1622, reads, ''T is swaer oude honden bandts te maecken. […] Een ouden hondt laet zich niet licht aen den bandt wennen' (337 IK). The early Dutch translations of the *Colloquies* are discussed by Bijl, *Erasmus in het Nederlands tot 1617*, pp. 273–99. For bibliographical descriptions see Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2, E 756–63. I have used the translation of 1622 (E 758).

[36] *ASD* II, 1, p. 275, ll. 470–71.

[37] *ASD* I, 3, p. 231, ll. 13–14 = p. 221, ll. 13–14.

In *A Dialogue Between a Liar and a Friend of Truth*, Philetymus remarks that liars are also prone to stealing; 'this vice,' he tells the liar, 'is closely related to yours, as is also attested by a popular proverb' ('Hoc vitium esse tuo cognatum testatur etiam populare proverbium.').[40] Modern commentators hold that the reference is to the medieval Latin proverb 'Mendax est furax' ('A liar is also a thief'), which appears in Walther's dictionary.[41] Erasmus, however, quotes a very similar proverb of Dutch provenance in *Lingua*, his treatise on the uses and abuses of language, which was published just two years after the colloquy (1525). There he writes: 'Nec temere vulgo dictum est Ostende mihi mendacem, ego tibi ostendam furem'.[42] The proverb Erasmus had in mind is 'Wijst my een loegener [leugenaar], Ick wijse v en dief' ('Show me a liar, I'll show you a thief').[43] Incidentally, the name Philetymus means 'friend of truth' (φιλ-ἔτυμον), not 'friend of honour' (τιμή). In fact, a *scholium* in the early editions explains the name Philetymus as 'amans veritatis,' while interpreting Pseudocheus (the liar's name) as 'fusor mendaciorum,' that is, one who 'pours forth lies'; the second part of this compound is apparently derived from χέω.[44] The name was probably inspired by the title of Lucian's dialogue *Philopseudes*, 'The Lover of Lies.'

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[38] See Suringar, no. 188, who quotes from Servilius, *Adagiorum epitome* (1545), p. 219.

[39] 'Of gelijk 't Hollandsche spreekwoord is van den man, die met sijn mosselwagen in de kerk reed, zeggende: by 't volk is de nering'. See also Harrebomée, 1, p. 393.

[40] *ASD* I, 3, p. 320, ll. 10–12.

[41] No. 14643 a; see also Singer, s.v. lügen, nrs. 192–95.

[42] *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 83, ll. 893–94.

[43] *Gemeene Duytsche Spreckwoorden*. Kampen, 1550, p. 57; Kloeke, *Kamper spreekwoorden*, p. 32. Harrebomée, 1, p. 131. It is significant that Arnoldus Montanus quotes the same Dutch proverb in the margin of his edition of Erasmus's *Colloquia* (Amsterdam, 1658), 244.

[44] See the *scholia* in the 1531 edition, p. 966. Erasmus also uses the word 'pseudocheus' in *Ep*. 1531, l. 43.

In *Convivium poeticum* ('The Poetic Feast', 1523), the hilarious host calls his maidservant Margareta names, to which she replies in her down-to-earth way: 'I don't care, calling me names won't make me any fatter or thinner' ('Istae nomenculaturae *nec obesiorem* me reddunt *nec macilentiorem*.').[45] Her (non-classical) expression may well be of vernacular provenance; perhaps it represents the Dutch phrase 'niet vet en niet mager' ('neither fat nor thin').[46] Commentators agree that Margareta is based on Margarete Büsslin, Erasmus' Xanthippe, who kept house for him during his residence in Basel and Freiburg (even to think here of his other Margaret, the learned daughter of Thomas More, would be inept and 'bot' to use an Erasmian expression).[47] It is tempting therefore to surmise that a phrase of German origin underlies her reply. No such phrase, however, is found in Wander's *Sprichwörter-Lexikon*.

Nomenclatura is a learned term from Pliny's *Natural History*, Erasmus' favourite encyclopaedia. That the housemaid should use it achieves a comic effect, if only because she employs it in connection with terms of abuse. That she should mangle it as 'nomenculatura' is burlesque, because it suggests *culus* and, perhaps, *culina* (kitchen), the place where she is supposed to stay. Anyway, it is a nice example of *Küchenlatein* or 'culinaria elegantia,' as Erasmus once put it.[48] Perhaps he was also thinking of the form *nomenculator*, a common variant of *nomenclator* in classical sources;[49] it denoted a slave who told his master the names of those he met in the street.

When her master tells her to return to the kitchen, Margareta defiantly replies with 'the old saw "It's easier to call up a devil than to drive him away" '

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[45] *ASD* I, 3, p. 345, l. 30.

[46] Harrebomée, 2, p. 50 (no sources given). The early translation of 1622 (329 D) reads: 'Sulcke toenamen, en maken my *noch vetter noch magerder*.'

[47] 'Hominem stupidum [...] vulgo dicimus "bot" pro "Boeoto",' he notes in an adage, entitled 'A Boeotian pig' (no. 906, *ASD* II, 2, p. 419, l. 140). He refers to the same word in *The Shipwreck*; see below. On his housekeeper see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Büsslin; and Bierlaire, *La familia d'Érasme*, pp. 90–91. Another servant present at the feast described in the colloquy is given the name Mus (p. 349, l. 169; p. 351, l. 230; p. 356, l. 394), which has a double meaning: 'mouse' and 'parasite'; see *Adagia* 2468, entitled 'Muris in morem.' (*ASD* II, 5, p. 331, ll. 70–77.

[48] *ASD* I, 3, p. 78, l. 60. Perhaps, Erasmus owed the phrase to Valla and his apologias against Poggio Bracciolini (1452–1453). Valla qualifies one of Poggio's barbarisms as a 'culinarium vocabulum' in *Apologus*, a witty kitchen-dialogue between a scholar and his cook about the Latinity of Poggio's letters. See the edition by Camporeale, 486, and Pfeiffer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 183–87.—'Nomenclatura' is the normal form in Erasmus ('mention of the name'): *Epp.* 531, l. 551; 549, l. 13; 658, l. 14; 2379, l. 278.

[49] For instance, Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.30.23; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.4.15.

('Vetus dictum est: Proclivius est evocare cacodaemonem quam abigere.').[50] Perhaps this, too, is taken from the vernacular; it is not attested in Walther, nor is it in Dutch proverb collections;[51] but Singer quotes from Sebastian Franck the proverb 'Es ist gut den teuffel zu hauss laden, aber böss sein abkommen' ('It's easy to invite the devil into one's house, but hard to get rid of him').[52]

Margareta's reply leads to a comic attempt to get her out of the way. Having at last withdrawn to her kitchen, she sourly remarks that the dinner-party has lasted long enough; that the guests have been at the table too long: '(ait) satis diu sessum esse.'[53] The unusual phrase, with 'sessum' used in the passive voice (and not as a supine), is probably meant to be another comic example of poor Latin: it is hard to find any parallel for this phrase in classical literature. It is tempting to assume that Erasmus is playing on the German form *gesessen* (from the verb *sitzen*).

It should be pointed out that evidence of Erasmus' familiarity with German is rather scant and contradictory.[54] Writing around 1498 to a German from Lübeck ('cuidam Lubecensi'—probably the father of his pupil Christian Northoff), Erasmus apologized for not using the German vernacular, declaring that his German was inadequate: 'I have written to you to the above effect at greater length than I should; and have also done so in Latin, not because I despise your native tongue and mine but because it would not have been easy for me to write in the vernacular, nor would it have been easy for you to understand what I wrote' ('Haec pluribus ad te scripsi quam debui, et quidem Latine, non fastidio linguae nostratis, sed quod neque facile id potuissem, neque tu facile intellexisses.').[55]

It seems reasonable to assume that Erasmus picked up at least some German from 1521 onwards, during his many years' residence in Basel and Freiburg im Breisgau. When he pretended in 1522 not to know the language, Duke George of Saxony, who wanted him to read certain works of Luther (and to write against the reformer), refused to take this claim seriously.[56] Moreover, when Leo Jud, a supporter of Zwingli, published a biased account of Erasmus' view of the Eucharist, Erasmus composed a detailed refutation within two months after its appearance (May 1526), even though Jud's tract was written in German (*Des Hochgelerten Erasmi von Roterdam, und Doctor Luthers maynung vom Nachtmal unsers Herren Jesu Christi*). And still he claimed not to know the language.[57]

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[50] *ASD* I, 3, p. 345, l. 38.

[51] The early translation (1622, p. 329 EF) reads: ' 't Is een out [een] spreeck-woort, men can den duyvel veel lichter doen comen, als wech heeten gaen.'

[52] Singer, s.v. Teufel, no. 198; see also Wander, 4, p. 1061.

[53] *ASD* I, 3, p. 356, l. 399.

[54] See the excellent discussion by Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme* 1, pp. 137–44, who concludes that his knowledge of German was sufficient for daily use. Halkin, 'Érasme et les langues', pp. 573–74, arrived at the same conclusion.

[55] *Ep.* 82, ll. 39–41. Translation R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, *CWE*, 1, p. 167.

[56] *Ep.* 1313, ll. 84–85; and *Ep.* 1340.

As a matter of fact, he knew it well enough to review translations of his own works.[58] On the other hand, he ordered an assistant to translate a German ecclesiastical document (*Erklärung zur Kirchenordnung*) for his own use, which proves that as late as 1533 his knowledge of German was inadequate.[59] There are just a few scattered references to German words in his letters. In 1523 he reports about a big fish, a trout, caught in the Lake of Konstanz, which the natives call 'throtta' ('piscem ingentem, quam throttam appellat vulgus.').[60] In Freiburg (1534), he is suffering from a disease, which to his mind is similar to gout, the illness he knew so well; the epidemic is called 'Souch' and 'Gesucht' by the locals, he notes, which is best rendered as 'the disease' (compare *Sucht* and *Gesüchte*).[61] He also refers to a German term in the 1533 edition of the *Adagia*, no. 3906, where he explains the expression 'More silent than an Areopagite' (a member of the highest judicial court of Athens) by referring to the Westphalian *vemen* of his own day, or local courts of law, whose members were bound by solemn vows of secrecy; they are commonly referred to as 'Certi,' he says: '*Certi* vulgo dicuntur'; he was apparently familiar with the vernacular terms for these judges: *Gewissene* and *Wissende*, meaning 'those who know.'[62] All in all, one can assume that he became increasingly familiar with Alemannic-German during his stay in Basel and Freiburg.

Obviously, such formulas as 'vulgo dicitur' do not always signal a vernacular expression.[63] In many cases, Erasmus simply refers to ancient usage, the common practice in classical Latin, as is clear from the very end of his introduction to the *Adagia* (chap. xiv). Besides this, he may also be referring to

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[57] Erasmus's refutation, entitled *Detectio praestigiarum*, appears in *ASD* IX, 1, pp. 233–62; 'Meam sententiam,' he says, 'quoniam Germanice nescio Latine dedi' (p. 245, l. 285).

[58] See Holeczek, *Erasmus deutsch*, 228–29.

[59] See Allen's note on *Ep.* 2804.

[60] *Ep.* 1342, ll. 396–97.

[61] *Ep.* 2906, ll. 125–26: 'morbum, quem vulgo Souch appellant. Eo dicuntur multi hic laborare.' See also *Epp.* 2916, l. 6 and 2918, l. 40.

[62] See the comments in the German proverb collections of Johannes Agricola (1529) and Eberhard Tappe, a native of Westphalia (1545), quoted by Grimm, s.v. Gewissen (III), 4: 6218; s.v. wissend, 14: 772; and by Suringar, no. 19.

[63] See Tournoy and Tunberg, 'On the Margins of Latinity?', pp. 161–65.

(a) the common practice among users of Latin in general,
(b) common use as such, without specific reference to any language,
(c) the general use in both Latin and the vernaculars (mostly his native language).

Examples from the *Colloquies* and other works illustrate each of these three categories. (a) 'A common proverb has it (credible enough, but bad Latin), "Novus rex, novus lex", "New king, new law"' ('Vulgo iactatur proverbium, non tam vanum quam parum Latinum, "Nouus rex, novus lex"').[64] The correct version ('nova lex') is quoted by Walther, no. 18860 c (a non-classical proverb). It is clear that Erasmus does not mean here the vernacular, although the same proverb occurs in French ('De nouveau roy nouvelle loy', 'A new king comes up with a new law').[65] Another example of (a) is 'the common saying "So many men, so many opinions"' ('vulgo dici solet, Quot homines, tot sententiae'),[66] although Erasmus notes in the *Adagia* (no. 207) that the same aphorism is also current in the vernacular ('Nihil vel hodie vulgo tritius est quam haec Terentiana sententia').[67] Yet another example is found in *Lingua*, where Erasmus remarks that people who become jolly when they drink wine 'are generally called tipsy, not drunk' ('vulgo qui vino facti sunt hilariores bene poti dicuntur, ebrii non dicuntur, nisi lingua deliret').[68] Here 'vulgo' (generally, in common use) is intended to contrast with a specific class of people, namely philosophers, mentioned in l. 599.

An example of (b) occurs in *Puerpera* ('The New Mother'): 'It is commonly said that one should overlook a first try' ('Vulgo dicitur veniam deberi primum experienti.').[69] There is no reference here to the Greek origin of the expression, which is the subject of *Adagia* no. 861: 'Συγγνώμη πρωτοπείρῳ, id est 'Venia primum experienti.' '[70] Another example of (b) is found in the same colloquy, where Eutrapelus seeks to persuade the young mother to breastfeed her baby herself rather than hiring a wet nurse: 'Or do you suppose,' he asks rhetorically, 'that the common saying "He drank in his wickedness with his nurse's milk" has no basis?' ('An putas temere vulgo dici "Iste maliciam cum lacte nutricis imbibit"?').[71] The expression is adapted from a statement by Cicero in *Tusculanae disputationes*.[72] This detail is of interest for any analysis of Erasmus's method of writing, but it is irrelevant to the meaning of 'vulgo' in the given context. The same is true of an expression in a dialogue between a young man in love and a girl (*Proci et puellae*). Reluctant to marry, Maria raises the following objection: 'Marriage is commonly called a halter' ('Vulgus coniugium capistrum vocat').[73] Erasmus took the expression from Juvenal's satires (6.43): 'He [a notorious womanizer] puts his silly head into the halter of marriage' ('stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro').[74] Here, too, this detail has no relevance to the context.

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[64] *ASD* I, 3, p. 438, ll. 10–11. Luther quotes the same formula (with 'novus lex') in his *Auslegung des 101. Psalms* (1534–35; *WA* 51, p. 209, ll. 22–23), which he may well have borrowed from Erasmus' colloquy (1524), just as he used a few Erasmian adages in the same work (see the notes there on pp. 211 and 215). Even so he forbade his children to read the *Colloquies*.

[65] Quoted by Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes français*, p. 547, from a sixteenth-century proverb collection, namely an appendix to *Mots dorés de Caton*. See also Singer, s.v. neu, nrs. 74 and 75: 'Nouveau prince, nouvelle loy.'

[66] *ASD* I, 3, p. 589, ll. 120–21.

[67] *ASD* II, 1, p. 319, l. 395.

[68] *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 44, ll. 603–04; it should be noted that the phrase 'bene potus' (well warmed, tipsy) is either taken from Cicero, *Ad familiares* 7.22, or from Nonius Marcellus, 231 (quoting Lucilius, fragment 1044, ed. Werner Frenkel).

[69] *ASD* I, 3, p. 469, l. 569.

As regards (c) the following (non-classical) proverb is perhaps a case in point. It is found in medieval Latin and, in a slightly different form, in various vernaculars as well. In *Pietas puerilis* (1522) Erasmus puts a 'common saying' into the mouth of Erasmius: 'Angelic boys turn into Satan[75] when they grow old' ('Aiunt vulgo pueros angelicos in satanam verti, ubi consenuerint').[76] Walther quotes two similar proverbs from medieval Latin sources: 'Angelicus iuvenis senibus satanizat in annis' and 'Saepe senex Sathane datus est puer angelicus ante'.[77] A Dutch version is 'Jonge engeltjes zijn gemeenlijk oude duiveltjes' ('Young angels usually become old devils').[78] German and French sources have ‘Die jungen engel werden alt teuffel’ and ‘De jeune angelot, vieux diable.’[79] In sum, the possibility that Erasmus is referring to vernacular variants cannot be ruled out. The same is true of an expression in the preface to *Annotationes in Marcum*. Checking and comparing readings and translations, he says with a sigh, involves a lot of running around among many manuscript volumes of the Bible; it is like ‘looking for a needle in a heap [of hay]’ (‘At nos dum inter tot Graecos, Latinos, Hebraeos codices sursum ac deorsum discurrimus, velut aciculam, quod aiunt, in acervo quaerentes …’).[80] This expression is not found in this form in ancient texts.[81] A Latin version of later (medieval?) origin is ‘acum in meta foeni quaerere,’ but the phrase is also quite common in various vernaculars.[82] A Dutch version is ‘een naald in een voeder hooi vinden’ or, as Sartorius puts it, ‘Ghy had wel eene naeld in eenen voeyer hoijs gheuonden’ (‘You would even have found a needle in a pack of hay’).[83]

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[70] *ASD* II, 2, p. 382, l. 205.

[71] *ASD* I, 3, p. 467, l. 529.

[72] Cicero', *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.1.2, quoted in *Adagia* no. 654 'Cum lacte nutricis'; *ASD* II, 2, p. 180, ll. 138–42.

[73] *ASD* I, 3, p. 286, l. 318.

[74] That the source is Juvenal is apparent from *De contemptu mundi, ASD* V, 1, p. 50, ll. 274–75 'vt caueas ferreo isti capistro ora porrigere' and *The Praise of Folly, ASD* IV, 3, p. 80, ll. 162–62 'Qui vir, obsecro, matrimonii capistro velit praebere os [...]?'

[75] For the sense of 'vertor' compare 'Ex Hollando versus es in Gallum,' *ASD* I, 3, p. 137, l. 405. Thompson translates 'angelic boys become limbs of Satan.' (*CWE* 39, p. 91).

[76] *ASD* I, 3, p. 172, l. 1520.

[77] Walther, nrs. 1042 and 27273.

[78] Quoted from sources of the second half of the sixteenth century by Harrebomée, 1, p. 166; 3, pp. 172–73. The 1622 translation of the *Colloquies* reads: 'Men segt gemeenlic, dat de gene die in haer kintsheyt Engelen zijn, out geworden zijnde, tot duyvelen worden' (388 A).

To return to the *Colloquies*: a Dutch expression underlies a passage in *Funus* (‘The Funeral’, 1526). Here a Dominican mendicant friar and a parish priest are engaged in a violent quarrel over the last will of a dying man. ‘I,’ brags the Dominican, ‘am a Fully-Qualified Bachelor of Sacred Theology (‘Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus Formatus’), while you are an idiot.’ ‘I,’ the priest retorts, ‘could make much better bachelors than you out of beanstalks’ (‘Ego baccalaureos multo te meliores nectam e stipulis fabarum’),[84] which amounts to saying ‘You are absolutely worthless.’ It should be noted, first, that ‘nectam’ (‘make by plaiting’) wittily takes up ‘formatus’ in ‘Baccalaureus Formatus’ (a regular academic title, distinct from that of Cursor and other lower degrees); the priest is taking ‘Formatus’ in the literal sense, ‘fashioned, shaped.’ Secondly, he alludes to a popular etymology of 'baccalaureus' as coming from 'laurel berry'.[85] Third, his gibe depends on the notion that the stalks and stubble of beans are worthless stuff. A *scholium* refers to a Dutch proverb or expression.[86] The anonymous commentator contrasts beanstalks, which are good for nothing, with straws of wheat, which are used for making hats and rain-coats: 'Ex culmis tritici nectuntur galeri, nonnunquam et pallia adversus pluviam. Faba caules habet grandes, intortos et fragiles, ad nihil minus utiles quam ad texendum. Est vulgo iactatum proverbium apud Batavos.'[87] In fact, the Dutch word for dry beanstalks, *bonenstro*, is applied to useless things or stupid people, as in the phrase 'soo grof als bonen stroo' ('as rough and crass as dry beanstalks').[88]

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[79] Quoted by Wander, s.vv. Engel (7) and Engelchen, 1, pp. 820–22; see also Singer, s.v. jung, nrs. 191–92, 197–207, 211–21. The Italian variant (‘Angelo nella giovanezza, diavolo nella vecchiezza’) can be disregarded, since Erasmus did not understand the language, despite his stay in Italy (1506–09); see Halkin, ‘Érasme et les langues’, pp. 575–76; ‘Érasme en Italie’, p. 39 and his n. 34. He once declared that he knew as little Italian as East Indian, ‘vulgaris linguae vestratis tam sum ignarus quam Indicae’; see the anecdote in *Apophthegmata* 8, *LB* IV, col. 363 E. He had some French but very little English; see Halkin, ‘Érasme en Italie’, pp. 575–78; Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, 1: 144–47.

[80] *ASD* VI, 5, p. 352, ll. 35–37. Erasmus discusses the phrase ‘sursum ac deorsum discurrere’ in *Adagia* 285.

[81] For a close parallel (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 238) see *Adagia* 2620, entitled ‘Vel acum inuenisses,’ *ASD* II, 6.

[82] See Arthaber, *Dizionario*, no. 258, who unfortunately fails to give sources.

[83] Sartorius, no. 2698. See *WNT*, s.v. voeder, 22, col. 92; s.v. voer, 22, col. 243; and Harrebomée, 1, p. 331; 3, p. 233.

[84] *ASD* I, 3, p. 540, ll. 103–05, 109–10.

Erasmus, with his hatred of braggarts and hypocrites, also ridicules the title Baccalaureus Formatus (and that of Cursor) in an anecdote in which he wittily describes a monk as 'theologiae bacalaureus, currens an sedens, formatus an mox formandus, incertum.'[89]

Another non-classical proverb is found in *A Synod of Grammarians* (*Synodus grammaticorum*, 1529): '[Many] eyes see more than one' ('Plus vident oculi quam oculus').[90] Erasmus quotes the same saying in a letter, written around 1489 in the monastery of Steyn and addressed to his Dutch friend Cornelius Aurelius of Gouda. In this early letter, the proverb is introduced by the formula 'quod vulgo dicitur'.[91] Erasmus presumably had a Dutch proverb in mind:

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[85] See Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France*, pp. 16–28; Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIII^e siecle*, pp. 173–80; Blaise, s.v. baccalarius, 5; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 1: s.v. baccalarius. The term is of feudal origin. It designated a young nobleman, ranking below knighthood; in many cases, as Weijers points out, he would serve as a squire. The title was usually derived from 'bacca lauri' (laurel berry). Erasmus uses this and other fanciful etymologies in a humorous dialogue in *De recta pronuntiatione, ASD* I, 4, p. 26, ll. 390–416.

[86] I have used the 1531 edition of the *Colloquia* (Basel, Froben); the scholium concerned appears on pp. 992–93. Scholia were added to the Froben editions authorized by Erasmus from 1526 onwards; see *CWE* 39: xxvi–xxvii, and Bierlaire, *Érasme et ses Colloques*, p. 93. One would like to know the identity of the commentator. All that can be said is that he was a supporter of Erasmus who worked in close contact with the Froben firm. Perhaps, he received information from Erasmus himself.

[87] *Adagia*, ed. 1531, pp. 992–93.

[88] Quoted by Sartorius, no. 2599 as an equivalent to 'Pistillo retusior est' (Erasmus, *Adagia* no. 2521). Harrebomée, 1, p. 79; *WNT*, 3, s.v. boonenstroo. The translation of the *Colloquies* (1622, 266 B) reads 'Ick, seyde hy, soude veel beter Baccalaurien dan ghy zijt, uyt boonenstroo konnen draeyen.'

[89] *Adagia* no. 1498, *ASD* II, 3, p. 478, ll. 676–77.

[90] *ASD* I, 3, p. 586, ll. 20–21.

[91] *Ep.* 20, ll. 121–22.

'Twee ogen zien meer dan één' ('Two eyes see more than one').[92] Some doubt might arise from the fact that the Latin version appears in Walther's dictionary of medieval proverbs;[93] but Walther's entry is misleading, in that it is not based on a medieval source, but on one dated 1616.[94] Since there is no indication that the Latin version predates the time of Erasmus, I assume that he took the proverb not from a medieval Latin source, but from the vernacular.

In *The Shipwreck* (*Naufragium*, 1523), the narrator relates the silly behaviour of a superstitious fellow, which prompts his listener to exclaim, 'Blockhead! A Batavian, I presume?' ('O crassum ingenium! Suspicor fuisse Batauum').[95] The implied characterization of Batavians or Hollanders as blockheads apparently needed an explanation for the use of readers outside the Low Countries, for a scholium has been added, which states that Hollanders are commonly nicknamed 'crassi' ('vulgari ioco,' ed. 1531, p. 968). The reference is to their ethnic epithet *bot*, which covers the entire range of 'blunt, dumb, dull-witted, stupid, gullible.'[96] Stultitia alludes to it in her praise of folly, saying: 'Those Hollanders of mine—and why shouldn't I call them mine, since they worship me so zealously that they have earned thereby a widely used epithet' ('Hollandi mei—cur enim non meos appellem usqueadeo studiosos mei cultores, ut inde vulgo *cognomen* emeruerint?').[97] In this context, 'vulgo' ('widely used') means specifically 'in the vernacular,' just as in Erasmus' remark 'Hominem stupidum ... vulgo dicimus "bot" pro "Boeoto".'[98]

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[92] Harrebomée, 2, p. 144; one may note, however, that the earliest sources given date from the seventeenth century. De Brune (1636; 295, 475 and 480) has (in iambic verse) 'Twee oghen die zien meer als een' and 'Vier oogen zien veel meer als twee' (Four eyes see much more than two).

[93] Walther, no. 19710 a.

[94] Walther (19710 a) has taken the Latin version from Wander (s.v. Auge, no. 200), who refers to the German dictionary of Georg Henisch (1616), p. 149. Henisch quotes 'Vil augen sehen mehr als eins,' adding 'Plus vident oculi quam oculus,' without giving any source. It is possible that this Latin version goes back to Erasmus. See, however, Singer, s.v. sehen, no. 159 'Nonne plura quatuor oculi vident quam duo?' (Ps. Cyrillus 1, 10 page 16, 30) and 164 'Vier augen sehen mehr dann 2' (Franck I, 109v).

[95] *ASD* I, 3, p. 328, l. 104.

[96] Petrus Rabus translates in fact 'O *bot* verstand! Ik duchte dat hy een Hollander geweest is' (135).

[97] *ASD* IV, 3, p. 84, ll. 254–55. On the nickname see Wesseling, 'Dutch Proverbs and Ancient Sources in Erasmus' Praise of Folly', pp. 352–56; and 'Are the Dutch Uncivilized?', pp. 71–75. Rudolph Agricola from Groningen (1454–94) cites the 'proverb' 'Crassis crassa conveniunt' (Stupid ideas befit the stupid) in *De inventione dialectica* (see the close of his prologue; I owe the reference to Marc van der Poel). Is this somehow related to the nickname of Hollanders? Erasmus uses the same word-play in a colloquy: 'Vos crassi crassis delectamini.' *ASD* I, 3, p. 347, ll. 84–85.

Returning to Erasmus' idiom, we need to point out a perplexing anomaly: his frequent use of 'solet' instead of 'solebat,' which runs counter to the ancient and the humanist usage. Surprisingly, none of his critics ever seized this opportunity to censure his Latinity. There is one clear instance in the *Colloquies*: 'Olim in conviviis myrtus tradi solet' ('It once was customary at dinner-parties to pass on a myrtle-branch').[99] But the feature is frequent in the *Adagia*; to give but one example: 'Qui molesti prolixique laboris finem adesse significabat dicere solet 'Terram video.' '[100] Trapman (like Allen before him) has noticed four instances in a letter to Jodocus Jonas (1521).[101] Pointing out that the phenomenon is not uncommon in Neo-Latin texts by other Netherlandish authors (16th century), he tentatively explains it as a Dutchism.[102] As a matter of fact, the *Woordenboek* refers to the occurrence of the form *pleeg* as the imperfect tense (third person sing.) next to *plag* and *placht* (he/she used to, was accustomed to).[103]

Epilogue: Erasmus' Estimate of His Native Language

From Erasmus' use of Dutch proverbs and expressions one can infer that he was fond of his native language. At any rate, he treasured its store of proverbs, which he shared with the uneducated. The simple fact that it was his mother tongue, combined with his relative ignorance (resulting from disdain) of other vernaculars, may account for his predilection. There is no reason to accept Chomarat's assumption that his feelings of contempt towards the Dutch also encompassed his native language.[104] It is true that his attitude towards his fellow countrymen was highly ambivalent and predominantly negative. He did hold them in contempt for their indifference to higher culture and the humanist movement, their lack of appreciation of his own achievements, their fondness for 'compotationes' and 'comessationes,' their banal concerns and idle table-talk;[105] but this did not lead him to despise their language as such. His mother tongue probably had a special emotional value for him. As the language of his childhood, Dutch fragments, phrases and sayings kept coming to his mind throughout his life, even after he had turned his back on the uncivilized Hollanders (1501) and, subsequently, on the hostile theologians in Brabant (1521). This enhances the reliability of Beatus Rhenanus' account of Erasmus' death, which has it that his last words were 'lieuer Gott', in Dutch: 'lieve God'—or Alemannic—'liebe Gott'—or German—'lieber Gott'.[106]

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[98] *Adagia* no. 906, end; *ASD* II, 2, p. 419, l. 140.

[99] *ASD* I, 3, p. 562, l. 45; see also p. 547, l. 337 and p. 623, l. 81.

[100] No. 3718. See also *ASD* II, 2, p. 280, ll. 974–75; II, 8, p. 67, ll. 43–45 ('soleant' for 'solerent'); p. 98, ll. 564–65; p. 206, ll. 645–46 ('Olim rei solent esse moesti ... quo iudices ad misericordiam inflecterent'); p. 228, ll. 16–18; p. 253, ll. 579–80.

[101] *Ep.* 1211, ll. 89, 138, 456, 513.

[102] Trapman, 'Solet Instead of Solebat in Erasmus and Other Neo-Latin Authors'. The same usage (four times) is in Goswinus van Halen's *Vita* of Rudolph Agricola (ca. 1525), as Fokke Akkerman kindly informed me.

[103] *WNT*, s.v. plegen, 12, 1, col. 2483; and de Vriendt, pp. 117–19.

[104] See Chomarat's otherwise admirable chapter on Erasmus and his native tongue; *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, 1, pp. 107–25, esp. p. 108.

While on the whole it is true that Erasmus disdained vernacular languages in general, it should be recalled that he was in favor of vernacular translations of the Bible. Furthermore, he stressed the relative worth and importance of the vernaculars in his last major work, the manual for the use of preachers (*Ecclesiastes*, 1535). It is in the context of precepts on preaching in the vernacular that he admits that each national tongue has, at least potentially, its own particular charm and suggestive power. He accordingly recommends, although at the very end of the list, the reading of vernacular works by eminent literary authors. Though ignorant of Italian himself, he refers by way of example to Dante and Petrarch. Even classical scholars, he declares, should not regard any language as barbarous as long as it serves to draw people to the Gospel.[107]

His passion for the 'bonae litterae' and concomitant disdain for vernacular languages explains why he rarely refers to national literatures. He once made a scathing remark on the medieval chivalric romances of Arthur and Lancelot, which to his regret were very popular in his own time. Old wives' tales about tyrants, he calls them. God forbid that a young prince—the future Charles V—should read such rubbish![108] He had no use for chivalric ideals and courtly love: a teacher of 'civilitas,' he promoted politeness based on modesty and consideration. Surprisingly, a remark in the 1528 edition of the *Adagia* suggests that he did appreciate a certain type of popular theatre: commenting on the Greek term *sciamachy*, or fighting with shadows, he refers to farces of his own day which feature a bragging soldier waging combat against an imaginary opponent, who is merely his own shadow: 'Ludus umbraticae pugnae durat etiam hodie non illepidus,' he notes.[109] Entertainment of this kind involved a lot of boasting and verbal violence. In his last major work he makes a crushing remark on the rhetoricians or *rhétoriqueurs*, the members of the chambers of rhetoric, calling them 'rhetoristae'; they take pleasure in excessive rhyming and producing foolish jingles. Those preaching in the vernacular should not imitate them.[110] But the very scarcity of references of this kind indicates that he took little interest in vernacular literature. Significantly, he never mentions Machiavelli, a political thinker with whom he shared many interests, and whose *Prince* he could have read in Agostino Nifo's Latin translation.[111]

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[105] See Wesseling, 'Are the Dutch Uncivilized?'.

[106] See Van der Blom, 'Die letzten Worte des Erasmus' and above, n. 19.

[107] 'Quamuis eruditis iucundior sit Latinorum aut Graecorum lectio, tamen charitati christanae non videbitur sermo barbarus per quem proximus ad Christum allicitur,' ASD V, 4, p. 264, ll. 402–05; see also Chomarat's introduction, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, pp. 5–7.

[108] 'At hodie permultos videmus Arcturis, Lanslotis et aliis id genus fabulis delectari, non solum tyrannicis, verum etiam prorsus ineruditis, stultis et anilibus.' *Institutio principis Christiani,* ASD IV, 1, p. 179, ll. 427–180, esp. l. 430. 'Nugacissimis fabulis pleni libri Gallice scripti,' as a colloquy has it (ASD I, 3, p. 405, l. 87). Charles' chief educator, Guillaume de Croy, was a promoter of the traditional chivalric ethos; see Tracy, *Politics of Erasmus*, 59–60.

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[109] *Adagia* no. 3548, *ASD* II, 8, p. 50, l. 627.

[110] 'qui se rhetoristas appellant.' *Ecclesiastes* 3, *ASD* V, 5 p. 136, l. 627; p. 152, l. 968; see also Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, 1, pp. 130–31.

[111] *De regnandi peritia*, Naples 1523.

CHAPTER 3

The Multilingualism of Dutch Rhetoricians: Jan van den Dale's *Uure van den doot* (Brussels, c. 1516) and the Use of Language

Arjan van Dixhoorn

Introduction

One of the most important trends in the communication history of Western Europe is the often neglected rise of communal theatrical cultures after 1450. That is to say, the advent of the printing press, the surge in manuscript production, and the technological innovations of visual culture were chronologically tied to the flourishing of theatrical cultures. In fact, evidence from all over urban Europe indicates that print and manuscript culture as well as visual and theatrical culture became increasingly interdependent and integrated on the level of content and form, skills and techniques, and the creative communities that patronized, sustained, developed, appropriated and used them. At the intersection of these modes and communities were regional cultures of performative literature (dramatized and poetical eloquence typical of early modern urban life).[1] The growth of theatrical culture at the intersection of other innovative media cultures suggests that even the combination of the printing press and manuscript culture could not meet the thirst for the kind of learning derived from texts.

This theatrical world is the context which any study of the spoken and written word, of language strictly speaking, must take into consideration. The early modern world of Christian Europe was a world in which the spoken word (and its arts, which are rhetoric and music) functioned as the model for communication in general. This essay will explore the role of language in one of the regions

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[1] Works that trace the development of a new theatrical culture include: Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*; Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*; Hanawalt and Reyerson, *City and Spectacle*; Cauchies, *Fêtes et ceremonies*; Fischer-Lichte, Horn and Umathum, *Wahrnehmung und Medialität*; Kipling, *Enter the King*; Lavéant, *Théâtre et culture dramatique d'expression française*; Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des ceremonies*; Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*; Van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*. For the development of print culture and the flourishing of manuscript culture in the fifteenth century, Würgler, *Medien in der frühen Neuzeit*, particularly 69.

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of urbanized Europe, the Low Countries, where Dutch-speaking communities developed a theatrical culture based on the liberal arts that chose the art of rhetoric as its paradigm. The focus will be on the sociolinguistic communities of rhetoricians that gathered in the so-called chambers of rhetoric from the early decades of the fifteenth century onwards, starting in the cosmopolitan creative cultures of the urban networks of Brabant and Flanders. The prototype of the chamber of rhetoric was consolidated around 1450 and the rhetorical knowledge, practices, and techniques that the early chambers developed became paradigmatic for vernacular literary culture in Dutch after the 1480s.[2]

The paradox of rhetorician life is however that it is the institutionalization of the increasingly important role of the written or even printed text as the basis for a reading, reciting, or performance among live audiences. A written text in early modern culture was completed orally: the performance of a memorized written text or its reading aloud gave it its finishing touch. While Pleij has stressed the *aurality* of the production, completion, and reproduction of written texts, Kramer has argued how in rhetorician farcical culture most theatrical action was typically verbalized simultaneously by the actors while performing the acts. Such a verbalized Rabelaisian world required the creation of a literary language for the material, organic, dirty, common, low, deformed, decaying, inverted, bizarre, and confusing features of life. At the same time, the farcical was characterized by a special fascination for the anatomy of language, and its ambivalent potential for miscommunication.[3]

Although Kramer focused on the farcical language of the rhetoricians, these features, such as the fascination for the material and organic world of the senses or the anatomy and communicative quality of language, were also typical of rhetorician language in general. This is evident in the common use of word stacks, neologisms, meaningless or ambivalent words, word extensions, synonym stacks, and homonyms. The sensuous language of the rhetoricians used expletives, swearing, oath-taking, incantations, colloquial vocabulary, nonsense and street terms; it transgressed and merged jargons, inversed linguistic snobbery, and abundantly used praise-abuse-forms. If the context of conversation, literary ceremony and ritual, performances, and competition of the chambers of rhetoric is taken into account as well, the world of the rhetoricians meets many of qualities of oral cultures identified by Walter Ong.[4]

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[2] For introductions to the culture of the chambers of rhetoric in English see Van Dixhoorn, 'Chambers of Rhetoric'; and Van Bruaene, ' "A wonderful triumfe" '.

[3] Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, pp. 253–62; Kramer, *Mooi, vies, knap, lelijk, passim.*

[4] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 36–70.

The features of orality that were most evident in rhetorician culture are the use of an additive, enumerative, aggregative rather than an analytic style. Rhetorician language, meant for oral and performative transmission and memorization in absence of manuscripts or printed texts and images to fall back upon instantly, had a strong preference for epithets and other formulaic forms, for a redundant and copious style. Since the oral utterance and the performance are ephemeral, Ong argues, the mind must be supported to focus attention during the performance. Redundancy, repetition, and volubility keep speaker and hearer on track, which explains the method of the ancient rhetoricians called *copia* or amplification.[5]

Ong argues that the conceptualization and verbalization of knowledge in an oral and performative context, that is, in the absence of recording media such as parchment or paper, will use close references to the human life world, particularly the interaction of human beings, a technique which is evident in the use of allegory and personification in rhetorician culture. Other techniques that oral and performative cultures use to stimulate memorization (that is to make the argument or narrative stick in memory) are the use of an agonistic style; of verbal and intellectual combat and games (such as riddles), bragging, of tongue-lashing the opponent, of name-calling, as well as descriptions of physical violence. Apart from the use of 'heavy' language, oral memory also works with 'heavy' characters, heroic and bizarre figures that organize 'experience' in memorable form since, according to Ong, the colorless cannot survive in oral mnemonics. Paradoxically, such oral devices were used to the full not in the medieval literature of, or so it seems, less literate times, but instead in a rhetorical culture that heavily depended on manuscript and printed texts and images.[6]

This essay thus focuses on a culture which was characterized by the interdependency of oral, visual, performative, and written means of storage and communication of experiences and ideas. One of its features was a chronic lack of easily accessible knowledge. This essay argues that the language of rhetoricians that had to deal with these characteristics was a hybrid that included the visual and performative through *ecphrasis* (the lively description of people, places, works of art, events, acts) and theatricality (that is by performing in front of a live audience), and the combination of these, by mimicking or simulating such a performance.[7]

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[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] *Ibidem.*

[7] Geertz, *Negara*; Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*; Fischer-Lichte, 'Wahrnehmung und Medialität'; Kotte, 'The transformation of a ceremony'; Eversmann, 'Introduction'; McGavin,

The aim is to study how such multilingualism, taken to be the use of multiple languages and jargons, defined Dutch-speaking culture. The rhetorical-theatrical paradigm was produced and reproduced in the textual and performative traditions of the communities that created and developed its matrix of rules and practices. The knowledge and language of the rhetoricians provided the raw material to be mastered in order to be able to learn and to teach. Their main method was the 'extraction' of meaning by translating and adapting narratives or arguments from one mode, language, jargon, or form into another in the hope of bringing the original meaning at play in a different cultural context.[8] In order to succeed, the rhetoricians created a new literary language that survived well into the seventeenth century. The work of Jan van den Dale, a late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century rhetorician of Brussels, will be used to show how the early modern Dutch rhetorician language absorbed the vocabulary of the hybrid and eclectic sources of knowledge used and adapted by its makers.

The Multilingualism of the Rhetoricians

Nineteenth-century literary historians often deplored the transition of the seemingly natural and pure Dutch of earlier generations that can be termed the *clergie*-tradition and of the lyrical Dutch of medieval literature into a hybrid, didactic, artificial, 'vulgar' language of the literary burgher-amateurs that the rhetoricians were supposed to have been.[9] The rhetorical turn was indeed highly visible in the language deployed by rhetoricians and associated with

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Theatricality and Narrative. And for the rhetorical method of *ecphrasis* see, Curtius, *European literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 69, 194.

[8] For the sixteenth-century debate on translation see among others contempory texts edited in Hermans, *Door eenen engen hals*; Hermans, 'Translating "Rhetorijckelijck" or "Ghetrouwelijck" '; Hemelaar, 'Translating the Art of Terence'. The role of translation in the art of rhetoric is also exemplified in the prologue to Jan Pertcheval's *Camp van der doot* where he claimed that the work 'vol is van geestelijke verstandenisse, vol van scriftueren ende figuren, vol van exempelen der poeten, ende nae de conste van de rethorijc zeer constelijc geset' (rich in understanding, rich in scriptures and figures, rich in exempla of the poets, and artfully composed according to the art of rhetoric'. Quoted in Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, p. 322.

[9] Pleij, 'Is de laat-middeleeuwse literatuur in de volkstaal vulgair?', and *idem, Het gevleugelde woord* which traces the language and literature of the rhetorician to an oral world. For a traditional view of the rhetoricians and their language, see Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, pp. 24–167.

their chambers of rhetoric ever since. Although the pioneers of a more serious study of rhetorician literature were also interested in their vocabulary, their use of language has been largely ignored and the transformation from *clergie* to *rhetorike* has never been seriously studied, mainly because the literary qualities of rhetorician texts were not appreciated for centuries, and still are rather controversial to say the least.[10] Before turning to Van den Dale's work and use of language, the impact of the rhetorical turn on the Dutch language of performative literary culture as it came into existence, must be briefly explored.

Why exactly the Dutch rhetorical language became such a hybrid is not clear. It is evident however that the transformation, if not initiated, at least was furthered by the establishment of the chambers of rhetoric and their adaptation of the rhetorical knowledge and practices of the *seconde rhétorique*. The communities of rhetoricians of the Dutch-speaking areas borrowed the core of their technical terms from the world of the *seconde rhétorique* of France and the French-speaking Low Countries. The rhetoricians borrowed key terms such as *rhetorique/retorike, retorisien* (from *rhétorisien*), and *retoriker* (from *rhétoriqueur*); generic terms such as *esbattement, refrein, rondeel, ballade*; the names of key institutional figures, such as the *prince* (the ceremonial leader) and the *facteur* (the composer of texts meant for publication); as well as key notions such as *scientie*, and *sin*.[11]

The notion of *sin* (meaning) was crucial to the *translatio*-culture of the rhetoricians since it referred to their main method: the extraction and transmission of meaning from one medium into another. The *rhétoriqueurs* apparently also highly valued the concept of 'scens' from which *sin* must have been derived. A prize-winning song by Jean Froissart, most likely submitted to a Puy-contest, praised love as the influence leading to 'sens, force, savoir'. The composer Guillaume de Machaut argued that 'scens est qui tout gouverne'. The notions of 'sin', 'sinne', 'sinnen', were so essential to Dutch rhetorician culture that its prestigious allegorical plays were called 'spelen van sinne'. The neologism was once translated in the sixteenth century accounts of the city of Bruges as 'ung jeu moral, un jeu de sens'.[12]

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[10] My view on the development of the language of rhetoricians as an artificial and national language has been influenced by Burke, *Languages and Communities*; Peter Burke, 'The jargon of schools'. See for older literature on the language of the rhetoricians: Génard, *De zinnebeeldige taal der oude rederijkers*; Drewes, 'Bijdrage tot een woordenboek van de rederijkerstaal'; and 'Enige bijzonderheden in het woordgebruik van de rederijkers; Mak, *Rhetoricaal glossarium*; Willemyns, 'Iets over de taal'; De Lange, 'Lessen: Historische gegevens met betrekking tot het taalgebruik'; Vuijk, and Eggermont, "*Van hoe er zich twee vergaren tot elcker uren soet*.

[11] James-Raoul, 'Les arts poétiques des XIIe et XIIIe siècles; Lusignan, *Parler Vulgairement*. I owe the last reference to Prof. Laura Kendrick (Université de Versailles-St-Quentin-en-Yvelines). For the *seconde rhétorique* and the early modern practice of performative literature see, Arjan van Dixhoorn, 'Epilogue', pp. 423–62.

The technical terms of the *seconde rhétorique* were introduced into Dutch in the 1440s and had become widespread by the 1480s when the paradigm of Dutch rhetoric became institutionally consolidated in Brabant and Flanders, but also in Holland and Zealand. Between the 1480s and 1520s regional networks of chambers of rhetoric built on regionally centered communities of rhetoricians and regional festivals were firmly established in these four Burgundian Dutch-speaking principalities. The different regional and local rhetorical cultures that they created were modeled after the successful proto-types developed in Flanders and southern Brabant. Despite regional and local variations, the rhetorician movement was able to develop a 'universal' discourse and use a 'universal' language with 'universal' forms of regulated speech. These were continuously adapted to new interpretations of the role of rhetoric in the field of knowledge, the position of the vernacular, and the authority of vernacular rhetoricians as compared to the 'citizens' of the other institutions of knowledge, particularly the Church, the State, and the universities: the clergy, the lawyers and councilors, the scholars, and the aristocracy. The unity in diversity mainly resulted from interurban networking among individual rhetoricians at festivals and other meetings, the homogenizing effects of successful chambers in their hinterlands, the fame of leading rhetoricians and the circulation of their texts in print, manuscript, and memory.[13]

The translation from French rhetorical knowledge, expertise, and technical terms into Dutch created a new culture, instead of a Dutch-language equivalent of the French *Puys*- and *compagnies joyeuses*.[14] The novelty showed in the fact that the chambers of rhetoric were assembled from elements of the two older models. The Dutch *refrein* differed from the French *ballade* or the *chant royal* and the *spel van sinne* was different from the French morality plays and farces although the rhetoricians might have appropriated allegorical techniques from French examples. It has been argued that the *spel van sinne* was more deliberative than the French *moralités* that have survived. The basic structure of the Dutch allegorical play was derived from older traditions of morality plays and poetical debates, but also rather directly or so it seems, from the Latin, scholastic tradition of the *disputatio*, quaestio, and *quaestio de quodlibet* of the universities. The argumentative techniques were enriched by the argumentative structures of theology and homology (*ars praedicandi*).[15]

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[12] De Bock, *Opstellen over Colijn van Rijssele*, pp. 117, 133.

[13] See for the development of the chambers of rhetoric in particular, Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, and Van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*.

[14] Lavéant, 'The Joyful Companies'; Lavéant, 'Théâtre et culture dramatique d'expression française'; Reid, 'Patrons of Poetry'.

Thus, sometimes technical terms were adopted and used to enrich Dutch rhetorical language, others were translated into an originally Dutch equivalent or a neologism, or were combined with Dutch terms (as probably happened in the *spel van sinne*). The refrein shows yet another shift from French into Dutch. The French *refrain* was the recurring line closing each stanza of the ballad and containing a *sententio* or judgment; which in the Dutch *refrein*, the main poetical form of the rhetoricians, was called *stokregel*: the French term in Dutch referred to the whole generic form, the term for the *sententio* was a unique Dutch neologism. Finally, with the model of the generic forms influencing their creation of new Dutch forms, the rhetoricians also adapted the intricate French rhyme schemes, and a love for and use of a rich, abundant, theatrical, and mimetic language full of neologisms and barbarisms. In so doing, the rhetoricians, in transforming the practices of vernacular learning and performative literary culture in Dutch, also altered its heart: they created an entirely new language that not only consisted of the older lyrical and 'clerical' Dutch, but also enthusiastically embraced barbarisms from Latin and French, and the various jargons of the region, some of which also used many Latin and French barbarisms (such as the language of the law, of bureaucracy, of medicine, and theology, and the jargon of the scholar in general).

The language of the rhetoricians can also be traced in all sorts of vernacular texts that show no immediate connection to the chambers of rhetoric (as the *refrein* and *spelen van sinne* do). Although it is highly likely that the rhetoricians played a crucial role in creating an artificial Dutch language, this cannot be proven at this point, simply because we would need to analyze a large sample of texts that are clearly rhetorician and others that lack the institutional mark. In any case, the textual tradition that uses rhetorician language extends widely beyond texts made for the institutional practices of the chambers of rhetoric. It is perfectly possible that most of these texts, from chronicles to anti-protestant polemics, and from natural histories to devotional books, were also created by members or alumni of chambers of rhetoric; there is no way of knowing this. It is just as possible that a larger community of vernacular men and women of letters used a certain language that had its source in the smaller community of incorporated rhetoricians. The hybrid difference of this language, as compared to the older Dutch literary languages, or to French, Lower-German, and Latin, is consciously maintained.[16]

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[15] Moser, *De strijd voor rhetorica*; Spies, ' "Op de questye" '; Ramakers, 'Tonen en betogen'; Spies, 'Developments in sixteenth-century Dutch poetics'.

It should be stressed that the hybrid nature of the language of the rhetoricians far extended the use of various registers of the verbal languages that it absorbed. Even though spoken language was the standard, it intersected in various ways with visual means of communication: theatrical action, architectural structures, and images. These visual, theatrical forms mainly entered the lexicon of the rhetoricians through the rhetorical techniques of *ecphrasis* such as in vivid descriptions of forms, shapes, colors, and actions. Yet, action and visual culture were also used as distinct discursive elements in the building of an argument or a narrative. In line with a rhetorical tradition that viewed *actio*, or the visual, as part of pronunciation (the final stage of ancient rhetorical method), rhetoricians were famous for their use of *tableaux vivants* and pageants, and of course used action in their allegorical plays and farces by way of pronunciation (the art of clearly, vividly expressing a thought or argument). Rhetoricians were also fond of rebuses that alternated image and word in the construction of a sentence, but also show how the visual depended on the word, since the fun of the rebus is to translate the image into a word that 'solves' the sentence.[17]

A similar use of word and image can be seen in the rhetorical blazons: the emblems of the chambers of rhetoric whose combination of a motto, a name, and images were also used as a rhetorical genre. Somewhere in the early sixteenth century, or earlier, the creation of a new blazon to answer a prize question, in way similar to the *refrein* and *spel van sinne*, became part of the festival culture of the rhetoricians. The blazon was offered to the organizing chamber with a poem translating its meaning into spoken language. A similar view of the visual and performative as structuring elements of a rhetorical discourse is evident in the prizes awarded for welcoming ceremonies; or, often, the best celebrations (often including fireworks) during rhetorician festivals. Such a view of *actio* as part of the art of rhetoric was confirmed by the authorities whenever they used the expertise of rhetoricians (or humanists, for that matter) for the creation of the 'argument' of joyous entries, processions, and other ceremonial productions.[18] The intimate link between the rhetorical arts and pictorial culture in the Dutch-speaking Low Countries was also evident from the fact that many rhetoricians were painters, and vice versa. The Antwerp guild of St Luke even famously came to embody this relationship when it incorporated the chamber of rhetoric of the Gillyflowers in 1480.

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[16] See for example from the related French rhetorical tradition, Fabri, *Cy ensuit le Grant et Vray Art de Pleine Rhétorique* (1522) who writes in his prologue of the need of an ordered, that is an artificial, knowledgeable language versus a natural one. He adds that the three languages of learning, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin nourish the vernacular languages with their learned language. Learning had finally been translated into Latin, and was now being translated into French, which is why it is important to submit the French language to the rules of rhetoric. Later Fabri underlines the difference in meaning of words taken from Latin or Flemish (sic!), and continues to stress the importance of taking into consideration circumstances, audience, and topic.

[17] See the argument in the 1555 French art of rhetoric by Antoine Fouquelin, *La Rhétorique Française*, dedicated to Mary, Queen of Scots, who argues that unlike words, *actio* and *geste*, are a visual language that can be understood by everyone: 'l'action et geste du corps, lequel donne quelque indice et signification du movement de l'esprit, émeut un chacun, memes les idiots et barbares', which is, according to him, why Cicero referred to *actio et geste* as 'quasi parole et eloquence: comme si le corps muet parlait par son geste et movement'. This was evidently the idea in rhetorician culture and the culture of eloquence at large. See in particular, Ramakers, 'Horen en zien, lezen en beleven'; Ramakers, 'Die Welt und die drei Begierden im Rederijkersdrama'.

The Language of Jan van den Dale

The creation of rhetorician communities that were dedicated to sharing knowledge among themselves and with larger audiences must be understood as a response to the chronic lack of easily available knowledge that characterized early modern culture. Around 1500, the city of Brussels, the Brabantine centre of courtly culture, had become a stronghold of rhetorician culture, with Jan Smeken, Jan Pertcheval, and the painter Jan van den Dale (ca. 1460–ca. 1522) as the three leading rhetoricians of the Dutch-language knowledge community. Their work was highly influential in rhetorician culture at large.

This essay will only focus on one of Van den Dale's poems, printed by the Brussels printer Thomas van der Noot. It seems that Van den Dale acquired more fame than his fellow rhetoricians. When the rhetorician movement began to commemorate its founding fathers more systematically in the 1560s, Van den Dale was among them. The 1562 festival book of the famous Antwerp *Landjuweel* of 1561 claimed that Duke Philip the Fair had been such a great lover of the art of rhetoric that he had set several questions for the winning of a golden ring richly set with diamonds for the participant that would best solve them. The festival was attended by many excellent minds and great poets and was won by Van den Dale 'eenen vermaerden Retoricien', 'whose composition is still highly valued today'.[19]

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[18] Bleyerveld, 'De negen geschilderde blazoenen'; Keersmaekers, 'Rederijkers-Rebusblazoenen'. For the use of rhetoricians as experts in public events see, Mareel, *Voor vorst en stad, passim*.

Jan van den Dale acquired lasting fame through his allegorical poem *Uure van den doot* ('Hour of Death').[20] The poem, an *ars moriendi* of sorts, will be studied here as an example of the rhetorician's use of language. The popular booklet was reprinted well into the eighteenth century.[21] Further proof of its popularity is provided by a Latin and a French translation. In 1561, the West-Flemish priest Jacobus Sluperius sent the rhetorician Marius Laurier a copy of *De Spectro Bosingensi sive de Hora Fatali*. The poem was published in his *Poemata* of 1563. A liminary letter by Hadrianus Hogius referred to the fact that the poem was an imitation of Van den Dale's work.[22] The French translation, *Traite de l'hevre de la Mort*, published in Antwerp in 1594, also mentions Van den Dale by name.[23] The Brussels rhetorician Iehan Baptista Houwaert adapted the work in *De Vier Uterste*, printed in Antwerp in 1583, without acknowledging the model.[24] Van den Dale's book was also used in the class room. In 1577, the Synod of Ypres allowed it to be read by the youth of the diocese.[25] It was still in use in the schools of Antwerp and Malines in the seventeenth century.[26]

The Theatricality of a Printed Poem

The only surviving copy of the Van der Noot edition, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, is bound with two fragments of another poem. Van den Dale's booklet is dated around 1516 because this poem by his fellow rhetorician Jan Smeken describes the festivities in honor of the meeting of the

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[19] We do not know the winning poem, it seems to be lost. Cited from *Spelen van Sinne*, 'Totten goetwillighen leser' ('To the benevolent reader').

[20] The Van der Noot edition, according to Herman Pleij, was the first literary text printed in Dutch that had the name of a living author on its title page. Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, p. 382.

[21] Degroote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 54–58. De Groote mentions a Leuven edition of 1543, Antwerp 1550, and Ghent 1576; an edition of 1601 and an Amsterdam edition of 1714. The Short Title Catalogue Netherlands mentions a 1636 Gouda edition, Delft 1650, 1652; Amsterdam 1685, 1710, and a Dordrecht edition, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The Amsterdam 1714 edition mentioned by De Groote might be the 1710 edition.

[22] Arens, 'De Wre vander doot: De Hora Fatall'.

[23] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 49.

[24] *Ibidem*, pp. 23–25.

[25] *Ibidem*, p. 49.

[26] *Ibidem*.

Order of the Golden Fleece celebrated in Brussels on October 26, 1516.[27] Van den Dale's poem might even be subtly referring to this event.[28] The Van der Noot edition has four unique woodcuts of scenes described in the poem, of which one is on the title page, and two others are used twice. The fifth woodcut follows the last stanza and is the printer's mark, showing a Knight of the Sea rising from the waves holding the Van der Noot coat-of-arms. The printer's mark lacks the usual Van der Noot motto 'Ic sals ghedincken' ('I will remember') in the banner.[29]

The woodcuts represent four crucial scenes from the poem. The title page shows the narrator-rhetorician indulging the sensuous pleasures of his youth in a lustful garden. The image is repeated between stanza 4 and 5. The woodcut in-between shows a rhetorician slumbering in his study; an image repeated between stanzas 93 and 94 when the poet decides to make his last will. A woodcut representing *Wraecghier* (or death), the rhetorician and five fleeing women (his senses), between stanza 13 and 14 closely follows the description in stanza 23. A final woodcut, also used twice, represents the main figures of the allegory: the beast and his bow threatening a rhetorician supported by Our Lady with the Infant Jesus who holds a little clock and a hammer. The five women are witnessing from a small distance.[30] These woodcuts could easily be representations of *tableaux vivants*. The text resembles the script for a performance, and text and woodcuts must have helped readers to simulate a performance in their minds, or even to create a live entertainment in the company of friends.[31]

The paradoxical link created in the poem between texts and events is made explicit in that the first-person-narrator underlines the need to carefully read and study the text, while the problem of making such a text (as the reflection of an experience) is intimately interwoven into the narrative.[32] At the same time, the text constantly (theatrically) invokes a speaker addressing a live audience who narrates the story of his dream which is centered on a (theatrical) allegorical dispute involving the same narrator-rhetorician, 'I', confronting *Wraecghier* (or death); Our Lady and the Infant Jesus; and Five Women (the senses).

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[27] *De uure vander doot bij Jan Van den Dale*, [Brussels, Thomas van der Noot, ca. 1516]. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Inc. s.a. 1906. The text is followed by the two fragments from Smeken's 'Beschrijving der feiten van het gulden Vlies te Brussel in October 1516', which lacks title page and printer's mark. A complete edition of the 37-stanzas poem is in the Ghent University Library. According to De Groote the Ghent edition differs slightly from the one in Munich. Contrary to De Groote's claim, the poem is not inserted into the *Uure* but separately bound with it. I quote from De Groote's edition which is available online (DBNL).

[28] Stanza 10 is the description of a garden as beautiful as the garden 'daer iason de ghulden appelen haelde' (where Jason took the golden apples), a direct reference to the myth of the Golden Fleece.

[29] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 54–55.

[30] *Ibidem*.

[31] For the link between text, image, event, performance and reading in company, Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord, passim*. Also De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 22.

The poem's language itself is highly theatrical which combined with the woodcuts also suggests that it was meant to be performed at an actual event, probably at New Year's Eve. Various references in the text invoke a performance-situation in which the poem's narrator and main character identifies as a scholarly rhetorician addressing a large and socially diverse audience and ending his performance by handing out the printed version as a New Year's gift. The same book becomes part of the 'act' when the narrator-rhetorician explains why he composed the poem and begs his audience to study it for at least one hour. He then adds that 'it is the final hour, as you must know, before your New Year. I call this booklet the Hour of Death, which might not be a very witty name as it should have been. It is dedicated to your wisdom and knowledge'.[33]

The printed booklet thus could be the representation and commemoration of a performance that had shown a rhetorician narrating (on stage) the story (of a dream) within a story (of a rhetorician experiencing, pondering over, and struggling with his memory). The performance might have been the work of the author (Van den Dale), or of another actor impersonating the rhetorician. To complete the play of text and event, the author took the mirroring of the present world and the present text in the poem to its final consequence by including the gift of the printed booklet, which contained the poem, in the narrated event (of a rhetorician addressing his live audience). The playful self-referentiality is a beloved theatrical technique of the rhetoricians, and invites the reader-audience to engage in the fiction.

Having made the role of the narrator in the creation and multiplication of the text so explicit, the text also invites to engage with his struggle to create a meaningful text out of a traumatic experience (the dream). The role of the rhetorician-narrator undermines or at least destabilizes the writing of an *ars moriendi* in such an explicit way that the poem almost transforms into an art of rhetoric. It is not entirely clear, and it might even have been intended to stay a riddle, or at least remain hard to decipher, to what extent the *ars moriendi* has indeed become an art of rhetoric.[34] Probably the two were so intricately interwoven to provide a vivid illustration to a fundamental argument about the use and abuse of the art of rhetoric, about its truth-seeking ends in the service of the common good: that is, provide moral guidance and prophetical warnings, and help citizens to be always prepared for their hour of death.[35]

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[32] Particularly in stanza 1 and 2, and 99–114.

[33] Also De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, stanza 113, lines 1515–25.

At the end the rhetorician-narrator claims that he could only verbalize the experience with great difficulty and effort and without fully reaching the intended effect. The topos is not just the usual rhetorical modesty formula meant to move the audience in favor of the rhetorician; it was part of a treatment of the rhetorical gesture by explicit references to the problem of verbalizing experiences that was invoked throughout the poem. It would lead too far to analyze in detail the various clues that point to a (theatrical) reading of the text as an art of rhetoric wrestled from an *ars moriendi*. The focus here will be on two linguistic aspects of the poem's rhetorical method: the use of translation and the self-consciousness of the rhetorical language in the use of various sociolinguistic registers or jargons.[36]

Two Types of Translation

Van den Dale's *Uure vande doot* was part of the wider exchange of texts, ideas, and practices from, particularly, French culture into Dutch that has been discussed before. The first movement focused on the adaptation of the French rhetorical paradigm into Dutch around 1450. It was characterized less by the translation of specific texts than by the adaptation of a set of opinions on the use of rhetoric and of a selection of technical terms and practices.[37] The second movement focused on individual texts instead, and was linked to the establishment of the printing press in the Burgundian Low Countries. Various French texts were printed in original and translated versions in the Dutch-speaking lands, including texts by the priest Pierre Michault (d. 1465), secretary to Charles de Charolais. He was known with Georges Chastellain and Jean Molinet as one of the fifteenth-century Burgundian *rhétoriqueurs*. His allegorical poem *Danse aux Aveugles* was printed around 1480 by Collard Mansion in Bruges. Geraert Leeu of Gouda printed *Van den drie blinde danssen*, a translation in prose and rhetorician poetry in 1482.[38] In 1486, Johannes Andree of Haarlem printed the *Doctrinael des tijds*, a translation of Michault's *Doctrinal du temps présent*, another allegorical poem.[39] De Groote has argued that Van den Dale's *Uure vande doot* was inspired by Michault's *Danse aux Aveugles*, either of the original French or its Dutch adaptation.[40]

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[34] The *Uure* was linked to a series of texts beginning from the fifteenth century onwards, particularly in the same regions where the *seconde rhétorique* and Dutch rhetoric flourished. The theologian and Parisian professor Jean Gerson, who held benefices in the region (for example in Bruges), was one of the founding fathers of the genre. See for example, Bayard, *L'art du bien mourir au xv^e^ siècle*. While in the 'traditional' formula a man on his death bed is tempted and finally dies in peace through the intervention of saints and the means of grace, these elements are abandoned in the *Uure*, as in its model by Pierre Michault.

[35] See also Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, pp. 383, 679 who recognizes the reflexions on the art of rhetoric, but has a traditional reading of the poem as an *ars moriendi*, be it an innovative and untraditional one.

[36] These issues were already highlighted by De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 16–27.

[37] Still, around 1464 the Brussels rhetorician Colijn Callieu translated an earlier text from the ars moriendi tradition, *Pas de la mort* by Amé de Montgesoies as *Dal sonder wederkeren*. Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, pp. 672–73. *Le Chevalier Déliberé* by the Brussels rhétoriqueur Olivier de la Marche, and the famous morality play *Elckerlyck* (Everyman) have been linked to this cluster of texts as well. See also *ibidem*, pp. 670–80.

In Michault's allegorical text, alternating between prose and poetry, description and dialogue, Entendement ('Understanding') shows l'Acteur ('the Author') that all of mankind will have three dances in their lifetime, showing him these stages by visiting three ball rooms. In the first, people dance before a blindfolded Cupid sitting on a throne. In the second room, people dance before the blindfolded Fortune, a crowned Queen. In the final room, the people dance before 'une chose moult hydouse' of which l'Aucteur thinks 'que ce fust ung monstre'.[41] It turns out to be Mors ('Death'), indiscriminately striking people by his lightning. At the end of his dream the author faints and awakens frightened, reaching for his pen.[42]

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[38] The intertextuality is discussed in Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, pp. 673–77. The poem was translated by a certain 'clercxkijn martijn' (Clerk Martin). According to Pleij, the Dutch translation strengthens the central antithesis of reason and wisdom versus nature and the senses that is already evident in the original. The urge to use reason in the speculation and consideration of experiences is also present in Jan Pertcheval's prologue to the edition of his translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, printed as *Camp van der doot* in 1503 in Schiedam.

[39] Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, pp. 504–05. This text alludes to similar themes of the use and abuse of reason and language that run through the cluster of texts under discussion.

[40] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 17–23. I accept his arguments. A manuscript of *La Danse aux Aveugles* kept in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy was published in *La Danse aux Aveugles et autres poësies du xv siecle extraites de la bibliotheque des Ducs de Bourgogne, se vend chez A.J. Panckoucke, a Lille, Libraire*. Lille, 1748. I have used this edition of Michault's text which is available through Google Books.

[41] *La Danse aux Aveugles*; De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 17–23.

[42] *Ibidem.*

Whereas throughout Michault's text Entendement is guiding l'Aucteur by explaining and interpreting what is going on, in Van den Dale's text the rhetorician has to struggle alone. The fact that Entendement is cut and l'Aucteur, a witness in the original, has become a rhetorician who is part of the action, certainly alters the meaning of the text. It is now centered on the struggle of the rhetorician with the frightening beast and on his difficulty in verbalizing the events. The Gouda version was a free adaptation that kept much of the original structure intact. Van den Dale however profoundly reshaped and redirected the text: also cutting the allegorical figures of *Cupido, Fortuna, Venus, Accident, Maladie, Creacion*, and others; and reducing the three structuring dances to only one at the fringe of the narrative.[43]

Van den Dale's poem was at least as theatrical as Michault's original even though the latter used an explicitly scripted exchange between Entendement and l'Aucteur, whereas the confrontations in Van den Dale's poem are narrated in the rhetorician's monologue. The focus of the narrative is changed from mankind and its three dances to the individual rhetorician, his experiences, his struggle to memorize them in writing, and his pedagogical appeal to his audiences. Whereas Michault's text seems to discuss whether Man is governed by Reason or by all sorts of distractions, an interpretation that is also strongly suggested by the Gouda translation, Van den Dale turned his text into a discourse on the (in)adequacy of language.[44]

With the prose of the original removed, the allegory is entirely rendered in 1546 lines of verse and 110 rhyming stanzas of 14 lines each. The lines are in the free verse of the rhetoricians without a fixed number of syllables or regular meter. The rhyme is organized in two schemes: aab/aab/bc/bbc/cdd, and for the final, longer, stanza from bbc onwards in dcc/dde/fef. Various stanzas use double-rhyme, internal rhyme, alliteration, and enjambment. Unlike in the *refrein*, but also unlike Michault's text, each stanza concludes with a unique *sententio* and the final stanza has an acrostic on the name Jan van den Dale.[45]

Thus, the text has become a poem in the form and language of the Dutch rhetorical tradition, yet different from the typical *refrein*, which was one of the main genres used in meetings of rhetoricians and particularly in their contests and festivals. The unusual form, theatricality, and length of the poem suggest that it was meant for a New Year's celebration, attended not only by rhetoricians, but by a large, and socially diverse audience made 'present' in the text. Such theatrical elements, referring to an 'outside world' in which the text is 'performed', are absent in Michault's text.[46]

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[43] *Ibidem.*

[44] *Ibidem.*

[45] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 50–51. A similar undertaking by Colijn Callieu who used stanzas of 9 lines concluded with a proverb in his translation of *Pas de la Mort* in Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, p. 673.

Van den Dale has verbalized the visual and the performative in detail, which is a second type of translation used by the rhetoricians: the translation of experiences, acts, events, and thoughts into verbal language. It must suffice here to explore the role of *Wraecghier* as just one example of the poem's intermediality. *Wraecghier* is the terrifying beast that comes to claim the life of the joyous rhetorician who is absorbed in the pleasures of his senses and is unprepared to meet his Maker. The procedure, by which he acquired a proper name which is also his class-name, is through a pun on *wraakgierig* ('Revengeful') and *aasgier* ('Vulture').[47]

The abstract concept of 'death' is animated by naming an amalgamated monster of (an-) organic, animal, and mechanical parts. The beast that in a sudden darkness flew out of a foggy cloud had a hellish and infectious stench that made the rhetorician stumble. Although *Wraecghier* is known to the rhetorician-narrator by its proper name immediately, he does not understand its nature. It is described as an 'abuselijck wondere' ('an erroneous wonder'); a fiery, horrible, thundering lightning and a strong tempest, a hellish devouring entity flying fierce and fast to bring 'me' down. The narrator underlines how difficult it was to say if this strange and frightening appearance, angrily aiming its tall black bow, were a spirit or a monster, an animal, or a beast.[48]

The rhetorician, still shivering with terror, while thinking, spelling, and writing of this attack only manages to describe the beast in detail in stanza 23. The cruel and bloodthirsty animal had the gruesome head of a lion, a chest made of soil, a scorpion's tail, the claw's of a dragon; it was infectious, venomous, crusty, long and thin, with a skin of barks, a Basilisk's eyes, and huge wings which made it move swiftly and in the blink of an eye. The beast stood on two iron legs, and spoke with a thundering voice. In his description of *Wraecghier* Van den Dale's language is most sensuously mimetic; by invoking many experiences caused by a traumatic clash between senses and the world.[49] Of course, the woodcuts in the booklet are a reminder that the rhetoricians also translated verbal descriptions into images.

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[46] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 22 also refers to the dramatic, scenic potential of Van den Dale's poem as well as Michault's text: 'both poems would easily be rendered into a popular (*volksche*) performance'.

[47] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 82, stanza 15.

[48] *Ibidem.*

[49] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 86–87, stanza 23.

Jargons, Situations, Audiences

The *Uure vande Doot* invokes various speech-contexts and audiences by using specific jargons which will finally be explored here as an important aspect of the rhetorician's method.[50] It is written in rhetorical Dutch with hints of an eastern Brabantine dialect. Yet, more importantly than the regional coloring of the language is the alternation between a lyrical and mimetic language (a pure Dutch that includes the use of grotesque imagery, particularly in the description of the beast) and the scholastic jargons of the liberal arts, and of law and theology (using some Latin, and French in the dispute with the beast, the oratory directed towards the various estates, and the rhetorician's testament).

In Dutch rhetorical language two methods in particular were used to create a more abstract conceptual language: the first is the use of 'foreign' words, mainly from French, and to a lesser extent from Latin. The second method, also used frequently throughout the poem, turns adjectives into substantives. The other way round was to describe mental processes in materialistic and organic imagery, such as in Van den Dale's neologism *oreeste*: a mimetic term created to describe the sort of anger shown by *Wraecghier*. The word probably was a contamination of two Gallicisms: *orage* ('anger') and *tempeeste* ('storm' or 'tempest').[51]

While the use of French words in the mimetic and lyrical stanzas remains relatively scarce (for a rhetorical text), in several stanzas suddenly the vocabulary shifts to an overflow of Gallicisms throughout the stanza but almost always in rhyme-position at the end of each line. The shift is always related to a change in the narrative structure from the position of a lyrical narrator (the 'I' remembering and trying to extract meaning from his experiences) to an authoritative 'I' (aiming to teach the lessons learned to a 'present' audience), or an 'I' that pleas and argues with Death, God, and with the estates of the world.

Of course, the 'present' audience is addressed throughout the poem by the narrator telling the tale of his dream-encounter with Death and the lessons he derived from it, which, in the structure of the poem is made explicit in the *sententio*, the proverb or other abstract truth or judgment that sums up a lesson related to the story or argument of that particular stanza but also to the text's overall argument. Several times however, the narrator directly turns to the 'present' audience by way of apostrophe. The first time, interrupting his lyrical description of the wonderful pleasures of the first handsome lady, the rhetorician addresses 'you, merciful young man, why are you brooding, be joyful, suppress all sadness; are you suffering of fantasies, focus on cheerful thoughts'.[52] In the midst of his description of the joy caused by the five beautiful ladies (his senses), in stanza 12 the narrator-rhetorician suddenly turns to what might be interpreted as the poem's intended audiences, young men keen on the pleasures of life and young rhetoricians in particular:

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[50] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, pp. 13–14 and 16. De Groote also points to the use of jargons and the nuanced choice of vocabulary relative to the audience.

[51] De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 83, stanza 15.

> Ghi ionghers van venus bloeye
> Oft scuylende onder mercurius roeye
> Peyst / denct / gheeft vonnesse / op dit bediet.
> Oft v onversien / niet op v hoeye.
> Dit ghebuerde hoe v sou sijn te moeye.
>
> You youngsters flowering from Venus
> Or taking shelter under Mercury's scepter
> ponder/think/judge/ what happened here
> that if suddenly when you are not on guard
> this happened to you, how would you feel?[53]

In stanza 105 the rhetorician-narrator concludes his 'argument' with reference to the scholastic argumentative method (*summa*, and *ergo*): '*somma*, when I study the grounds, my experience teaches me' the meaning of this vision. He addresses the summary directly to the present audience, first to his fellow rhetoricians: 'so brothers, be on guard, our hour will come'.[54] Then to 'you, wise lights, you learned men' (stanza 106); 'o prelates, all religious people chosen by God' (107); 'all princes, you knights, noble estate' (108); 'you avaricious people, secular or religious, princes, prelates, merchants, rentiers' (109); 'young and old, adult and child, layman or cleric studying in my simple work to purify the spirit somewhat' (110). From the 'ergo' of stanza 111 onwards, the rhetorician concludes his lesson, and then, in the final stanza (114), turns to

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[52] 'So si v ionghelinck goedertieren, Wat peysdi sijt blije / wilt druck verdieren, Fanteseerdi weest vrolijck van ghedochte' (stanza 6).

[53] Stanza 13 continues the lyrical description of pleasures, while in stanza 14 *Wraecghier* 'enters the stage'.

[54] 'Somma als ick doersoecke den gront, so maect mi expierencie cont'; 'dus broeders waect, ons ure sal comen wi worden verheert'. De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, p. 126, stanza 105.

God, dedicating his life and the present work to him, pleading on God's mercy, partly in the humble voice of a fearful subject, partly in the elevated rhetorical language of the privileged citizen invoking the plea of his dream, including the Gallicisms that belong to the language of the lawyer.

The rhetorician-narrator also employs apostrophes in his dream (stanza 3–98) that do not address a present audience, but an imagined audience that almost but not entirely equals the present audience. These apostrophes begin when, in a confrontation with *Wraecghier*, the rhetorician refuses to submit himself to Death, and begins a lengthy plea (from stanza 17) first begging for mercy in a language that slowly turns 'rhetorical', that is, elevated, in a juridical dispute with the beast, using technical terms such as *gracie, spacie, termijn, avijs, respijt*. When the beast remains unmoved; the rhetorician appeals to a higher authority, fully employing a juridical language that in the Dutch-speaking Low Countries was strongly interspersed with Gallicisms. The technical terms borrowed from the French are mainly employed in rhyme-position: *appellere, justicie, spacie, officie, condicie, malicie, inhybitie, protesterick* ('I protest'), *avijs*. The beast though was well-matched and responded by using technical terms such as *argueren, appelleren, justicier, executie, lamenteren, delayeren, gepasceert, parlement, execucie, princhier, justicie, solucie, terminen, respijt*. In stanza 21, the rhetorician refers his adversary to the correct juridical proceedings, continuing in his language full of Gallicisms.[55] *Wraecghier* answers in stanza 22 that 'even if you were eloquent as Tullius, had Samson's power, Solomon's science', this would not matter.[56]

The rhetorician, once he fully realizes what the beast looks like, responds in a highly lyrical, musical, melodious language full of double-rhymes that mimics the process of a fainting rhetorician gradually regaining his strength, finally forcefully demanding the beast to reveal its credentials. The beast responds to the challenge, but (in stanza 26) the rhetorician questions the coherence of his answer by submitting it to the rules of scholarly logic: 'as the doctors and philosophers teach: two mutually exclusive antitheses in one sentence cannot both be true'.[57] He then challenges the beast further to use the formal rules of reason ('how, what, to whom, and through what and prove with reason what you are allowed or should do').[58] When finally the beast reveals to be Death himself, the rhetorician almost faints again, understanding his fate is sealed, just his tongue, still not defeated, begins to plead (again using the Gallicisms of juridical language) for delay from a year down to a day (stanza 33–37) to settle his accounts.[59] While he succeeds in annoying the beast, the rhetorician is suddenly saved for another hour by a beautiful joyful lady, who, in juridical language, commands the beast to obey and grant the rhetorician some mercy. The lady, a higher authority, is later 'explained' by the narrator-rhetorician to be Mary.[60]

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[55] Stanza 21, Gallicisms: fantasien, absencien, partien, enuien, suspect, vermalendien, fortse.

[56] Stanza 22: 'al haddi tulius eloquencie, sampsoens macht, salomons sciencie'. Gallicisms: eloquencie, sciencie, mencie, execucie, sentencie, gracien, excusatie, ocsuyn (occasion).

[57] Stanza 26: 'want so doctoren philosophen doen vermaen, twee contrarie en moghen niet tsamen staen'. See also the remark by De Groote, *Jan van den Dale*, 16.

The rhetorician, thus granted one hour of grace, laments that he does not know what to do or where to start and finally addresses the hour ('o hour', stanza 42). He than decides to make his accounts 'with little memory for lack of paper', and calls upon his senses ('o sinnen') for help, using technical terms of the rhetorical paradigm as *gestudeert, gefantaseert, speculacie, subtijlheit, gracie, spacie, sciencie, falacie, regnacie, sentencie, eloquencie* (stanza 44). He than resumes his lament by addressing time ('och tijt', stanza 45–47), and continues with an old genre from the French rhetorical tradition, an 'adieu' to the world (stanza 49–51) that also uses a highly rhetorical language including the typical Gallicisms.[61] The 'adieu' to the world ends on a different note when the rhetorician turns from a lament to an accusation and finally to an abuse of the treacherous world of deceitful appearances.[62]

An intermezzo of self-pity is followed by an accusation of the morning ('o morning'). Another intermezzo of self-pity ends with an appeal in seven stanzas of highly elevated language to all estates to take lesson from the spectacle of the beast. Particularly the stanzas addressed to the prelates (58), the nobility (59), the merchants and rentiers (60) are rich in double- and internal rhyme (58–60) that create a lofty language. The appeal to the avaricious people lacks these qualities as does the invitation to all the estates, nobles, women, and poor to take part in the dance of death (62). The appeal to the poor laborers, calling for patience, only uses double-rhyme, and the call to the devout hearts or those living under a religious rule again employs some technical terms derived from French referring to their religious duties.[63]

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[58] Stanza 28: 'bruyct redene hoe wat aen wien waer bi en met renen laet blijcken wat ghi moet of muecht'.

[59] Stanza 31, Gallicisms: speculacie, contrarie, allegacie, contradixie, lacen, gracie.

[60] Stanza 38, Gallicisms: gheoerdieneert, respijt, gheconsenteert, obedieert, opponeren.

[61] Stanza 49, Gallicisms: adieu, glorie, concistorie, lacen, memorie, pompuese, ciborie, miserien, horrible, ghefenijnt, aylacen, memorie.

[62] Stanza 52, Gallicisms: princersse, variable, gheinfecteert, samblans, fortuynen.

The appeals to the estates are followed by a long lament to the Lord that is reminiscent of the penitential Psalms. The tone becomes worldlier in stanza 80 when the rhetorician begins to plea for mercy as if addressing a prince. Stanza 83 in particular is highly juridical, lofty, and rhetorical with many Gallicisms in rhyme-position. It moves from the lofty language of the citizen pleading for his rights into the humbler tone of a subject pleading for a sovereign's mercy (83), until the rhetorician finally acknowledges his misdemeanors, pleads on his human weakness and the human nature of the Lord and his suffering (85–86). In stanza 87 the rhetorician changes tone, now again appealing to the Lord as a temporal prince, to his law and his sovereign prerogative to correct the guilty or be merciful, referring to authorities such as Jeremiah and St Augustine, Matthew and Mark, as if he were in a court of law (88–93). In stanza 94, the rhetorician realizes that all the time the beast has been watching and the sound of the hammer has been indicating the lapse of time. Since the five women have moved closer the rhetorician decides to make them witness to his last will. While donating his goods to nobles and commoners, to princes and prelates, in order to be remembered in their prayers, the hour sounds and the beast aims its bow. The terrifying fear of death awakens the rhetorician, shivering, drenched in sweat and bleeding from his nose (98).

Van den Dale's *ars moriendi* diverges fundamentally from the rules of the genre; the narrator-rhetorician who was destined to die, at least in his dream, never dies. Also lacking is the generic role of a priest, the saints, fear of purgatory, and the means of grace of orthodox Catholicism. These generic features were already ignored in Michault's combination of an *ars moriendi* with the theatrical concept of the *dance macabre* into a text structured as a dialogue between Understanding and the Author. Michault's text seems to have been focusing less on Death than on Mankind's lack of reason, whereas Van den Dale's text, structured as a rhetorician's monologue, is converting the *ars moriendi* into a reflection on the art of rhetoric and the trouble of speech in the face of moments of truth (represented here by the final and most significant moment of truth, the hour of death).

In a way, the transformation of the *ars moriendi* into an art of rhetoric already is a lesson to young rhetoricians, who are singled out as a significant first audience. The poem could be read as a statement about the nature of their art showing that the aim is not to imitate existing examples or copy existing templates, but to create new texts that use, adapt, and emulate tradition. Whether or not this was intended by Van den Dale and understood by his audience, the structure of the poem certainly shows that it was explicitly intended to deal with the problem of genre as a means to address specific audiences and serve specific persuasive purposes. The text employs two structural positions: the citizen (a free person with rights and privileges) versus the subject (a dependent person in a state of mercy) corresponds to the use of rhetorical versus lyrical and language, and to the use of a hybrid versus a pure language.

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[63] Stanza 64, Gallicisms: mencie, penitencie, abstinencie, patiencie.

On a more specific level, the text shows various speech situations, from pleasant conversation, formal instructions, inquisitive enquiry, juridical disputation, pedagogical oratory, formal pleas and charges, lamentations, accusations, farewell speeches, narratives and *tableaux vivants* to specific genres such as the proverb, the testament, the prayer, and the penitential psalm. All of these genres are related to situations that vary between private and public forms of speech, lofty and low use of language, depending on the role and intention of the rhetorician and the audience he choose to address. The display of these situations and the related uses (and abuses) of language and speech forms are key to the interpretation of Van den Dale's poem as a highly personal art of rhetoric, or even, as his rhetorical testament containing the programmatic legacy of a rhetorician's teachings of the art.[64]

Conclusion

Dutch theatrical-rhetorical culture depended on multilingualism in three fundamental ways. Because of their interest in acquiring and disseminating learning and the culture of learning, leading rhetoricians, such as Van den Dale, were often multilingual people that worked to translate and adapt learning from mainly French, Latin, and Dutch sources. They shared their knowledge with fellow rhetoricians and their local communities mainly through rhetorical-theatrical means which were the second fundamental impulse of the use of languages in a broad sense: the use of language relative to the speaker and the audience. A third, metaphorical, way in which rhetorical culture was 'multilingual' was through the use of non-verbal language or the mimicking of these languages in verbal language.

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[64] Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord*, p. 383 points to the explicit references to the art of rhetoric in the poem, particularly the notions of *inventio, materia, elocutio, actio*.

The hybrid language of the rhetoricians in a way was carved out in between Latin and French languages, existing Dutch languages and visual and performative languages. Their use of language reflected the communicative practices of the early modern period, before and well after the introduction of the printing press. Their rhetorical wit was highly adapted to a world in which written texts remained scarce, and the oral, visual, and performative means of face-to-face communication and its mnemotechnics were predominant. It is likely that the written text in the vernacular became more dominant in the course of the seventeenth century, which might explain why the role of face-to-face interaction was reduced, the hybrid nature of Dutch literary culture was attacked and successful attempts were made to purify its language.

CHAPTER 4

Types of Bilingual Presentation in the English-Latin Terence[1]

Demmy Verbeke

The history of bilingualism in the Early Modern Period is written by studying the sources which inform us about the spoken or written exchanges between individuals or groups of people. Since we obviously do not have sound recordings of these exchanges, we have to rely exclusively on texts: this is the handwritten or printed forms of communication. Naturally, we need to take a critical approach towards these sources and need to make sure we understand, to the best of our abilities, how and why these texts were produced and how they were put to use. This essay therefore takes what one might call a book history approach when studying the interaction between Latin and the vernacular. It focuses on books in which the Classical language appears together with the vernacular, not only in the same book, but even on the same page; and aims to present the different formats of bilingual presentation at the disposal of the author or editor who wishes to present a text in two languages.

The corpus of bilingual editions under scrutiny in this essay consists of English translations of Terence printed between 1473 and 1640. This is the period covered by the most important bibliographical tools in the field, namely the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad* and the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue.[2] A considerable number of English versions of Terence were printed during this period. These were intended mainly, but not exclusively, for didactic use and thus provide us with an insight in the ways and means by which students

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[1] This contribution was prepared in the context of the project *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473–1640*, funded by the Leverhulme Foundation for 2007–2010 and executed at the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance in the University of Warwick. I wish to thank Brenda Hosington and Ian Fielding for their comments on this essay.

[2] Pollard and Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* (further: STC), now incorporated in the online *English Short Title Catalogue* (http://estc.bl.uk). The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue is available online since 2010 (http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/).

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were educated to achieve linguistic competence in Latin. It is well attested in studies of the English school system, and especially in T.W. Baldwin's *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, that no schoolboy attending grammar school could ever escape Terence. Terence was promoted—for instance in the highly influential *De ratione studii* of Erasmus—as the ultimate model of colloquial Latin, as the model stylist and as a moralist who showcases men's vices.[3] In England, Terence was taught especially in the lower forms, typically through study of the comedies themselves, as well as memorization of phrasebooks based on Terence. The corpus of English translations of Terence thus includes translations of specific plays and translations of the complete works, as well as anthologies which collect quotations from Terence and commonplace phrases couched in Terentian idiom. A tally of all these translations of Terence printed before 1640 and listed in the appendix at the end of this essay provides us with eight separate books and twenty-five editions including the reprints. A vast majority of these are bilingual publications. Only the *Andria* (1588) by Maurice Kyffin and the *Andria and the Eunuch* (1627) by Thomas Newman do not print the source text, and even then, Latin is not completely absent: Kyffin's translation comes with Latin preliminaries and Newman's with a Latin motto on the title page.

The first printed English-Latin version of Terence is the phrasebook *Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglicam linguam traducta*, published in 1483 in Oxford and reprinted six times up to 1529. It was published in the same year, by the same printer, as the *Compendium totius grammaticae* of John Anwykyll, the schoolmaster of Magdalen College School in Oxford, who is credited for being 'the first English grammarian to have his work printed and to publish school textbooks teaching Latin on humanist lines'.[4] It has therefore been assumed that these *Vulgaria* were prepared by Anwykyll as well, or were at least intended to be used together with his grammar in the classroom.

A short preliminary poem, in Latin, precedes the actual phrasebook and informs us that this publication is intended for the student who wants to improve his Latin as well as his English: 'Studious boy, you who want to speak

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[3] 'Rursum inter latinos quis vtilior loquendi auctor quam Terentius? Purus, tersus et quotidiano sermoni proximus, tum ipso quoque argumenti genere adolescentiae' (ed. Jean-Claude Margolin in ASD, I-2, pp. 115–16). See also the dedicatory epistle to Erasmus' edition of Terence (i.e. *Ep*. 2584, l. 70 ff.) and the recent contribution by Bloemendal, 'Erasmus and Comedy between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period'.

[4] Orme, 'Anwykyll, John (d. 1487)'.

English and Latin words, focus your mind on this little book'.[5] The presentation is interlinear. In the first couple of editions, each English phrase is followed by the Latin equivalent. The fact that the English comes first indicates that this was the entry language; but the Latin derives prominence from being printed in a larger font. It is interesting to note, however, that this layout changes in the editions of 1510 and 1529, where the interlinear presentation is preserved, but the English and the Latin trade places: the Latin now comes first, while the English is printed in a larger font. The switch suggests that the intended use of these reprints may be different from the original one. The English-Latin version was probably intended mainly to teach the students how to speak and write better Latin, starting from the English expressions and translating them into Latin. The Latin-English versions, on the other hand, start from the Latin and thus seem to be primarily designed to help students to translate Latin into English.

Another bilingual phrasebook, entitled *Floures for Latine spekynge selected and gathered oute of Terence*, was first published in 1533/4 and went through seven editions before 1581. This new anthology was compiled by the playwright and schoolmaster Nicholas Udall.[6] Just as the previous phrasebook, it was intended to serve a double purpose: Udall says explicitly in his dedicatory epistle that he not only wants to teach students to translate English phrases into correct Latin, but also wants to instruct them in how to translate Latin into appropriate English:

> Porro latina ipse anglice interpretatus sum, quo vos quoque latina vernacule, aut e contrario latine vernacula absque molestia vel negotio, et cum aliqua ratione ac gratia, nec interim ineptis prorsus atque absurdis, quod plerique faciunt, sed appositis et accomodatis verbis reddere addiscatis.
>
> Moreover, I myself have translated the Latin into English. This way, you can learn to translate Latin into the vernacular, and the other way around, vernacular into Latin. And you can do this without hassle or trouble, and with a certain reason and grace, not—as many do—by using completely senseless and absurd words, but with appropriate and suitable vocabulary.[7]

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[5] *Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglicam linguam traducta*, fol. n1 r: 'Hunc studiose puer menti committe libellum / Anglica qui cupis et verba latina loqui'.

[6] Steggle, 'Udall, Nicholas (1504–1556)'.

[7] *Floures for Latine spekynge selected and gathered oute of Terence*, fol. 3v.

Despite the fact that they are both bilingual phrasebooks based on Terence and primarily used in schools, there are a number of differences between the fifteenth-century *Vulgaria* and the sixteenth-century *Floures*. The Latin comes first in the *Floures*, but the English follows on the same line and is printed in the same font size. Moreover, Udall does not limit himself to a mere list of Latin and English expressions, but adds, where appropriate and needed, all sorts of commentary in Latin, with the occasional translation of a sentence into English. As a result, the dominant language in these *Floures* is Latin, although the English title page might suggest otherwise. Another difference is the intended use, which can be surmised from the organisation of the books. The *Vulgaria* were a fairly limited collection of phrases which the students were most probably expected to learn by heart. The first couple of editions of the *Floures*, on the other hand, contain an index (omitted from the revised editions printed in 1575 and 1581), which seems to suggest that the book was not only a schoolbook, but could also be used as a work of reference, for instance by Renaissance dramatists or compilers of dictionaries.[8]

We now turn our attention to the translations in the more traditional sense of the word. The first one of these, *Terens in Englysh*, was probably printed in Paris around 1520 and remained anonymous. The book only contains the *Andria*, which is preceded by a long poem by the translator, who also adds some verses at the end of the book. In these paratexts, the translator discusses the act of translating and the status of the English language. He argues that, thanks to the efforts of the so-called masters of English poetry, namely John Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Lydgate, the English language is 'amplyfyed so / That we therin now translate as well may / As in eny other tongis other can do'.[9] Thus, the status of English has changed so much that it can be seen to rival the other vernaculars. Moreover, the translator observes that, while the English language cannot provide an equivalent for every word in the Classical languages, the same is also true the other way around: 'yet the greke tong r laten dyuers men say / Haue many wordys can not be englyshid this day / So lyke wyse in englysh many wordys do habound / That no greke nor laten for them can be found.'[10]

The vernacular occupies a central place in this book: the title is only stated in English, the verses added before and after the comedy are in English, and Latin is literally marginalized in the mise-en-page.[11] This dominance of English is explained by the intended use of the book and by its audience. In contrast with the previous examples and some of the other translations of Terence which we will discuss, this *Terens in Englysh* is not meant to be a course text. Rather, the prologue and epilogue indicate that the text was meant to be performed.

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[8] Starnes, 'Literary Features of Renaissance Dictionaries', pp. 45 and 48; and *idem, Renaissance Dictionaries English-Latin and Latin-English*, pp. 81 and 233.

[9] *Terens in englysh*, fol. Aiv. This translation is edited by Meg Twycross in her *Terence in English*.

[10] *Terens in englysh*, fol. Aiv.

The next bilingual edition, also entitled *Terence in English*, was printed in Cambridge in 1598, and contains all six comedies. The translator was the Anglican clergyman Richard Bernard, who translated Terence in the beginning of his career and seems to have focused exclusively on his pastoral work and his religious writings afterwards.[12] In his dedicatory epistle and his preface to the reader, Bernard stresses the importance of Terence for learning correct, clear and elegant Latin, but especially highlights the moral content of his work: 'in telling the truth by these figments, men might become wise to auoid such vices, and learne to practise vertue; which was Terence purpose in setting these comedies forth in latin, mine in translating them into english'.[13]

The text itself is organized to accommodate these different uses of Terence. The Latin text is printed first with marginal notes in Latin. This user-friendly edition of the original is regularly followed by another section in Latin, entitled *moralis expositio*, which constitutes a concise expression of the moral lesson contained in the relevant scene of the comedy. This is followed by a translation of Terence's text into English, which can be read separately or in combination with the source text, and two sections aimed at language instruction: the *formulae loquendi* which offer Latin expressions together with their English equivalents, and the *sententiae*, which are untranslated commonplace Latin sayings. This version of the English-Latin Terence, in other words, combines the elements of the phrasebooks with an annotated edition of the Latin text and a translation into English; and adds the extra element of the moral instruction drawn from Terence. The mise-en-page seems to indicate that the publication could be used as a textbook for schools, but also as reading material for lay people who could apply it for self-tuition and moral instruction.

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[11] This type of presentation was previously used for annotated texts, with the text in the centre of the page and the glosses in the margin, and was later copied by the translators of the same texts. Cf. Molins, 'Mises en page: Les efforts conjugués des traducteurs et des imprimeurs', pp. 1–2. Molins (pp. 3–4) also lists examples of French translations of Virgil in which the Latin text is similarly marginalized with the translation at the centre of the page.

[12] Greaves, 'Bernard, Richard (*bap.* 1568, *d.* 1641)'.

[13] *Terence in English*, fol. 2v.

The two final examples have a more limited scope and are aimed at people who want to use the comedies of Terence to teach or learn Latin. They are the editions by Joseph Webbe, a remarkable figure in English education and book publishing. After having studied medicine in Italy for several years, Webbe returned to England around 1616. He failed to obtain a licence to practice medicine and made a living teaching languages. He developed a 'direct' method to teach Latin, based on imitating phrases from Classical authors rather than learning grammatical paradigms, and designed textbooks to teach according to this system. Webbe was also an entrepreneur and successfully lobbied to obtain copyright for his teaching method and textbook design.[14] It was Webbe's intention to publish all of Terence's comedies in his new format, but he only managed to finish the *Andria* and the *Eunuch* before he died around 1630.

The aim of Webbe's design is to enable students to see immediately the links between Latin sentences and their English equivalents without having to refer to any grammatical explanation. His method is 'clausulary', that is, the Latin text is divided into both simple and compound clauses, which are then numbered. An example is shown in the illustration, where the clause number is found in the middle column. '1.5.4. 51', for instance, means the first comedy of Terence (that is, the *Andria*), act 5, scene 4, clause 51. The challenge was to develop a typographical system to print the Latin text, the clause number and the English translation, so that it would be clear which part in one language corresponded to which part in the other language without altering the correct word order of either of the two languages. Webbe's solution is to use three major columns: one column is for the English translation, the middle column for the reference number of the clause, and the third column for the Latin text. The word order of both languages is preserved when one reads the two text columns downwards and from left to right (see for example clause 1.5.4. 56: the English reads 'it is a thing that may presently be knowne', while the Latin reads 'iam sciri potest'). But Webbe also parses the text, using subdivisions with horizontal and vertical lines, so that at a glance, one sees which part of the English sentence in the left-hand column corresponds with which part of the Latin sentence in the right-hand column (see for instance 1.5.4. 56 again, where the vertical line separates 'presently' and 'iam', indicating that these are the words which correspond with each other). Moreover, words which are necessary in English, but are not expressed in the Latin, are added within square brackets (for example, see 1.5.4. 51: '[for them]' is printed in square brackets because there is no corresponding word or set of words in the Latin).

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[14] Cf. Watson, 'Dr. Joseph Webbe and Language Teaching', and the various contributions by Vivian Salmon listed in the bibliography.

<table>
<tr><td>Do I :: moue these things,
------:-- | or | ---------------
------:: care [for them?]</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>51</td><td>¶ <i>Ego istaec</i> :: <i>moueo,</i> -----
---------------- : -- | <i>aut</i> | ---
---------------- :: <i>curo?</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>will not you | -------------
beare your --- | --------------
owne harmes | with pati-
------------------ | ence?</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>52</td><td><i>Non tu tuum</i> | ---------------
<i>malum</i> ------ | <i>aequo animo</i>
<i>feres?</i> |
|</td></tr>
<tr><td>For,</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>53</td><td>¶ <i>Nam,</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>Those things that I said,</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>54</td><td><i>ego quae dixi,</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>Whether you shall heare
[them] to be true or false,</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>55</td><td><i>vera an falsa audieris,</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>It [is a thing | ----------------
that] may ---| presently ----
be knowne. |</td><td>1.5.4.</td><td>56</td><td>---------------- | <i>iam</i> ----------
<i>sciri potest</i> |
|</td></tr>
</table>

ILLUSTRATION *Example of Webbe's textbook design; excerpt* (*p. 181*) *from* The first comedy of Pub. Terentius, called Andria.

It is hard to comment on the feasibility of Webbe's method without having used it in a classroom setup for a period of time. In his preface to the *Andria*, however, Webbe himself admits that not everything went according to plan: 'The Scholes formerly employed to this purpose, haue, by mingling of Methods, been much confused, And the Masters of these Scholes were by pouertie (as they tell) enforced to this mingling.'[15] As far as we can tell, the method died together with its inventor. Despite the apparent failure of Webbe's method, though, his editions offer yet another form of bilingual presentation. Moreover, they show that there is almost no limit to what is possible just as long as an author is eccentric enough to come up with a new idea and manages to scrape enough money together to put it into print.

This overview of types of bilingual presentation in the English-Latin editions of Terence printed between 1473 and 1640 confirms and expands on the findings of Nikolaus Henkel about bilingual school texts printed before 1500.[16] Henkel distinguished six types of bilingual presentation in incunabula:

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[15] *The first comedy of Pub. Terentius, called Andria*, fol. 4r.

[16] Henkel, 'Printed School Texts: Types of Bilingual Presentation in Incunabula'. Henkel also discussed several types of mise-en-page of a source text together with its translation in his *Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte*, pp. 103–47.

(1) source text printed together with an interlinear translation, (2) books in which text sections in the vernacular are interrupted by text sections in Latin, whereby the Latin language is employed for specific tasks only, (3) source text and translation printed in two columns, (4) Latin text, followed by translation in the vernacular, followed by commentary in the vernacular, (5) summary in the vernacular, followed by Latin text, followed by Latin commentary, and, finally, (6) a particular and rare case in which a printed Latin text with commentary is bound with blank pages in between, used for a handwritten vernacular version.

The first type is also present in the studied corpus of English-Latin editions of Terence, but it is a different kind of interlinear translation. Henkel presented a 1481 edition of Donatus's *Ars minor*, in which the Latin original is printed together with a German interlinear translation. This German version offered a word-by-word correspondence by providing a literal translation of the Latin word printed directly below it. The vernacular version was thus incomprehensible when read sentence by sentence, since it retained the Latin order of words, and was supposed to be used vertically instead of horizontally. The approach in the Terentian phrasebook from 1483, however, is different: a perfectly normal English phrase is followed by its Latin equivalent, not in word-for-word correspondence, but according to the general sense.

The presentation method found in the *Floures for Latine spekynge*, namely Latin text, followed by a translation, followed by a commentary in Latin, resembles Henkel's fourth and fifth type where text sections in Latin alternate with sections in the vernacular. The Parisian *Terens in englysh*, on the other hand, reflects the printing of source text and translation in parallel columns (this is Henkel's third type): although the text is not really organized in two columns, it creates a similar effect by placing the English translation in the centre of the page, and adding the Latin source text in the margin.

This overview also adds two new types to the ones distinguished by Henkel: the patented method of parsing the Latin and English text developed by Joseph Webbe and the organization of Richard Bernard's *Terence in English*, into annotated Latin text, Latin *morales expositiones*, English translation, bilingual *formulae loquendi*, and Latin *sententiae*. Between Henkel and this essay, at least eight types of bilingual presentation in early printed books have thus been identified. It is to be expected that further research will reveal even more possibilities because an author or editor who wanted to publish a text in two languages was, after all, only limited by his own innovative prowess and, of course, by the printers' willingness, competence, and materials.

The survey of English-Latin editions of Terence showcases the different uses that were made of the Classics. It furthermore brings to light how the mise-en-page could be arranged to achieve these various goals. Not every bilingual publication served the same purpose and the specific aim of a publication led to a certain type of bilingual presentation, just as a specific bilingual layout steered the reading process. A detailed analysis of bilingual publications using a book history approach can bring us closer to a fuller understanding of the purpose of bilingual editions and the reading processes involved, and can thus reveal at least part of the history of bilingualism in the Early Modern Period.

Appendix: English Translations of Terence Printed between 1473 and 1640[17]

Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglicam linguam traducta ([Oxford: Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunt, 1483] = STC 23904)—translator unknown (John Anwykyll?).
Reprinted in London (c.1483, c.1485, c.1505; i.e. STC 23905, STC 23906, STC 23907.3) and Antwerp (1486 = STC 23907).
Revised reprint in London (c.1510, 1529; i.e. STC 23907.7, STC 23908).

Floures for Latine spekynge selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated in to Englysshe, together with the exposition and settynge forthe as welle of suche latyne wordes, as were thought nedefull to be annoted, as also of dyuers grammatical rules, very profytable [*and*] *necessarye for the expedite knowlege in the latine tongue: compiled by Nicolas Vdall* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533 [i.e. 1534] = STC 23899).
Reprinted in London (1538, 1544, 1560, 1568, 1572; i.e. STC 23900, STC 23900.5, STC 23901, STC 23901.3, STC 23901.7).
Revised and expanded edition with an additional collection by John Higgins printed in London (1575, 1581; i.e. STC 23902, STC 23903).

Terens in englysh ([Paris, P. le Noir?, ca. 1520] = STC 23894)—in fact only a translation of *Andria*; translator unknown (J. Rastell?).

Andria the first comoedie of Terence, in English. A furtherance for the attainment vnto the right knowledge, & true proprietie, of the Latin tong. And also a commodious meane of

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[17] This survey was compiled on the basis of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue and checked against Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641*, the trial list of translations into English printed between 1475 and 1560 in Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475–1557*, pp. 277–319, the list of translations of the Greek and Roman Classical authors before 1600 in Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, pp. 506–541, and the corrections published in Nørgaard, 'Translations of the Classics into English before 1600' and Cummings and Gillespie, 'Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography'. See also Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477–1620*.

help, to such as haue forgotten Latin, for their speedy recouering of habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake the same. Carefully translated out of Latin, by Maurice Kyffin (London: T[homas] E[ast] for Thomas Woodcocke, 1588 = STC 23895).

Terence in English. Fabulae comici facetissimi et elegantissimi poetae Terentii omnes Anglicae factae primumque hac noua forma nunc editae: opera ac industria R.B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnsherij Epvvortheatis (Cambridge: John Legat, 1598 = STC 23890)—trad. Richard Bernard.

Reprinted in London (1607, 1614, 1629; i.e. STC 23891, STC 23892, STC 23893).

The two first comedies of Terence called Andria, and the Eunuch newly Englished by Thomas Newman. Fitted for schollers priuate action in their schooles (London: G. M[iller], 1627 = STC 23897).

The first comedy of Pub. Terentius, called Andria, or, The woman of Andros, English and Latine: claused for such as would write or speake the pure language of this author, after any method whatsoeuer, but especially after the method of Dr. Webbe (London: Felix Kyngston for Philip Waterhouse, 1629 = STC 23896)—trad. Joseph Webbe.

The second comedie of Pub. Terentius, called Eunuchus, or, The eunuche, English and Latine: claused for such as would write or speake the pure language of this author, after any method whatsoeuer, but especially after the method of Dr. Webbe. The vses whereof the reader may finde in the epistle before the first comedie (London: Adam Islip, 1629 = STC 23898)—trad. Joseph Webbe.

Reprinted in London (1629 = STC 23898a).

CHAPTER 5

An Aristotelian at the Academy: Simone Porzio and the Problem of Philosophical Vulgarisation

Eva Del Soldato

Philosophy and the vernacular were not irreconcilable even during the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: in addition to the 'élite popularization' of encyclopaedic works, and the vulgarisation of short treatises that often served as a form of exercise for translators, which became common in Europe from the thirteenth century onward,[1] the rebirth of Platonism in late fifteenth century was accompanied by the diffusion of vernacular texts related to it.[2] On the margins of the official *curriculum studiorum*, Renaissance Neoplatonism was not bound to formal schemes and often directed to a wider audience, one that did not necessarily practice philosophy in a specialized form: it encountered tremendous success in courts and humanistic circles thanks to the agreeability of its subjects (love, soul, etc.) and its style.

Instead, the vernacular was substantially neglected where philosophy was traditionally and professionally practiced, viz. at the universities, which continued to focus on an established Latin speaking Aristotelianism. In spite of (rare) patrons like Charles V of France, who, in the second half of the fourteenth century commissioned a series of vernacular translations of Aristotelian works (including *Politics, Ethics, On the Heavens* and the apocryphal *Economics*) from the professor Nicole Oresme, Aristotle's ideas had by and large remained

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[1] See Sturlese, 'Filosofia in volgare', pp. 2–3; I derive the expression 'elitarian popularisation' from Crisciani, 'Michele Savonarola', p. 448.

[2] For the Neoplatonic appreciation of vernacular between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they are significant the cases of Marsilio Ficino and his pupil Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, who both vernacularized by themselves some of their treatises, originally in Latin: see, e.g., Ficino, *El libro dell'amore*, but also the assessment by Varchi, *Vita di Francesco Cattani da Diacceto*, pp. 14–15. See also Buck, *Der Einfluss des Platonismus auf die volkssprachliche Literatur im Florentiner Quattrocento*, 1965. Plato's dialogues translated in vernacular had a rich printed circulation around 1540s, in particular in Italy and in France, see Schmidt, 'Traducteurs français de Platon'; E. Garin, *Storia della filosofia italiana*, 2, p. 611. But also cf. for other considerations J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2, pp. 738–96.

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locked in the fortress of the university and its *lingua franca* for centuries.[3] The rigid structure of Aristotelian philosophy, consolidated by medieval scholasticism, was a serious obstacle to a vernacular translation: devoid of the kind of stylistic appeal that humanists valued, weighed down by too many technical expressions, Aristotelian writings were in general only accessible to those who possessed a specialized philosophical background and, correspondingly, knew Latin. There also existed a degree of professional jealousy, the desire of professors to keep the highest theoretical questions away from a popular consumption.[4]

However, in the sixteenth century, it was precisely Aristotelianism which made an important theoretical contribution to an elevated use of the vernacular. The celebrated Mantuan *magister* Pietro Pomponazzi—who died in 1525—spoke the following words as a character in the *Dialogo delle lingue*, written around 1542 by a pupil of his, Sperone Speroni:

> Più tosto vo' credere ad Aristotile e alla verità, che lingua alcuna del mondo (sia qual si voglia) non possa aver da sé stessa privilegio di significare i concetti del nostro animo, ma tutto consista nello arbitrio delle persone. Onde chi vorrà parlar di filosofia con parole mantovane o milanesi, non gli può esser disdetto a ragione, più che disdetto gli sia il filosofare e l'intender la cagion delle cose. Vero è che, perché il mondo

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[3] Other exceptions are often related to less technical works, and connected to the commission of a noble man: in France, the *Meteorology* by Mahieu le Vilain (ca. 1275), the lost *Politics* by Pierre de Paris (ca. 1300) and the later *Problemata* by Évrart de Conty (ca. 1380). Different examples are the German *Categories* and *On interpretation* by Notker (10th century) and the *Meteorology* by an anonym Florentine (14th century). In the 14th century, multiple versions of the *Ethics* and *Rhetoric* were made, too. I also remember the vernacularisation of pseudo-Aristotelian works, alien to the university's *curricula*, such as the successful *Secretum Secretorum*. See, among others, Caroti, 'Nicole Oresme: dalla "quaestio" alle "glose" '; Grant, 'Nicole Oresme, Aristotle's *On the Heavens*, and the Court of Charles V'; Librandi, *La «Metaura» d'Aristotile*; Lusignan, 'Nicole Oresme traducteur'; Williams, 'The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secrets of Secrets*'. On the case of the Bolognese professor of medicine Taddeo Alderotti (13th c.) as translator of the *Ethics*, see Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico alle origini della letteratura italiana*. A list of Aristotelian Italian vernacularizations is now available on the database of the 'Vernacular Aristotelianism in Renaissance Italy' project led by D.A. Lines: http://www.2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/vernaculararistotelianism/database/. See also Bianchi, 'Per una storia dell'aristotelismo "volgare" nel Rinascimento'.

[4] See Bianchi, 'Il core di filosofare volgarmente', pp. 499–500, who cites two attestations of elitist hostility against philosophy in vernacular: the LXXVIII *novella* of the *Novellino* (13th c.) and a passage from Speroni, 'Dialogo delle lingue', pp. 627–28.

> non ha in costume di parlar di filosofia se non greco o latino, già crediamo che far non possa altramente; e quindi viene che solamente di cose vili e volgari volgarmente parla e scrive la nostra età.
>
> I prefer to believe in Aristotle and in the truth, that there is no language in the world—any language at all—which possesses the exclusive privilege of understanding the concepts of our soul, rather that everything consists in human will. Therefore, those who would desire to speak about philosophy with Mantuan or Milanese words cannot be prevented from doing so, in the same way that they cannot be prevented from practicing philosophy and understanding the causes of things. But, since the world is accustomed to speak about philosophy only in Greek and in Latin, we believe we cannot do so in any other way; and so it happens that our Age speaks and writes in the *volgare* only about vulgar and poor subjects.[5]

All languages are of equal value, even local and vernacular languages like *Mantovano* and *Milanese*, and this is because they are all created by an act of human spirit: therefore thought—conceived in its higher philosophical sense—cannot be limited to a single linguistic form. We do not know if Pomponazzi ever actually pronounced this passionate speech in defence of a philosophical use of *volgare*, but the words that Speroni put in his mouth were genuinely Aristotelian: the conventionality in naming things—no name is a name by nature, but κατὰ συνθήκην, as stated in *On Interpretation*, 16a27–30—that is the immutability of objects in a world of mutable words, and the consequent prevalence of *res* over *verba*, were all principles which led to a legitimization of a universal practice of translation.[6]

Speroni's dialogue was a product of the *Accademia degli Infiammati*, one of the new literary academies that arose in Italy during the fourth and the fifth decades of the sixteenth century to promote the vernacular as a language of elevated discourse.[7] The *Infiammati* flourished in Padua, where the university was a traditional peripatetic stronghold and therefore many of the Academy's members possessed an Aristotelian background. The *Infiammati* focused on the project of establishing a noble vernacular, founded on Bembo's teachings and capable of being used in any literary genre. Philosophy was included and many people who also attended the university made important contributions to their program. Among these was Benedetto Varchi, who offered popularized Aristotelian lessons in the vernacular at the *Accademia*, and also began to translate and compose vernacular commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon* and *Ethics*.[8] If Varchi's versions remained fragmentary, unfinished and never printed, the vernacular Aristotle of Alessandro Piccolomini met with greater success: this Sienese nobleman translated and published the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, and offered not a literal version, but a kind of commentary of other works, most notably of the *Physics* in *La filosofia naturale*, a text in which he announced a concrete and self-conscious project to compose philosophical treatises in the vernacular. After having suggested that the ancient Hellenic philosophers wrote their works in Greek in order to glorify their country, he claimed:

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[5] Speroni, 'Dialogo delle lingue', p. 625 (translation is mine). The real Pomponazzi never wrote in vernacular, but he used to insert sections in *volgare* in his lessons and he never achieved a full mastery of Latin even in his written works, in which the Latin is clearly derived from vernacular models. See the texts published in Nardi, *Studi su Pietro Pomponazzi*, and I. Paccagnella, 'La lingua del Peretto'.

[6] See Garin, 'Discussioni sulla retorica'; C. Vasoli, *Su alcuni problemi e discussioni logiche del Cinquecento italiano*. A similar point of view has been already expressed by the Platonist Francesco Cattani da Diacceto. See Del Soldato, 'The Elitist Vernacular of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto and its Afterlife'.

> Non so per qual mala fortuna nostra, tra tanti escelentisismi Filosofi, che haviam'hoggi, non sia stato per ancora alcuno, che de le cose di Filosofia [...] habbia scritto nella lingua nostra, si come in essa non son mancati molti che Tragedie, Comedie, Satire, Sonetti, Stanze, Canzoni, Historie et Novelle hanno scritto vaghissimamente e dottamente.
>
> I do not know for what unfortunate reason, although we have today many excellent philosophers, not one of them has yet written about philosophy in our language, whereas we have many authors who have written very nicely and very eruditely tragedies, comedies, satires, sonnets, stanzas, songs, histories and tales.[9]

In any case this complaint did not come from someone deeply involved in the university *milieu*: Piccolomini occupied a chair—of *Filosofia morale*, a less technical subject—at the university of Siena only for one year, between 1545 and 1546.[10] Similarly, Pomponazzi's pupil Sperone Speroni taught logic and philosophy for a short period, before becoming involved in the Academy.[11] Another *Infiammato*, Bernardino Tomitano, who wrote the *Ragionamenti della lingua toscana* (1545), a *volgare* treatise in the form of a dialogue on rhetoric and poetics, was a professor of logic, but in any case never employed the vernacular for his professional works of philosophy, in print or in manuscript.[12] Finally, as mentioned above, Varchi taught Aristotle only in an academy context, and the attempt of the Infiammati to establish a synergy capable of attracting students from the University of Padua had the paradoxical outcome of forcing Varchi to lecture in Latin, rather than in the vernacular, in order to allow the foreigners to understand him.[13] And if this was the situation of the Accademia degli Infiammati, it cannot be forgotten that many other Aristotelian works—both translations and original texts—such as those of Brucioli, Segni and Florimonte, were created at the same time. Though some of these works were probably addressed to students who were willing to read the Philosopher in a more accessible form, these products all emerged outside the universities.[14]

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[7] F. Bruni, 'Sperone Speroni e l'Accademia degli Infiammati'; Vasoli, 'Sperone Speroni: La filosofia e la lingua'.

[8] Varchi, *L'Hercolano*, p. 139; and see Samuels, 'Benedetto Varchi'; Siekiera, 'L'eredità del Varchi'. Varchi also commented the first book of the *Meteorology*. Simon Gilson is preparing a study on this topic.

[9] Piccolomini, *Parte prima della Filosofia naturale*, A3*r*–4*r* (translation is mine). See also Caroti, 'L' "Aristotele italiano" di Alessandro Piccolomini'.

However, it is not possible to conclude that sixteenth century professors from the faculties of Arts were completely indifferent, or even hostile, to the use of the vernacular for philosophical debates: the case of Simone Porzio, the most popular Aristotelian *magister* of that period, who at the same time was a member of an important academy, the *Accademia Fiorentina*, demonstrates that there was not a complete separation between the universities and the Academies devoted to the valorisation of the vernacular, even if their relationship was subtle and complex.[15]

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[10] His career subsequently continued in the Church and he became archbishop of Patrai, see Cerreta, *Alessandro Piccolomini*, pp. 54–6. On the status of Ethics in Renaissance Universities, cf. Lines, *Aristotle's 'Ethics'*, p. 384.

[11] And in any case his attitude towards philosophy in vernacular became ambiguous according to Mikkeli, 'The Cultural Programmes of Alessandro Piccolomini and Sperone Speroni'. A different point of view is expressed by Bianchi, 'Volgarizzare Aristotle. Per chi?'.

[12] He taught logic in Padua until 1563, when he tried without success to obtain the more prestigious chair of 'filosofia ordinaria'; then he left the university and he practiced as a physician until his death in 1576 (see Davi, *Bernardino Tomitano filosofo, medico e letterato (1517–1576)*; Pecoraro, 'Tomitano, Bernardino'). On Aristotle in the *Ragionamenti* see Girardi, *Il sapere e le lettere in Bernardino Tomitano*.

[13] See Lo Re, *Politica e cultura nella Firenze cosimiana: Studi su Benedetto Varchi*.

[14] See Bianchi, 'From Jacques Léfebvre d'Étaples to Giulio Landi'; Del Soldato, ' "Le migliori opere di Aristotele": Antonio Brucioli as a Translator of Philosophy'; Lines, 'Rethinking Renaissance Aristotelianism: Bernardo Segni's *Ethica*, the Florentine Academy and the Vernacular'.

Porzio was born in Naples in 1496 or 1497. During his entire life he enjoyed extraordinary success and fame: he taught in Naples, where he earned the esteem of the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, who made Porzio his personal physician. But by the end of 1530s, cultural life in Naples began to evaporate under the weight of the censorship applied by don Pedro in order to prevent political and religious subversion: during these very years, the Spanish evangelical Juan de Valdés had gathered a wide following in the city's intellectual circles.[16] Porzio, not completely alien to this evangelical ferment, and in any case desirous of abandoning what he described as a "Neapolitan purgatory", took the opportunity for a bold flight, and accepted an incredibly well-paid position as *professore sopraordinario* at the university of Pisa, where he had studied during his *Bildungsjahre* under the guidance of Agostino Nifo.[17] Duke Cosimo de' Medici was eager to appoint Porzio at his University, and he dared to challenge the anger of his father-in-law Pedro de Toledo in order to procure his service. Don Pedro never forgave Porzio for his 'betrayal', but the philosopher nevertheless managed to enjoy a very happy and productive period in Tuscany.

From 1545 to 1552 Porzio represented the greatest attraction at the university, earning for himself no less than the title of 'Prince of philosophers'.[18] And his position was made even stronger by the special favour he received from Duke Cosimo: at ease not only inside the university *aulae*, but also in more worldly circles, Porzio wasted no time in joining the cultural institution that Cosimo was promoting during those years, the *Accademia Fiorentina*.

Born a few years earlier under the name of the *Accademia degli Umidi*, this group had a linguistic program which clashed, even in its choice of name, with the Paduan *Infiammati*: its members were interested in a valorisation of vernacular literature as well, but they modelled their ideal not on a literary model, but rather on spoken Florentine.[19] After taking power in 1537, Cosimo selected the *Umidi* as an ideal group to provide a cultural foundation for his leadership and to create a consensus among Florentine élites. In 1541 he appointed a new governing council to the Academy, and changed its name.[20]

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[15] On Porzio see: Fiorentino, 'Simone Porzio'; Saitta, 'L'aristotelico Simone Porzio'; Vasoli, 'Tra Aristotele, Alessandro di Afrodisia e Juan de Valdés'; Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*.

[16] See Coniglio, *Il viceregno di don Pietro di Toledo*.

[17] See Del Soldato, 'La preghiera di un alessandrista', p. 59.

[18] Fornari, *Della espositione sopra l'Orlando Furioso*, unnumbered pages.

[19] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy*.

Porzio was admitted to the Academy in 1546, by a unanimous vote, and began to participate in its activities.[21] In particular, he befriended Giovambattista Gelli, a self-educated tailor proud of his pure Florentine speech: obstinately provincial, he seems to have left his city only once, in order to meet Porzio in Pisa.[22] Gelli's aim was to confer a new dignity to literary works in the vernacular. In his dialogues *I Capricci del bottaio*, published in 1546, Gelli insisted on the versatility and excellence of the *volgare*, capable of expressing any kind of elevated concept.[23] He had no doubt: if Tuscans made an effort to translate scientific works into their language, in a very short time it would gain greater respect.[24]

In 1539, when Porzio was still in Naples, he published at the Sultzbach press a short Latin treatise which aimed to explain through Aristotelian principles the causes of a terrible earthquake in nearby Pozzuoli.[25] The treatise received many accolades, and was translated into the vernacular several times—at first on the initiative of individual readers, and then in an official version by the Calabrian monk Ortensio Rizzuto, printed by the same Sultzbach a few months later.[26] It is unknown what role Porzio had in Rizzuto's translation, nor whether the philosopher himself asked the monk to translate the treatise. But it is on record that he did so with Gelli, asking the tailor to translate his *De coloribus oculorum* into the vernacular after it was published by the ducal printer Lorenzo Torrentino in 1550. Gelli himself recounts the story in his introduction to the translation *Sui colori degl'occhi*, which appeared few months later: he translated the treatise into *volgare* following a polite request by Porzio, which Gelli took as an order, such was the admiration he felt for the philosopher.[27] Porzio was satisfied with Gelli's version and he sent him a letter of praise which was printed with the translation. He ended the epistle by stating:

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[20] Plaisance, *L'accademia e il suo principe*, pp. 29–269; Eisenblicher, *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici*.

[21] See Plaisance, *L'accademia e il suo principe*, p. 227.

[22] On Gelli see: De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*; Perrone Compagni, 'Cose di filosofia si possono dire in volgare'. On his trip to Pisa see *Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, 1, p. 853.

[23] Gelli, *I capricci del bottaio*, pp. 947–48.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 965.

[25] Porzio, *De conflagratione agri puteolani*.

[26] Rizzuto, *Trattato del fuoco apparso in li luochi de Puzolo*. The only copy I was able to find is conserved at the Biblioteca Eustachio Rogadeo of Bitonto. See also Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*, p. 64.

[27] Gelli, *Trattato dei colori degli occhi*, p. 5.

> […] É che e' mi pare che la Filosofia non manco utile a quegli che per ispasso la desiderono intendere, che a quegli che ne fanno professione. […], per il che come io deggio haver piacere che un tanto mio caro amico sia così nella Filosofia exercitato, così anchora quegli che nell'altra lingua non lo intendevono, ve ne haveranno infinito obligo […].
>
> It seems to me that philosophy is no less useful for those who wish to grasp it for leisure [«per ispasso»], than for those who practice it for work. […] Therefore, as much as I have to be pleased that such a dear friend of mine is so well trained in philosophy, those who were not able to understand the work in the Latin version, will be infinitely grateful to you […].[28]

According to Porzio, men who do not know Latin should be grateful to Gelli, who opened to them the benefits of philosophy. What kind of benefits? Porzio's Latin work is primarily described by its own author as a contribution to and an extension of Aristotle and Galen's anatomical studies, with a sort of appendix on physiognomy. Instead, in Gelli's prefatory letter the latter aspect is highlighted: the philosopher has investigated the physical causes of eye-colours and their differences, but in particular he has found the knowledge and clues that can be gained by a physiognomic study, useful for our well-being.[29] There are no moral implications when Porzio speaks about physiognomy at the end of the *De coloribus oculorum*, a part elaborated, like the rest of the treatise, according to medical and materialistic criteria. Physiognomy is emphasized in the moral sense, however, in the introduction to the vulgarisation: the technical spirit of the original treatise is shifted to something lighter, which one could have read *per ispasso*, for leisure.[30] In the two different versions, Latin and vernacular, the same work would have had different readers, who would have found in it different things, according to their level of philosophical preparation.

A few months later Gelli decided to print another vulgarisation of a short treatise by Porzio, that he had previously completed in order to prepare himself for the translation of *De coloribus oculorum*.[31] The book, *De puella germanica quae sine cibo potuque biennio vixerat* (*Sopra quella fanciulla della*

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[28] *Ibidem*, pp. 123–24 (translation is mine).

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 4: 'per giovamento del bene esser nostro'.

[30] On the shift in meaning between the original and the popularized versions of a text, cf. the comments in Grendler, 'Francesco Sansovino', p. 142.

[31] Gelli, *Disputa sopra quella fanciulla della Magna*, pp. 3–7. The translation of the *De motibus animalium* conserved in manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

Magna, in translation), was devoted to the incredible case of a young German girl who lived for two years without eating or drinking around 1542.[32] This episode attracted interest all over Europe and Porzio had published his work practically simultaneously, while he was still teaching in Naples. He composed this short book in which he explained the event according to Aristotelian humoral theory as an appendix to some university lectures on the second book of the *Soul*.[33]

Two aspects of Gelli's translation and his decision to publish it are worth noting. First of all he felt the responsibility of bringing the secrets of philosophy into the vernacular ('di mettere i segreti di filosofia in questa nostra lingua'), which highlights the singularity of his effort: in Gelli's opinion, it was impossible to improvise the translation in *volgare* of subjects that rarely appeared in that language. Secondly, there is the choice of the text, which was not only appropriate for its brevity as training for an aspiring translator of philosophy, but also recounted a *mirandum naturae*, a genre much loved by readers at court.[34] To the translation of Porzio's work, which « demonstrated that even if certain events are rare, they don't exceed nature's merit », Gelli appended a short chronicle that supplied the basic facts of Margarete's case.[35] This addition was useful not only to familiarise readers with an incident that had occurred almost ten years before, but also to offer them in general a concrete and captivating frame which was lacking in Porzio's short treatise, purely concentrated on a technical description of the event. Thus, as in the case of *De coloribus oculorum*, some precautions were taken in order to make the translation interesting for a larger public.

The next collaboration between the tailor and the philosopher came in a different context: the translation in 1551 of *An homo bonus, vel malus volens fiat* (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2). This ethical treatise, in which Porzio affirmed the existence of human free will in a weakened form, had evident theological implications, and although the philosopher confronted the question using an Aristotelian linguistic arsenal, the reading of Erasmus's *De libero arbitrio* and its Italian

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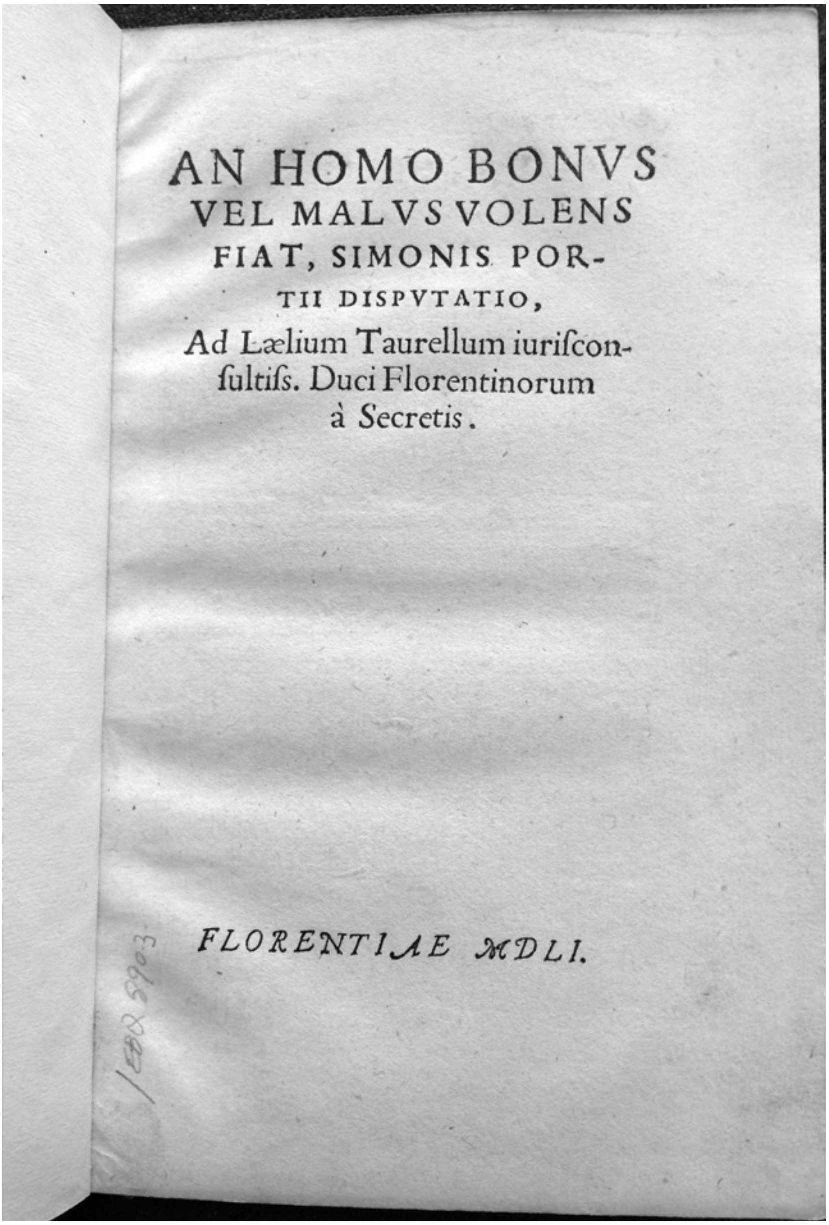
and published in Porcella, 'Giovan Battista Gelli, *De' moti o movimenti de gli animali*' is probably also related to this training.

[32] On Margarete's case see the coeval report by Buchholz, *De puella quae sine cibo et potu vitam transigit brevis narratio*, also translated in French and German; and Pagano, ' "Admirabilis abstinentia" '; Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*, pp. 139–42.

[33] Porzio, *Anima II*, ms. A 153 inf., Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 132*v*–133*r*; *Idem, De puella germanica quae fere biennium vixerat sine cibo potuque*.

[34] See Deer Richardson, 'The Generation of Disease'; Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian University*, pp. 226–52.

[35] Gelli, *Sopra quella fanciulla della Magna*, pp. 8–14.

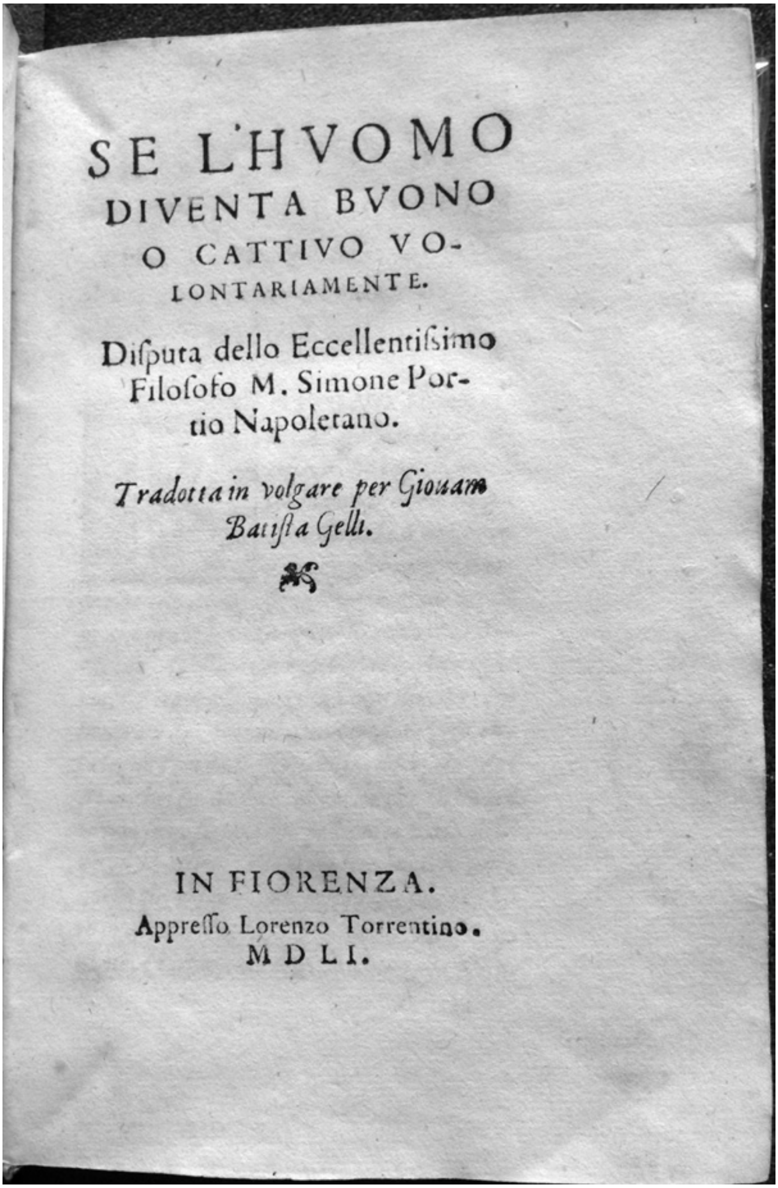


AN HOMO BONVS
VEL MALVS VOLENS
FIAT, SIMONIS PORTII
DISPVTATIO,
Ad Lælium Taurellum iuriſconſultiſs.
Duci Florentinorum
à Secretis.

FLORENTIAE MDLI.

/EDQ 5903

FIGURE 5.1 *Simone Porzio,* An homo bonus, vel malus volens fiat, *Florence, 1551. Courtesy of the Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Henry Charles Lea Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania BJ1460.P67 1551.*



SE L'HVOMO
DIVENTA BVONO
O CATTIVO VO-
LONTARIAMENTE.

Diſputa dello Eccellentiſsimo
Filoſofo M. Simone Por-
tio Napoletano.

Tradotta in volgare per Giouam
Batiſta Gelli.

IN FIORENZA.
Appreſſo Lorenzo Torrentino.
M D L I.

FIGURE 5.2 *Simone Porzio*, Se l'huomo diventa buono o cattivo volontariamente, *vernacular version, translated by G.B. Gelli. Florence, 1551. Courtesy of the Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Henry Charles Lea Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania BJ1460.P6.*

reception is evident in the text.[36] Porzio was involved in the theological (and heterodox) debate of those years, and Gelli was no less interested, in spite of his lack of specific theological training.[37] Gelli never adhered to a distinct evangelical movement, but he had no problem expressing appreciation for Lutherans and quoting passages from condemned books in his works,[38] even if his sympathy for evangelical movements had a primarily literary foundation: as he explicitly pointed out, Lutherans were the first to break the monopoly of Latin in biblical study and they made it possible for a wider section of the population to read and interpret the Holy Scriptures. Besides, evangelical propaganda and appreciation of vernacular are often grouped together by scholars, and the case of Gelli and Porzio seems to reinforce this interpretation; if their previous collaborations were simply informed by a linguistic program, in this, and in their subsequent partnerships a common interest in heterodox theology was also present, an aspect which other members of the *Accademia Fiorentina* would have appreciated: in fact, the conflict which some years prior pitted Cosimo against pope Paul III resulted in the substantial tolerance of the Duke toward unconventional religious behaviour at his court, in particular within the *Accademia*.[39]

In his preface to the vernacular version of *An homo*, *Se l'huomo diventa buono o cattivo volontariamente*, Gelli revealed that he translated Porzio's treatise because he considered the book exceptionally useful and wanted to open it to a larger audience. The *volgare* can educate people, and Gelli called on the university to legitimize its use.[40]

But if Porzio's Latin version did not hide references the theologians, Gelli tried to censor some of them. Despite following almost literally the topics in Porzio's prefatory epistle in the introduction to his translation, he deleted an allusion to theologians present in the original, doing the same in the final page of the treatise.[41] Perhaps scared by the first inquisitorial trials in Florence, which took place precisely in 1551, Gelli preferred to take some precautions in order to protect a book that contained too many ambiguities. Nevertheless such precautions were strategically located at the beginning and on the last page of the translation: the Christocentrism of Porzio's work, cloaked by paraphrases of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, was not altered in the rest of Gelli's version.

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[36] On Erasmus'presence see Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*, pp. 156; 159; 166–69.

[37] On Gelli's religion see De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, pp. 237–87; Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo*, pp. 184–91; but also Perrone Compagni, 'Cose di filosofia si possono dire in volgare', pp. 312–37.

[38] Gelli, *I capricci del bottaio*, p. 983.

[39] Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo*, pp. 155–217; 313–27; Del Soldato, 'Aristotelici, accademici ed eretici: Simone Porzio e Giovambattista Gelli'. On the relationship between vernacular and religious reformism see in particular Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, p. 233.

[40] Gelli, *Se l'huomo diventa buono o cattivo*, pp. 7–8.

[41] Compare Porzio, *An homo bonus*, pp. 4; 67; Gelli, *Se l'huomo diventa buono o cattivo*, pp. 6–7; 139.

While in the case of *An homo/Se l'huomo*, Gelli tried to camouflage the theological matrix, the religious significance is entirely evident in his last translation of Porzio, the commentary on the *Pater Noster* which appeared in Gelli's vernacular version in 1551 (*Modo di orare christianamente con la espositione del Pater Noster*) and only a year later in Porzio's Latin version (*Formae orandi christianae enarratio*).[42] Obviously, the fact that the original was published after the translation raises some questions and in the past some scholars proposed to assign to Gelli the real paternity of the work.[43] However, the discovery of another, prior Latin version of the commentary, undoubtedly demonstrates that Porzio is its genuine author: this earlier treatise, entitled *Cristianae* [sic] *deprecationis interpretatio*, was forgotten after being printed anonymously and without any sign of identification in Naples in 1538 (Fig. 5.3).[44] Porzio's prudence regarding the *Interpretatio* is easy to explain: the commentary on *Pater* had become in that period a typical subject of reformed literature—there exist analogous pieces by Luther, Erasmus, and Valdés—and in his own version the philosopher insisted on the sufficiency of the justification *sola fide*, on a Christocentric vision of the soul's salvation and on a rejection of the idolatry associated with the cult of saints.[45] It was clear enough that Don Pedro de Toledo would not have appreciated such a book; but the same book was rescued more than ten years later, revised in style and with a completely new meaning, because of a different theological situation. If in 1538 justification was the main issue, in 1551, when the Council of Trent had already settled that controversy, there were other aspects of the commentary that took on relevance: the book's advocacy of an intimate form of prayer, turned inward rather than toward others in the public atmosphere of a church, was becoming in these years the main *cliché* of Nicodemist literature, which instructed evangelicals

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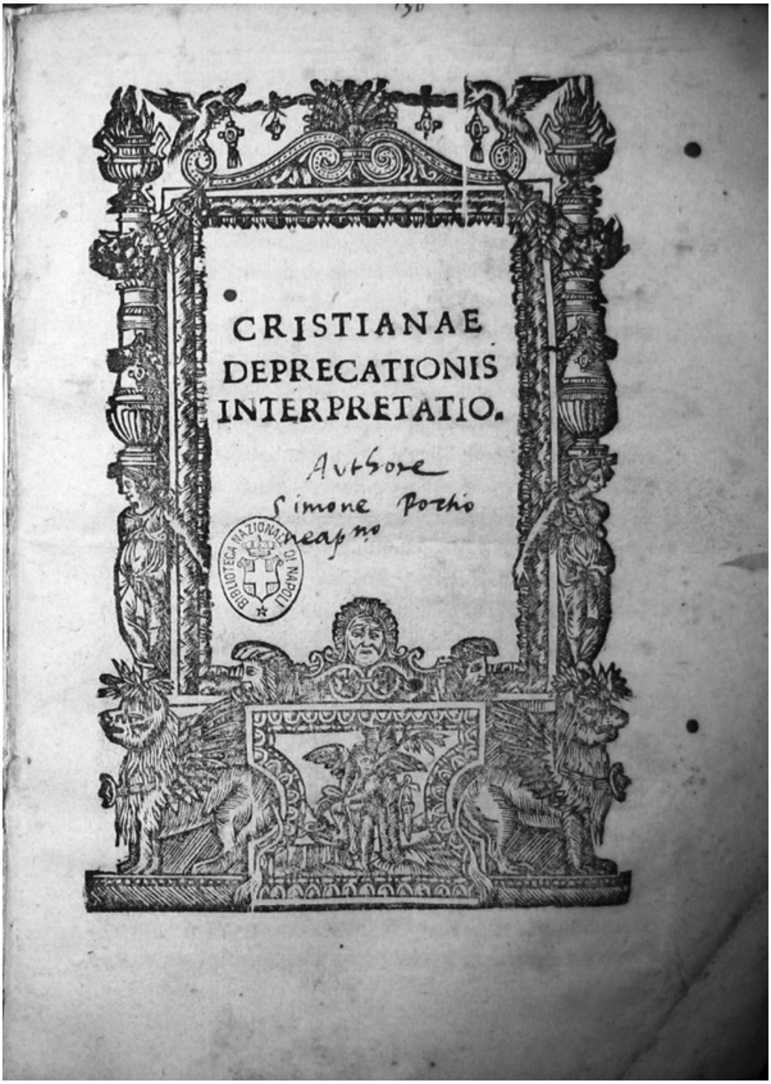
[42] Gelli, *Modo di orare cristianamente con la espositione del Pater Noster*; Porzio, *Formae orandi christianae enarratio*.

[43] For example see Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento*, p. 365.

[44] [Porzio], *Cristiane deprecationis interpretatio*. See Del Soldato, 'La preghiera di un alessandrista'.

[45] See Prosperi, 'Les Commentaires du *Pater Noster* entre XV^e et XVI^e siècles'; *Idem*, 'Preghiere di eretici: Stancaro, Curione e il *Pater Noster*'.



CRISTIANAE
DEPRECATIONIS
INTERPRETATIO.

Authore
Simone Porzio
neap.no

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI NAPOLI

FIGURE 5.3 *Frontispiece of Simone Porzio,* Cristianae deprecationis interpretatio, [*Naples, 1538*]. *Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli S. Q. XXIV G. 34.* (*reproduction authorized by the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproductions are not allowed*).

to publicly follow Catholic orthodoxy in order to hide their unconventional interior adherence to a different faith.[46]

Perhaps aware of this renewed relevance of the work, or perhaps in an attempt to counterbalance the materialistic tone of his former book *De mente humana*, Porzio asked Gelli to vernacularize the commentary. Gelli, as usual, justifies the translation with his desire to be useful to a large number of people, in consideration of the great importance of the work's subject: being able to pray in the correct way permits men to become friends with God, from whom every good thing comes.[47] As in the case of the translation of *An homo*, it was the theological and ethical nature—even leaving aside any heterodox implication—of the work to make it appropriate and worthy of translation. It was not an entertaining work, like *De coloribus oculorum* and *De puella germanica*, which had been translated because their themes were attractive to a wide audience, but rather a useful work, which had all the more reason to be welcomed by a significant number of readers.

At the end of 1552, Porzio left Tuscany and returned to Naples in an attempt to recuperate his health on the heights of Posillipo. He died two years later, but his association with Gelli had been already interrupted because of his departure.

We cannot underestimate the importance of the peculiar collaboration between Porzio and Gelli and their instant translations into the vernacular of newly written philosophical works. But at the same time it is important not to forget that—as the tailor expressly affirmed—it was Porzio himself who generally indicated to him which books to translate and that the most theoretical and important treatises of the philosopher were not included in this project. The *De coloribus* (1548)—a philological commentary in which Porzio attributed to Theophrastus a work on colours traditionally believed to be Aristotelian—, the medical treatise *De dolore* (1551), the *De mente humana* (1551)—an original exegesis of Aristotle's *De anima*—and the *De rerum naturalium principiis* (1553, but finished one year before)—a commentary on the second book of *Physics*—were not translated by Gelli, at least in print: in fact there does exist in Paris a manuscript translation of the *De mente humana*, which nonetheless cannot be attributed to him with any certainty.[48]

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[46] On Nicodemism see: Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo*; Biondi, 'La giustificazione della simulazione nel Cinquecento'; Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism: a Reappraisal'.

[47] Gelli, *Modo di orare*, p. 7.

[48] Ms. Par. Ital. 441, Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale de France; on the manuscript see Montù, 'La traduzione del "De mente humana" '; De Gaetano, *Giovanbattista Gelli*, pp. 56–65; Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*, pp. 124–26.

Thus, if it is clear which works were vernacularised by Gelli under Porzio's direction, and why, it remains to be explained why he did not receive the same assignment for these other books.

The answer lies in the strictly technical subjects of these treatises, accessible only to a narrow circle of professional doctors or philosophers who were unquestionably skilled in Latin, the language of the universities where they worked. Gelli's translation opened a selected list of Porzio's writings to the court or bourgeois readers, who might be interested in physiognomy, *miranda naturae* or ethical-theological issues, but not at all in abstract dissertations about matter and first causes, which would have in any case required a high—too high—level of philosophical preparation both for the translator and the reader. This distinction is also evident in the catalogue of Lorenzo Torrentino, the printer of the *Accademia Fiorentina*, where the section devoted to philosophy in vernacular consists only of ethical or aesthetic works, while the Latin dominion of professional philosophy was still larger and more complex:[49] Porzio was aware of this and he took care to separate these two levels in his vernacularisation program, which was limited to ethics or to simplified applications of *philosophia naturalis*. And, on the other hand, the different nature of these parallel editions of Porzio's philosophical works in Latin and in the vernacular is reflected in their respective formats: a solemn 4° format for the professional Latin versions, a practical 8° for their vernacular counterparts.[50]

There is a furher confirmation of Porzio's ambiguous attitude towards the vernacular: we know that he composed at least six short treatises in *volgare* on his own, none of which was ever printed.[51] They are almost all love treatises and this explains the language in which he chose to write them: they belong to a tradition well embedded in academies and courts, but substantially foreign to the university. It is not a coincidence that Porzio began the composition of his principal love treatise at a court, that of Salerno, around 1535, finishing it only twenty years later for Duke Cosimo.[52] He evidently did not feel a particular interest for the subject, which wove Aristotelian doctrines together with a comment on Petrarch. The philosopher himself presented his work as literally an 'abortion', as a bagatelle, because he was aware of the modest theoretical importance of its subject.[53] In short, all of Porzio's vernacular work was tied to the context of the court, which determined both the subject and the language in which it was written, and the philosopher, by his own admission, did not regard these pieces as serious contributions.

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[49] Moreni, *Annali della tipografia di Lorenzo Torrentino*; see also Bionda, 'Aristotele in Accademia'; Brancato, 'Benedetto Varchi traduttore di Boezio'.

[50] On the meaning of these features see the works by Chartier, but in particular *The Order of Books*.

[51] Ms. Brancacciano V D 17, Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, 1*r*–71*r*; Mss. Ashburnham 436, 17*r*–31*v*; 674, 67*v*–90*r*, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana. Apart from the Florentine version of the *Trattato d'amore* (Ashb. 674), edited by Benvenuti ('Simone Porzio e il "Trattato d'amore" '), the other works are published in Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*, pp. 199–244. Another vernacular short piece by Porzio, the *De sensi* or *Del sentire*, is conserved in two different versions in Naples (Mss. Brancacciano V D 13, 101*r*–107*r*; V D 17, 165*r*–174*v*). This is a popularization—probably addressed to a courtier audience – of Simplicius' exegesis of Aristotle. It is published in Castelli, 'Il "De' sensi" e il "Del sentire" di Simone Porzio'; and in Del Soldato, *Simone Porzio*, pp. 245–55.

Magister Porzio, even while participating actively in the world of the linguistic academies, still maintained some prejudices towards the philosophical use of the vernacular. He spoke Latin in the university and in his technical works, as a professor, and he spoke *volgare*—and let his works do the same—at court, where he was free to offer translations of his most accessible treatises to the academics. Porzio did not challenge the tradition, but, to paraphrase Speroni's Pomponazzi, he nevertheless helped to make his age speak and write in *volgare*, though not only about vulgar and poor subjects.

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[52] Porzio, *Trattato d'amore*, ms. Ashb. 674, 67*v*.

[53] *Ibidem*: 'tanto bassa la materia sua.'

CHAPTER 6

Science and Rhetoric: From Giordano Bruno's *Cena de le Ceneri* to Galileo's *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems*

Ingrid D. Rowland

The year 1610, as Floris Cohen has noted, marked a signal moment in the history of science.[1] In that year, Galileo Galilei, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Padua, announced his discoveries with the telescope, including the craters of the Moon, several clouds of stars, and the moons of Jupiter, in a book he called the *Sidereus nuncius* ('The Starry Messenger').[2] He wrote in a limpid Latin to reach an international community of readers; such was the importance of his message. The book was published in Venice, not only because Venice was the center of Italy's printing industry, but also because Galileo's home institution, the University of Padua, was that city's *de facto* university, chartered by the Venetian Republic rather than a Pope or a monarch.[3] The title page of the *Starry Messenger* reveals, however, that Galileo harbored ulterior plans for his own career, for it records the fact that he has named the moons of Jupiter the Medicean Stars, paying homage to the sons of Cosimo II de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[4] A Tuscan himself and a restless soul by nature, Galileo was hoping for an appointment to the University of Pisa, at a much higher salary and with greater prestige than Padua was willing to provide. The naming of the stars may have played a smaller role than the magnitude of Galileo's achievement in furthering his career, but he was certainly summoned shortly thereafter to join the faculty at Pisa, the shining star in that university's academic firmament.[5]

In early seventeenth-century Tuscany, the language of choice, from lofty diplomatic correspondence to exchanges on the street, was Tuscan vernacular. Galileo, of course, would feel perfectly at home; other professors, like Paganino Gaudenzio, born in an Alpine valley of what is now Switzerland, were put at

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[1] Floris Cohen, in this volume, esp. p. 150.

[2] Galileo Galilei, *Sidereus nuncius*, 1610.

[3] Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 21–40.

[4] Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*, *passim*.

[5] A classic account in Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, pp. 165–80.

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a distinct disadvantage, and Gaudenzio, at least, would continue to publish in Latin.[6] For Galileo, with his international stature guaranteed, writing in Tuscan was a luxury he could easily permit himself. Ever since the fifteenth century, patriotic Tuscans had enjoyed drawing an invidious contrast between their Etruscan tradition of small independent city-states and the iron fist of Imperial Rome.[7] From the halls of the Vatican, in turn, Lorenzo Valla launched eloquent invectives against that 'Etruscan shit' Poggio Bracciolini. By the mid-sixteenth century, a whole school of thought had developed in Tuscany that traced local *volgare* directly back to the language of Etruria, despite the fact that every effort to read surviving Etruscan inscriptions had fallen short of total—or even minor—success.[8] With implicit faith, these Tuscan loyalists believed that there was no nuance of human experience, no arcane technical, legal, or theological term, no glimmer of poetry for which the *volgare* of Dante and Petrarch could not match or surpass Latin; never mind that Grand Duke Cosimo I and his successors were not exactly republican freedom fighters in the grand Etruscan tradition, or that various members of that Florentine dynasty had come down as brutally on Volterra and Siena as any Roman legion ever came down on a barbarian horde.[9]

From Pisa, accordingly, and with great gusto, Galileo would write in vernacular, from his work on floating bodies, *Il Saggiatore* ('The Assayer', 1622), to his supremely ambitious *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems* of 1632. Floris Cohen has shown how Galileo's *Two New Scien*ces of 1638 incorporates Latin material written during his time in Padua into a dialogue written in Tuscan.[10]

Galileo's choice to write in Tuscan flattered not only the Grand Duke. The papal conclave of 1623 crowned the Tuscan prelate Maffeo Barberini as Urban VIII. The new pope had been born outside Florence in the little town of Barberino Val d'Elsa, with a coat of arms that bore three horseflies, *tafani*; the family name was, in fact, Barberini de' Tafani. At a certain point in his career, the ambitious Maffeo decided that his heraldic horseflies might eventually prove an embarrassment, and he changed them to busy bees.[11] The rest is history, and we shall return to that history in a moment.

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[6] Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies*; *Idem*, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, passim*; Cipriani, *Il mito etrusco*; Rowland, *The Scarith of Scornello*, pp. 67–69.

[7] Cipriani, *Il mito etrusco*.

[8] Cipriani, *Il mito etrusco*.

[9] For the siege of Volterra, see Fiumi, *L'impresa di Lorenzo de' Medici contro Volterra*. For the siege of Siena, see Cantagalli, *La guerra di Siena*.

[10] Cohen, in this volume, pp. 150–51.

First, however, it is important to note that Galileo's *Starry Messenger*, the book that brought him back to Tuscany, was as innovative in its form as in its content. Galileo presented his observations in pictures as well as words, in a series of exceptionally fine engraved plates taken from his own ink wash drawings. It is hard to believe, from his remarkable portraits of the Moon's pockmarked face, that the great astronomer was already plagued by serious problems with his eyesight and that he would eventually go blind in his old age. His views of ridges and crater are strikingly clear, and so are his records of the moons circling Jupiter, those Medicean satellites orbiting around the king of the gods as Leopoldo and Ferdinando de' Medici were presumed to orbit around their father, the Grand Duke. Galileo also drew what he called cloudy areas, *nebulose*; modern astronomers, following his lead, still call these formations nebulas.[12]

Most wonderful of all is his woodcut of the Pleiades, the star cluster that traditionally numbered six, although my father, who had exceptional vision until he was nearly eighty, could see nine Pleiades for most of his life. But Galileo's telescope revealed a multitude, a plethora of Pleiades, a Greek name that means 'more' or 'many'. In the *Starry Messenger*, Galileo shows a veritable starburst of Pleiades, and some copies of the volume, though by no means all, print the page so that the stars of this newly expanded universe burst the margins of the text block. It is a marvelously evocative image of the way in which Galileo's observations were beginning break through the boundaries of traditional cosmology.

Despite the fact that Galileo called himself a mathematician and his endeavor natural philosophy, there has been little doubt since 1610 that what he reported in the *Starry Messenger* was what would eventually be called science, a new science, to borrow the description he would use of his own researches in 1638.[13] And yet, as Johannes Kepler noted in a letter he wrote to Galileo in 1610, in his first excitement at reading the *Starry Messenger*, not everything that Galileo had done was new, including aspects of his new science. The telescope,

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[11] Cole, 'Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks', p. 732.

[12] Galileo's illustrations have recently become the focus of controversy: see Stefano Gattei, review of Horst Bredekamp (ed.), *Galileo's O, Nuncius Newsletter*, 6, December 10, 2012, http://www.museogalileo.it/en/newsletterslist/nunciusnewsletter_06_2012_eng/book_reviews_06_2012.html (consulted July 28, 2014).

[13] For this issue, see Cohen, *The Scientific Revolution*.

Kepler suggested, was a tool; the real challenge for natural philosophy was to pose the right questions before letting the tools do their work.[14]

> Certe qui rerum causas, antequàm res patent sensibus, concipiunt ingenio, ii Architecti similiores sunt caeteris, qui post rem visam cogitant de causis. Itaque non invidebis Galilaee nostris antecessoribus suam his laudem [...] Sic tu hanc Brutii nostri ex Bruno mutatam doctrinam emendas.

> Certainly those of us who can conceive the causes of phenomena in their minds before the phenomena are revealed are more like Architects than the rest of us, who consider causes only after they have seen the phenomena. Do not, therefore, Galileo, begrudge our predecessors their proper credit.... You refine a doctrine borrowed from Bruno.

As Floris Cohen stated, Kepler was well on the way to hypothetical method rather than the traditional speculative method of natural philosophy.[15] In Cohen's terms, Kepler speaks from the speculative tradition when he admonishes Galileo, in his letter of 1610, that posing a well-conceived thought problem is a means of seeing into the mind of God, whereas empirical research is the work of mortals. Furthermore, Kepler singles out for inclusion among these godlike thinkers an older contemporary of Galileo, the southern Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno, burned at the stake in Rome on February 17, 1600, less than a decade before Galileo took up his telescope.

Now anyone who has tried to fix a simple telescope on the heavens knows that Galileo was an observer of phenomenal perspicacity. His hand must have been uncannily steady—but we know that already from his drawings of what he saw through his eyepiece. His visual memory and his patience must have been no less extraordinary. The discipline that kept him staring at the heavens night after night was that of an Early Christian anchorite. The *Starry Messenger* deserves every bit of its reputation as a foundational document of modern science.

Giordano Bruno, on the other hand, has largely fallen out of this history of science, for a number of reasons, which include his choices of the language in which to present his ideas. Prevailing scholarly opinion in the English- and Italian-speaking worlds holds him as that odd creature, 'the Renaissance magus', and attempts to bring him into the history of natural philosophy—let alone the history of science, meet occasional accusations of trying to read the future into the past.[16] To a certain extent this interpretation of Bruno belongs to a particular generation—of Frances Yates and her students in the English-speaking sphere, of Paolo Rossi, Paola Zambelli and their students in the Italian.[17] Bruno himself usually claimed to be a philosopher (and occasionally a professor of theology), not a magus, and certainly never a Renaissance magus.[18] He called his philosophy a 'natural and physical discourse'.[19] On these data, and on Kepler's assessment in his letter to Galileo I rest my own case for treating Giordano Bruno as a natural philosopher, a part of, not apart from, a large, variegated philosophical community whose members, from Paracelsus to Newton, frequently carried out researches in the fields of magic and alchemy.

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[14] Kepler, *Dissertatio cum nuncio sidereo*, 1610, p. 10r.

[15] Cohen, in this volume, p. 149.

And then, Bruno's linguistic choices, including the visual language of his published books, have also conspired to keep him outside the conventional fast track that leads from Leonardo to Kepler to Galileo. Unlike Galileo, he normally published on the cheap because he had to. His books are tiny little things, often poorly printed and riddled with errors, to which he often made his own corrections by hand as the pages emerged from the press.[20] We can see such corrections in his first known publication as a natural philosopher, the *Ash Wednesday Supper* of 1584. The book lacks an imprint, but in fact the printer is John Charlewood of London, who would give false Parisian imprints for Bruno's subsequent books.[21] These false imprints may have been an attempt to give the works some continental panache, or *bella figura*, at a time when continental panache meant a great deal, for in 1584, Elizabethan England was feeling its way into becoming a great international power. Philip II was already assembling the fleet that would become his Invincible Armada, flung against the Royal Navy in 1588 and routed by the rebellious elements of a perfect North Atlantic storm.[22] Elizabeth herself, literate in Greek and Latin, could converse easily in French, Spanish, and Italian.[23] So could the most sophisticated members of her court, and it is to this cosmopolitan urban crowd that Giordano Bruno aimed his natural and physical discourse in his native vernacular, the pungent *volgare* of Naples.

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[16] So, especially, Yates, who put the phrase 'the Renaissance magus' into circulation. See, e.g., Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 168: 'In short, it was as a Ficinian Magus that Bruno presented himself at Oxford'; *ibid.* 'he was a Hermetic Magus of a most extreme kind with a magico-religious mission of which Copernicanism was a symbol'.

[17] Yates, *The Art of Memory*; *Eadem*, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*; Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*; Rossi, *Clavis Universalis*; Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*, pp. 218–53.

[18] Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science*, p. 18: 'During the grueling questioning he underwent at the hands of the Inquisition in the long years of his trial, Bruno consistently defined himself as a philosopher. Such a definition formed an essential part of his defense.'

[19] Giordano Bruno, *De gli Heroici Furori*, letter of dedication, Italian text translated from Bruno, *Dialoghi Italiani*, ed. Gentile, rev. Aquilecchia, II, pp. 932–33.

[20] Rita Sturlese, introduction to Bruno, *De umbris idearum*, ed. Sturlese.

[21] Provvidera, 'John Charlewood, Printer of Giordano Bruno's Italian Dialogues', Gatti, *Giordano Bruno, Philosopher of the Renaissance*, pp. 167–86.

Bruno had left Naples in 1576, and came to London from Paris in the spring of 1584. In France he had forged a personal relationship with King Henry III, but increasing tensions between Catholics and Protestants made the position of a man with Bruno's history a dangerous one: he had been defrocked as a Dominican in Naples, and excommunicated as a Catholic, but he had also been excommunicated by the Calvinists in Geneva.[24] He came to London in the entourage of the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and hoped at first to find a professor's post at Oxford. His letter of application, written in Latin, was enough to earn him an invitation, but it was unusual, to say the least:

> Philotheus Iordanus Brunus Nolanus magis elaboratae theologiae doctor, purioris et innocuae sapientiae professor, in praecipuis Europae academiis notus, probatus et honorifice exceptus philosophus, nullibi praeterquam apud barbaros et ignobiles peregrinus, dormitantium animorum excubitor, praesumptuosae et recalcitrantis ignorantiae domitor, qui in actibus universis generalem philanthropiam protestatur, qui non magis Italum quam Britannum, marem quam feminam, mitratum quam coronatum, togatum quam armatum, cucullatum hominem quam sine cuculla virum, sed illum cuius pacatior, civilior, fidelior et utilior est conversatio diligit, qui non ad perunctum caput, signatum frontem, ablutas manus et circumcisum penem, sed (ubi veri hominis faciem licet intueri) ad animum ingeniique culturam maxime respicit, quem stultitiae propagatores et hypocritiunculi detestantur, quem probi et studiosi diligunt, et cui nobiliora plaudunt ingenia, excellentissimo clarissimoque Oxoniensis academiae procancellario, una cum praecipuis eiusdem universitatis, salutem plurimam dicit.

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[22] Invincible armada's defeat and weather's role in it. Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, pp. 80, 90–96.

[23] References collected in Spampanato, *Vita di Giordano Bruno* (1921), with an afterword by Ordine, pp. 347–48. See also Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I*.

[24] Latin text from Tocco and Vitelli, *Iordani Bruni Nolani Opera Latine Conscripta*, vol. II, 2, pp. 76–78; English translation from Rowland, *Giordano Bruno, Philosopher/Heretic*, pp. 114, 225.

> Philotheus Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, doctor of a more sophisticated theology, professor of a more pure and innocent wisdom, known to the best academies of Europe, a proven and honored philosopher, a stranger only among barbarians and knaves, the awakener of sleeping spirits, the tamer of presumptuous and stubborn ignorance, who professes a general love of humanity in all his actions, who prefers as company neither Briton nor Italian, male nor female, bishop nor king, robe nor armor, friar nor layman, but only those whose conversation is more peaceable, more civil, more faithful and more valuable, who respects not the anointed head, the signed forehead, the washed hands or the circumcised penis, but rather the spirit and culture of mind (which can be read in the face of a real person); whom the propagators of stupidity and the small-time hypocrites detest, whom the sober and studious love, and whom the most noble minds acclaim, to the most excellent and illustrious vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, many greetings.

The letter ended no less graphically:

> Interim nolim ut quemadmodum tempore diluvii asinorum stercora malis aureis dixerunt 'Nos quoque poma natamus', ita nunc cuilibet stulto et asino liceat in nostras positiones hic vel alibi, hoc vel alio modo prolatas obrudere; sed si qui eius sunt tituli, dignitatis vel sufficientiae, ut nostro congressu aliqua ratione non habeantur indigni, et quibus sine conditionis nostrae dedecore respondere possimus, hominem promptissimum et paratissimum, per quem pondus suarum valeant experiri, comperient. Valete.
>
> In the meantime I would not want it to come to pass, as in the days of the Flood, when the asses' dung said to the golden apples, 'We [road] apples can swim too', that now, too, any stupid ass might bray against the positions we have put forth here or elsewhere, in this or that way but if there be anyone whose claims to stature and qualification will not be held for any reason as unworthy of our company, and to whom we can respond without any detriment to our condition, they shall find me a man prompt and prepared, for whom it may be worthwhile to test the weight of their own [positions]. Farewell.[25]

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[25] Giordano Bruno, letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Latin text in Canone, 'La lettera di Bruno al vicecancelliere dell'Universit'di Oxford'. See also Rowland, *Giordano Bruno, Philosopher/Heretic*, pp. 145–46 but note the corrections here.

He also lectured, needless to say, in Latin, the Latin he had refined at the Dominican College of Naples, the single most exclusive university in southern Italy, at a time when southern Italy was an ample kingdom under a Spanish viceroy, and Naples ranked with London and Paris among the most populous cities in the world. Elizabethan Oxford had a faculty with humanistic inclinations, yet Bruno, despite his own passionate immersion in the Neapolitan version of Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonism, managed to alienate them all. In the first place, he spoke Latin with an Italian accent. George Abbott, a future Archbishop of Canterbury who was then a student, reported in his pungent Elizabethan English that:

> When he had more boldly than wisely, got up into the highest place of our best and most renowned schoole, stripping up his sleeves like some Iugler, and telling us much of *chentrum* and *chirculus* and *cirumferenchia* (after the pronunciation of his Country language) he undertooke among very many other matters to set on foote the opinion of Copernicus, that the earth did goe round, and the heavens did stand still; whereas in truth it was his owne head which rather did run round, and his braines did not stand stil.[26]

Secondly, Bruno's powers of recall were so acute that when he cited Ficino from memory he brought forth such extensive passages that the dons accused him of plagiarism. Again Abbott is our source:

> When he had read his first Lecture, a grave man, and both then and now of good place in that University, seemed to himselfe, some where to have read those things which the Doctor propounded; but silencing his conceit till he heard him the second time, remembered himselfe then, and repayring to his study, found both the former and later Lecture, taken almost verbatim out of the worke of Marsilius Ficinus. Wherewith when he had acquainted that rare and excellent Ornament of our land, the Reverend Bishop of Durham that now is, but then Deane of Christs-Church, it was a the first thought fit, to notifie to the Illustrious Reader, so much as they had discovered. But afterward hee who gave the first light, did most wisely intreate, that once more they might make trial of him; and if he persevered to abuse himselfe, and that Auditory the thirde time, they shoulde then do their pleasure. After which, *Iordanus* continuing to be *idem Iordanus*, thay caused some to make knowne unto him their

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[26] Aquilecchia, 'Giordano Bruno in Inghilterra (1583–1585)', pp. 33–34.

> former patience, and the paines which he had taken with them, and so with great honesty of the little man's part, there was an end of that matter.[27]

Thirdly, as good humanists and good Neoplatonists, they held their own high regard for the first great Neoplatonist, Aristotle of Stagira—and, as George Abbot makes clear, when the little Italian began to talk about Copernicus they were having none of it.

Furthermore, Bruno not only gave his Latin a laughable pronunciation to English ears. When he was not quoting Ficino, he used a Latin honed to fine precision in the very halls where Thomas Aquinas had once held forth; it was as perfectly Scholastic, and therefore as drily medieval, as old-fashioned, as steeped in Popery, as Latin could be. In short, Bruno professed radically new ideas in the most archaic lingua franca that united Elizabethan England to the rest of Europe, and he was a foreigner, a little, comical foreigner who gesticulated as only Italians could and flew into comical little Italian rages when he failed to get his point across.

In London, on the other hand, and at court, things Italian were the height of fashion. Bruno's housemate John Florio, then serving as tutor to the French ambassador's daughter, would compose Britain's first Italian-English dictionary, the *World of Words*, and a young playwright named Shakespeare set his dramas in Rome, Verona and Venice because those names sounded as romantic to his public as Tuscany does to a present-day Californian.[28]

And so, having failed to communicate Copernicus by the hard logic of Scholastic syllogism, Giordano Bruno turned to the most humanistic, the most Platonic of media, the philosophical dialogue, and couched that dialogue in the language he commanded best: the ripe, ribald vernacular of Naples, ranging across its registers with a pen as sharp as his ear.

He began the Ash Wednesday Supper with an assault on his critics:

> Se da Cinico dente sei trafitto,
> Lamentati di te barbaro perro:
> Ch'in van mi mostri il tuo baston, et ferro:
> Se non ti guardi da farmi despitto.

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[27] Aquilecchia, 'Giordano Bruno in Inghilterra', p. 34.

[28] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England*; Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*; Ciliberto and Mann, *Giordano Bruno, 1583–1585*.

Per che col torto mi venesti à dritto,
Pero tua pelle straccio, et ti disserro:
Et s'indi accade ch'il mio corpo atterro,
Tuo vituperio è nel diamante scritto.
Non andar nudo à torre à l'api il mele.
Non morder se non sai s' è pietra, ò pane.
Non gir discalzo à seminar le spine.
Non spreggiar mosca d'aragne le tele.
Se sorce sei, non sequitar le rane,
Fugge le volpi, ò sangue di galline.
Et credi à l' Euangelo,
Che dice di buon zelo,
Dal nostro campo miete penitenza:
Chi vi gittò d'errori la semenza.

If you've been worried in a cynic's bite
You brought it on yourself, you barbarous cur
In showing me your weaponry you err
Unless you're careful not to rouse my spite.

The frontal charge you made was hardly right;
I'll shred your hide and pull out all your fur,
And if I hit the ground, you'll still concur:
Like diamond, I repel the taunts you write.

Don't rob a hive of honey in the nude
Don't bite unless you know it's stone or bread
Don't scatter thorns unless you're wearing shoes

On spiderwebs a fly should not intrude
A rat that follows frogs is good as dead.
Hens and their brood all foxes should refuse

And trust the Gospel verse
That tells you, kind and terse:
For him who sows a field with errors and lies
A harvest of regret shall be the prize.[29]

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[29] Giordano Bruno, *Cena de le Ceneri*, Italian text from *Dialoghi Italiani*, I, p. 5.

The dialogue proper opens, like Plato's, in medias res, but its tone is scathing:

> Smi: Parlavan ben latino? The: Si. Smi: Galant'huomini? The: Si. Smi: Di buona riputatione? The: Si. Smi: Dotti? The: Assai competentemente. Smi: Ben creati, cortesi, civili? The: Troppo mediocremene. Smi: Dottori? The: Messer si, Padre si, Madonnasi, Madesi; credo da Oxonia. Smi: qualificati? The: Come non? Huomini da scelta, di robba lunga, vestiti di velluto; un de quali havea due cathene d'oro lucente al collo: et l'altro (per Dio) con quella pretiosa mano (che contenea dodeci anella in due dita) sembrava uno ricchissimo gioielliero, che ti cavava gl' occhi et il core, quando la vagheggiava. Smi: mostrauano saper di greco? The: Et di birra etiam dio.
>
> Smitho: Did they speak good Latin?
> Teofilo: Yes.
> S: Gentlemen?
> T: Yes.
> S: Of good reputation?
> T: Yes.
> S: Learned?
> T: Most competently.
> S: Well bred, courteous, civil?
> T: Not enough.
> S: Doctors?
> T: Yes Sir, yes, Father, yes Ma'am, yes indeed; from Oxford, I believe.
> S: Qualified?
> T: Of course. Leading men, of flowing robes, dressed in velvet; one of whom had two shiny gold chains around his neck, the other, by God! with that precious hand (that contained twelve rings on two fingers) he looked like a rich jeweler; your eyes and heart popped out just looking at it.
> S: Were they steeped in Greek?
> T: And in beer, too, forsooth.[30]

The *Ash Wednesday Supper* is, among its many other qualities, extremely funny, clearly inspired by the tragicomedy of Plato's *Symposium*, which he pointedly evokes in the letter that dedicated this work to his London host, the Ambassador, Michel de Castelnau.

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[30] *Ibidem*, I, pp. 20–21.

Sleek Londoners could laugh at his portrayal of Oxford dons: a contemporary scholar lamented the same contrast between his professorial robes and the silks of the nobility:

> When once in black I disrespected walked,
> While glittering courtiers in their tissues stalked.[31]

In the event, however, the *Ash Wednesday Supper* ensured that Giordano Bruno would have no future in England. His stiletto was too sharp, and it only became sharper as he composed four more vernacular dialogues about his natural philosophy. He had concluded that neither Aristotle nor Copernicus understood the true nature of the cosmos: it was not one closed system of concentric spheres orbiting within a sphere of fixed stars, but an infinite series of orbital systems ranging free in an infinite expanse of space. Our place in that infinitude was thus infinitely tiny, but that very tininess was more than compensated by the immensity of the ideas an infinitely expanded cosmos made available to an unfettered mind.[32]

This lifting of every intellectual limit was the freedom that Bruno believed his philosophy could offer to the world, and in the *Ash Wednesday Supper* he let no courtly modesty stop the impassioned charge of his self-congratulation:

> Il Nolano ... ha disciolto l'animo umano e la cognizione, che era rinchiusa ne l'artissimo carcere de l'aria turbolento; onde a pena, come per certi buchi, avea facultà de remirar le lontanissime stelle, e gli erano mozze le ali, a fin che non volasse ad aprir il velame di queste nuvole e veder quello che veramente là su si trovasse ... Or ecco quello, ch' ha varcato l'aria, penetrato il cielo, discorse le stelle, trapassati gli margini del mondo, fatte avanire le fantastiche muraglia de le prime, ottave, none, decime ed altre, che vi s'avesser potuto aggiongere, sfere, per relazione de vani matematici e cieco veder di filosofi volgari; cossì al cospetto d'ogni senso e raggione, co' la chiave di solertissima inquisizione aperti que' chiostri de la verità, che da noi aprir si posseano, nudata la ricoperta e velata natura, ha

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[31] Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, 'On a maide of honor seene by a scholler in Sommerset Garden', in Gardner, *The Metaphysical Poets*, p. 160: 'As once in blacke I disrespected walk't, / Where glittering courtiers in their tissues stalk't, / I cast by chaunce my melancholy eye, / Upon a woman (as I thought) pass'd by. / But when I veiw'd her ruffe and beaver reard / As if Priapus-like she would have feard, / The ravenous Harpyes from the clustred grape, / Then I began much to mistrust her shape [...].'

[32] Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science*, pp. 43–77.

> donati gli occhi a le talpe, illuminati i ciechi che non possean fissar gli occhi a mirar l'imagin sua in tanti specchi che da ogni lato gli s'opponeno, sciolta la lingua a' muti che non sapeano e non ardivano esplicar gl'intricati sentimenti, risaldati i zoppi che non valean far quel progresso col spirto che non può far l'ignobile e dissolubile composto, le rende non men presenti che si fussero proprii abitatori del sole, de la luna ed altri nomati astri ... Questi fiammeggianti corpi sono que' ambasciatori, che annunciano l'eccellenza de la gloria e maestà de Dio. Cossí siamo promossi a scuoprire l'infinito effetto dell'infinita causa, il vero e vivo vestigio de l'infinito vigore; ed abbiamo dottrina di non cercar la divinità rimossa da noi, se l'abbiamo appresso, anzi di dentro, piú che noi medesmi siamo dentro a noi.
>
> The Nolan ... has released the human spirit and intellect, which were confined in the narrow prison of the turbulent atmosphere; whence they scarcely had the capacity to look, as through certain holes, upon the distant stars, and whose wings were clipped, so that they could not fly through the veil of these clouds and see what is really to be found above ... Now behold him, who has crossed the air, penetrated the heavens, wandered among the stars, and passed beyond the margins of this world, made to vanish the imaginary walls of the first, eighth, ninth, tenth and as many other spheres as you would like to add, according to the reports of vain astronomers and the blind visions of vulgar philosophers; [who] thus, in the presence of all sense and reason, with the key of clever investigation has opened those cloisters of the truth, that can be opened by us, stripped naked the covered and veiled truth, given eyes to moles, enlightened the blind who could not focus their eyes to admire their own image in these many mirrors appearing on every side, loosened the tongue of the mute who could not and dared not express their innermost feelings, healed the lame who could not make that progress with their spirits that our ignoble and dissolute flesh cannot make, and makes them no less present than if they were dwellers on the Sun, the Moon, and the other known stars ... These flaming bodies are the ambassadors who proclaim the glory and majesty of God. Thus we are moved to discover the infinite effect of the infinite cause, the true and living footprint of the infinite vigor, and we have a teaching that tells us not to seek divinity outside ourselves, but within, more deeply in us than we are ourselves.[33]

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[33] Giordano Bruno, *Cena de le Ceneri*, Italian text from *Dialoghi Italiani*, I, pp. 29–34.

The *Ash Wednesday Supper* had a few diagrammatic illustrations, one notoriously inaccurate.[34] Some of his previous works on memory had used emblematic images as student exercises. In his sixth and final vernacular dialogue, *On the Heroic Frenzies*, he tried to combine natural philosophy with ethics, using sonnets, songs, and emblems to convey his ideas. The 28 emblems of the *Heroic Frenzies* were described rather than illustrated, but they clearly drew from contemporary emblematic literature, and one of the images may well be inspired by Titian's allegorical painting of *Prudence*, now in London, at that time in Venice.[35] This is the sonnet that accompanies an image he explains not as prudence, but as the confused head of an anguished lover, albeit not an erotic lover, but rather a lover of wisdom, a philosopher eager for truth:

> Un alan, un leon, un can appare
> a l'auror, al dì chiar, al vespr'oscuro.
> Quel che spesi, ritegno, e mi procuro,
> per quanto mi si die', si dà, può dare.
>
> Per quel che feci, faccio et ho da fare
> al passat', al presente et al futuro,
> mi pento, mi tormento, m'assicuro,
> nel perso, nel soffrir, nell'aspettare.
>
> Con l'agro, con l'amaro, con il dolce
> l'esperienza, i frutti, la speranza
> mi minacciò, m'affligono, mi molce.
>
> L'età che vissi, che vivo, ch'avanza
> mi fa tremante, mi scuote, mi folce,
> in absenza, presenza, e lontananza.
>
> Assai, troppo, a bastanza
> quel di già, quel di ora, quel d'appresso
> m'hann' in timor, martir, e spene messo.
>
> A wolf, a lion, and a dog shall show
> At dawn, at bright of day, at evening's gloom;
> What I gave out, possess, and shall assume,
> This much was given me, gives, shall bestow.

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[34] Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science*, pp. 60–71.

[35] Albanese, 'I simboli animali del Tempo nella cultura rinascimentale'.

For what I did, I do, my next creation
Before, at present, and in days ahead
I rue, torment myself, assuage my dread
In loss, in suffering, in expectation.

And with the sour, the bitter, and the sweet
Experience, the fruits, expectancy
Scared me, afflict me, makes my cares retreat

The span I lived, live, what remains to me
Sets me aquiver, shakes me, guides my feet
In absence, presence, and in scarcity.

Greatly, too much, sufficiently
What happened then, what now, and what comes next
Keep me in fear, distress, and hope perplexed.[36]

This is all a far cry from Galileo's pictures of the Moon, and considerably less distant, I would argue, from Galileo's image of the Pleiades. But another image from Bruno will take us still closer to Galileo.

The Italian philosopher's sojourn in London ended with the recall of his host in 1585; they both returned to Paris, where the language of urban sophisticates, needless to say, was French. Bruno surely spoke French, but he never wrote in that language; by sheer atavistic instinct it would have been hard for a sixteenth century Italian, heir to the Roman Empire, to exchange that illustrious tongue for the accents of Transalpine Gaul. He wrote instead in Latin, still favoring dialogue as his medium (and would continue to write in Latin when his journeys took him to German-speaking lands). This second Parisian stay ended as things always ended for Bruno: in a fight. At the time, Paris was much taken with the work of a mathematician from Salerno, Fabrizio Mordente, who had invented a compass that, he claimed, allowed him to solve the age-old geometric problem of squaring the circle, that is, producing a square whose perimeter exactly equalled the circumference of a given circle. This is easily done with string; the challenge was to do it by using compass and straightedge. Mordente's trick was to give the compass adjustable legs. He was basically a technician, an instrument maker, and decidedly a man of the working class, for he knew no Latin. Bruno, as a fellow southern Italian, offered to translate

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[36] Italian and English texts from Bruno, *De gli Heroici Furori*, ed. Canone, transl. Rowland, pp. 210–11.

Mordente's own essay on his compass into Latin in order to give it greater prestige.

Bruno was not Mordente's only learned acquaintance, however, and hence it was only a matter of time before Mordente discovered that the hero of the pamphlet called *Mordente's Compass* was not Mordente himself but his brilliant friend Giordano, the genius who truly grasped the instrument's potential. No one grew any more calm when Bruno fired off another Latin pamphlet, *Idiota Triumphans*: even Mordente could see who was meant to be the 'triumphant idiot' of the title.[37]

But as usual, Bruno was indeed thinking, as Kepler would observe, with a creator's outlook. A little woodcut from *Mordente's Compass* shows the direction in which his ideas are pointing. Once he had resolved that the universe was infinite, he began to wonder how objects moved within it—the old Aristotelian distinction between circular and linear motion no longer applied to this new setting. To this end, Bruno began to concentrate his attention on how a straight line comes to approximate a curve and vice versa. Squaring the circle was perhaps the archetypal example of this transformation. Though Bruno discovered fairly quickly that Mordente's compass would not solve that particular problem, he retained his interest both in the instrument itself and in the more basic issue at hand, which was that of approximation: how a straight line gradually verges into a curve, how motion verges into rest, how a three-dimensional surface verges into a two-dimensional plane. He was moving, tentatively and with what would prove to be the wrong set of tools, towards the infinitesimal calculus.[38] The very term 'calculus' suggests where the solution to this problem would lie: in numbers, considered algebraically, something Bruno never did—with regard to numbers, he remained a numerologist.[39] But he was, as some of his diagrams reveal, as uninhibited a thinker as the sixteenth century produced.

Galileo would address the problem of motion in his *Two New Sciences*, but from a radically different standpoint from that of Bruno, a standpoint first expressed in his polemic against the Jesuit Orazio Grassi, *Il Saggiatore*:

> e forse stima, che la Filosofia sia un libro, e una fantasia d'un uomo, come l'Iliade, e l'Orlando furioso, libri ne' quali la meno importante cosa è, che quello che vi è scritto, sia vero. S. Sarsi la cosa non istà così. La Filosofia è scritta in questo grandissimo libro, che continuamente ci stà aperto

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[37] De Bernart, *Numerus quodammodo infinitus*.

[38] Rowland, 'Giordano Bruno e la geometria dell'infinitamente piccolo'.

[39] Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science*, pp. 143–70.

> innanzi a gli occhi (io dico l'universo) ma non si può intendere se prima non s'impara à intender la lingua, e conoscer i caratteri, ne' quali è scritto. Egli è scritto in lingua matematica, e i caratteri son triangoli, cerchi, & altre figure Geometriche, senza i quali mezi è impossibile à intendere umanamente parola; senza questi è un'aggirarsi vanamente per un'oscuro laberinto.
>
> Perhaps [my adversary] thinks that Philosophy is a book, and [the product of] one man's imaginings, like the *Iliad*, and *Orlando Furioso*, books in which the least important matter is whether the contents are true. Signor Sarsi, it's not like that. Philosophy is written in this great book that stands continually open before our eyes (I mean the universe), but you cannot understand it until you learn to understand its language, and know the script in which it is written. It is written in the language of mathematics, and the letters are triangles, circles, and other Geometric figures, and without these means it is impossible for a person to understand one word; [to be] without them is to wander vainly through a dark labyrinth.[40]

Or are their outlooks that different? Galileo could have written what Bruno says about his choice to write in vernacular in another of his London dialogues, *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*:

> Qua Giordano parla per volgare, nomina liberamente … chiama il pane, pane; il vino, vino; il capo, capo; il piede, piede; ed altre parti, di proprio nome; dice il mangiare, mangiare; il dormire, dormire; il bere, bere … Ha gli miracoli per miracoli, le prodezze e maraviglie per prodezze e maraviglie, la verità per verità, la dottrina per dottrina, la bontà e virtú per bontà e virtú, gl'inganni per inganni, coltello e fuoco per coltello e fuoco, le paroli e sogni per paroli e sogni, la pace per la pace, l'amore per amore. Stima gli filosofi per filosofi, gli pedanti per pedanti, gli monachi per monachi, li ministri per ministri, li predicanti per predicanti, le sanguisughe per sanguisughe, gli disutili, montainbanco, ciarlatani, bagatellieri, barattoni, istrioni, papagalli per quel che si dicono, mostrano e sono; ha gli operarii, benefici, sapienti ed eroi per questo medesimo.
>
> Here Giordano speaks the common language, he names names freely … he calls bread bread, wine wine, a head a head, a foot a foot, and

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[40] Galileo Galilei, *Il Saggiatore*, 1623, p. 24.

> other parts by their proper name, he calls eating eating, sleeping sleeping, drinking drinking…He holds miracles as miracles, prodigies and marvels as prodigies and marvels, truth as truth, doctrine as doctrine, goodness and virtue as goodness and virtue, impostures as impostures, deceptions as deceptions, knife and fire as knife and fire, words and dreams as words and dreams, peace as peace, love as love. He regards philosophers as philosophers, pedants as pedants, monks as monks, ministers as ministers, preachers as preachers, bloodsuckers as bloodsuckers, ne'er-do-wells, mountebanks, charlatans, triflers, barterers, actors, parrots as that which they are called, show themselves to be, are; workers, benefactors, sages and heroes as themselves.[41]

Certainly Galileo's sharp-tongued Salviati, lampooning dull-witted Simplicio on the last page of the *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems*, committed a *faux pas* worthy of Giordano Bruno. His dull-witted character, Simplicio ventures an idea. To this tentative suggestion thought, Salviati says, 'A truly angelic doctrine!' before going on to refute it categorically. Unfortunately for Galileo, his source for Simplicio's idea had been none other than the Pope, Urban VIII, in one of the discussions the two were wont to have with one another, confident in their mutual high regard. Galileo placed this little piece of banter on the four hundredth page of four hundred, perhaps assuming that the Pope would not read his dialogue all the way through, or perhaps only assuming that the Pope would not see himself mirrored in Simplicio. But the Pope did read the book and did see himself in the mirror, and his wounded pride lit the fuse that exploded into Galileo's trial for heresy.[42]

Galileo's trial revolved more around pontifical pique than it did around science, around rhetoric rather than philosophy, and ultimately around power—the real temporal power of the Pope and the equally real, timeless power of Galileo's pen. For both Bruno and Galileo, the pen ultimately won their battles, a pen they both wielded in two languages, but most of all in a new language all their own, made up of wit and of science.

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[41] Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, Italian text from *Dialoghi Italiani*, I, pp. 551–52.

[42] This point is made most strongly by Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*.

CHAPTER 7

Vom *Aristarchus* zur Jesuiten-Poesie: Zum dynamischen Wechselbezug von Latein und Landessprache in den deutschen Landen in der Frühen Neuzeit / From *Aristarch* to Jesuit Poetry: The Shifting Interrelation between Latin and the Vernacular in the German Lands in Early Modern Times

Guillaume van Gemert

In 1617 the German poet Martin Opitz (1597–1639) held an oration at the Silesian academy in Beuthen (Bytom), entitled *Aristarchus sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae* in which he conveyed a supposedly great German past, with the intention of enhancing the vernacular in terms of its applicability as a poetic language. To this end he drew on Roman antiquity, not only by referring to Tacitus's *Germania*, but more specifically by stressing the exemplary function of Latin poetry for the development of literature in the vernacular. By arguing in this way, Opitz could rely on predecessors like Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523) and Conrad Celtis (1459–1508). As for them, his aim could also be claimed to be a political one, rather than a purely literary one: by creating an overall German culture, national identity should be realized as a preliminary stage on the path to overcoming the political fragmentation of German Lands. Seven years later, Opitz expanded and fleshed out this approach in his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*: like most of his contemporaries as well as his like-minded followers till the end of the 17th century, Opitz was convinced that the German language could only be moulded into an adequate vehicle for literary activity by both referring to and differentiating itself from Latin and Latin-based ancient culture, a process that was still regarded as the only way of achieving political unification within the German-speaking countries. Following Opitz the Nuremberg poet Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658), figurehead of the leading Baroque language society, the ‚Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft', and the Wolfenbuttel grammarian Justus Georg Schottelius (1612–1676) attributed to the vernacular an almost mythic status. They enhanced patriotic

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feelings by stressing its biblical origin as a Scythian or Cimbrian language, already spoken at the time of Noah's flood and spread across Europe by his son Japheth's posterity. Due to this ontological embedded status, neglecting the vernacular could be denounced as a work of the devil and branded a sin. Furthermore, they claimed German to be a ‚Hauptsprache', not one derivative of older languages. So the position of German was strengthened at the expense of Latin. In his *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (1682), Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691) reversed the relationship between Latin and the vernacular in order to upgrade the latter, in the same way, by stating that many Latin words must have been derived from German. In the first decades of the 18th century, a volte-face can be discerned in the German way of handling Latin in relation to the vernacular: Latin lost its unambiguously positive significance when used by poets of German origin for their poetic works instead of the vernacular. Writing poems in Latin for casual occasions, outside academia, was increasingly regarded as a sign of backwardness. Latinity from now on was exploited in the struggle for political and cultural dominance within Germany itself, interrelated to confessionalism: the Protestant northern territories defamed the Catholic southern ones, whose political supremacy was declining, as unprogressive and unpatriotic, because in the South Latin would be preferred for poetic purposes to the detriment of the vernacular. The famous Neo-Latin poet Jacob Balde was now denounced as a typical exponent of reprehensible Jesuit poetry, and writing poems in Latin was interpreted as demonstrating a serious lack of patriotism characteristic of Catholics in particular, as Georg Lizel (1694–1761) pointed out in his polemic pamphlets *Der undeutsche Catholik* and *Deutsche Jesuiten-Poesie*, both published under the pseudonym ‚Megalissus' in 1731. Within a period of about one hundred years, the status of Latin as a language of poetry was shifting in terms of its relationship with the vernacular in the German Lands from an admired sign of hope, a model that could lead to emancipation of the vernacular and thereby to the ascent of a German nation within the European range of states, towards being an unmistakable tool of deprecation.

Einleitung: Ansätze zur Umschichtung im 16. Jahrhundert – Celtis, Hutten, Luther

Das Bewusstsein, dass kulturelle Eigenständigkeit und staatliche Einheit sich nur über die Emanzipation der Landessprache gegenüber dem Latein als der damaligen europäischen Universalsprache verwirklichen ließen, bahnt

sich in den deutschen Landen erst mit nationalpolitisch beseelten, durchweg zweisprachigen Dichtergestalten wie Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523) an[1]. Der um eine Generation ältere Konrad Celtis (1459–1508)[2], der erste deutsche *poeta laureatus*, initiierte mit seinem unvollendeten Projekt der *Germania illustrata* sowie mit der Stadtbeschreibung *Norimberga* (gedruckt 1518) und dem Lehrgedicht *Germania generalis* (um 1500) zwar einen die ganze Frühe Neuzeit hindurch bis ins 18. Jahrhundert anhaltenden Diskurs um die deutsche Nation[3], bediente sich aber noch „grundsätzlich und programmatisch" des Latein[4]. Hutten schrieb dagegen seine national orientierten Streit- und Programmschriften wie die *Clag vnd vormanung* von 1520, den *Anzöig* von 1521 und die *Vormanung an die freien vnd reich Stette teutscher nation* von 1522 ausdrücklich auf deutsch[5], machte sich zudem als Übersetzer aus dem Latein in die Landessprache verdient[6], während sein dichterisches Werk und sein gelehrtes Schrifttum, mitsamt den dazugehörigen Polemiken, in lateinischer Sprache abgefasst sind. Ein solche Zweiteilung mag schlechthin ein Erstarken des nationalen Moments aufscheinen lassen, das auch der italienischen Renaissance wesenhaft eignete, und der Rückgriff auf das Deutsche als solches das wachsende Ansehen, das der Landessprache als einer der Konstituenzien deutscher Eigenheit seit der Neuentdeckung von Tacitus' *Germania*[7], zuteil wurde, insgesamt aber spiegelt sich hier, wie zur selben Zeit auch bei Luther, ein bis dahin ungewohntes Vertrauen in die Landessprache wider, der als Waffe in den interkonfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen ein größeres Wirkungspotential bei der breiten Masse zuerkannt wurde als dem Latein.

Gerade hier artikuliert sich die Reformation somit als eine primär deutsche Bewegung, die im Latein teilweise auch schon das Vehikel erkennt, dessen sich der Gegner, die römische Kirche, vorzugsweise bediente, zum Erhalt ihrer Universalität, aber nicht zuletzt auch zum Ausschluss des gemeinen Manns bzw. des Laien, der so am allgemeinen Priestertum aller Gläubigen nicht teil-haben konnte. Der nationale Impetus bekundet sich in der selbstbewussten Handhabung der Landesssprache implizit; er führt aber noch nicht zum expliziten Postulat, diese dem Latein gleichzusetzen bzw. ihr eine Vorrangsstellung zuzuerkennen. Das scheint zwar anzuklingen bei Luther im *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* aus dem Jahre 1530[8], wenn er zur Rechtfertigung der Übersetzung von Schlüsselstellen in seiner deutschen Bibel ein Eigenrecht der Landessprache gegenüber dem Latein beansprucht, aber die betreffende Stelle sollte nicht überbewertet werden, wie sich bei näherer Betrachtung zeigt[9]. Für Luther besteht das ausschlaggebende Kriterium beim Umgang mit dem Deutschen darin, sich an der Sprachpraxis des Alltags auszurichten, da – wie er es formuliert – nicht dem Wortlaut der lateinischen Vorlage der Primat gebühre, sondern es auf die bestmögliche Vermittlung des Sinnes ankomme, auch wo dies kleinere Freiheiten erfordere, und zwar alles um der Gemeinverständlichkeit willen:

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[1] Zu Hutten vgl. Volker Honemann, ‚Ulrich von Hutten', Füssel, *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit*, S. 359–77; Herbert Jaumann, ‚Hutten, Ulrich von', Worstbrock, *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520: Verfasserlexikon*. Bd. 1, Sp. 1185–1237.

[2] Zu Celtis: Dieter Wuttke, ‚Conradus Celtis Protucius', Füssel: *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit*, S. 173–99; Jörg Robert, ‚Celtis, Konrad', Worstbrock, *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, Bd. 1, Sp. 375–427.

[3] Ebd., Sp. 393–99 und 424; Wuttke, ‚Celtis', S. 187.

[4] Robert, ‚Celtis', Sp. 385.

[5] Zu den betreffenden Schriften vgl. Jauman, ‚Hutten, Ulrich von', Sp. 1224–27; Honemann: ‚Ulrich von Hutten', S. 367.

[6] Jaumann, ‚Hutten, Ulrich von', Sp. 1228–29.

[7] Dazu neuerdings: Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book. Tacitus's ‚Germania'*, bes. S. 64–152.

> […] den man mus nicht die buchstaben inn der lateinischen sprachen fragen, wie man sol Deutsch reden, wie diese esel thun, sondern, man mus die mutter jhm hause, die kinder auff der gassen, den gemeinen man auff dem marckt drumb fragen, und den selbigen auff das maul sehen, wie sie reden, und darnach dolmetzschen, so verstehen sie es den und mercken, das man Deutsch mit jn redet[10].

Es sollte bei all dem aber nicht übersehen werden, dass Luther hier vom Übersetzen spricht, wobei *eo ipso* die Ausgangssprache vor der Zielsprache rangiert. Seine Kritik gilt denn auch weniger der lateinischen Sprache an sich und erst recht nicht deren Präponderanz vor der Landessprache in Bereichen, in denen sie ein Eigenrecht besaß, wie in der gelehrten Dichtkunst und der Wissenschaft – selber schrieb er ja seine theologischen Abhandlungen weiterhin in lateinischer Sprache; des Deutschen bediente er sich im seelsorgerischen Bereich bei der Glaubenslehre und im geistlichen bzw. erbaulichen Schrifttum, wo es ihm eben auf Breitenwirkung ankam. Ihm geht es im *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* vielmehr darum, die Autorität des sankrosankten Textes der Vulgata auch bei der Umsetzung in die Landessprache ungeschmälert zur Geltung kommen zu lassen; der Stellenwert des Latein als *lingua sacra* im engeren Sinne, als Vehikel von Gottes Wort somit, ist für ihn nach wie vor über jeden Zweifel erhaben, sowie er das Latein auch als *lingua franca* der Wissenschaft voll anerkennt.

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[8] Martin Luther, ‚Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen', *WA*, Bd. 30/2, S. 627–46.

[9] Dazu u.a. auch: Herbert Walz, ‚Martin Luther', Füssel, *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit*, S. 324–44. Hier bes. S. 330–331; Ders.: *Deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit*, namentlich S. 3–4 und S. 16–23.

[10] Luther, ‚Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen', S. 637.

Zunehmende Akzentverlagerungen im Zuge der Opitzschen Dichtungsreform

Ein uneingeschränktes Eigenrecht der Landessprache, im Sinne der Gleichstellung des Deutschen mit dem Latein, beansprucht erst gut drei Generationen nach Luther, zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts, der junge schlesische Dichter Martin Opitz (1597–1639)[11]. In der von ihm 1624 mit seinem *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*[12] initiierten Dichtungsreform übertrug er das Regelsystem der antiken, am Latein ausgerichteten Rhetorik auf die Dichtung in der Landessprache, baute es zu einer umfassenden Poetik aus, schnitt die klassische Verslehre auf die Eigenheiten des Deutschen zurecht und machte so die landessprachige Lyrik salonfähig[13], was ihm den Ehrentitel eines „Vaters der deutschen Dichtung" einbrachte[14]. Im Jahre 1617, sieben Jahre bevor er seine Dichtungsreform in die Tat umsetzte, hielt Opitz, damals noch Student am akademischen Gymnasium im schlesischen Beuthen[15], wo er den berühmten Neulateiner Caspar Dornavius[16] (1577–1631) zu seinen Lehrern zählte, eine lateinische Rede mit dem provozierenden Titel *Aristarchus, sive De Contemptu Lingae Teutonicae*[17]. Sie war, im Kontext der Beuthener

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[11] Zu Opitz grundlegend: Klaus Garber, ‚Martin Opitz', Steinhagen und von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, S. 116–84.

[12] Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (*1624*), hrsg. Alewyn.

[13] Zu Opitz' Leistung im Bereich der Dichtungslehre vgl. u.a. Szyrocki, *Martin Opitz*, namentlich S. 57–73.

[14] Dazu u.a. Garber, *Martin Opitz, der ‚Vater der deutschen Dichtung'*.

[15] Zu der Bedeutung Beuthens für Opitz vgl. namentlich Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat*, bes. S. 140–51; Ders., *Martin Opitz: Deutsche Literatur und deutsche Nation*, namentlich S. 21–25.

[16] Zu ihm vor allem: Seidel, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien*.

[17] Martin Opitz, *Aristarchus sive De Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae*, Ders., *Lateinische Werke*, Bd. 1: 1614–24, hrsg. von Marschall und Seidel, S. 58–89. Die parallel abgedruckte deutsche Übersetzung stammt von Herbert Jaumann und war vorher schon enthalten in: Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (*1624*), hrsg. Jaumann, S. 77–94. Es handelt sich letztendlich um eine überarbeitete Fassung von Georg Witkowskis Übersetzung.

„Charidemus-Disputationen“ zum Verhaltnis von Latein und Muttersprache[18], gleichsam als Paukenschlag gedacht, und ein solcher tat Not, denn die Lage hatte sich gegenüber der Zeit Huttens und Luthers grundlegend geändert. Die Hoffnung auf einen deutschen Einheitsstaat hatte sich zerschlagen: Die Reformation war als deutsche Bewegung alles andere als ein einigender Faktor gewesen; im Zuge des Augsburger Religionsfriedens von 1555, der das *Ius reformandi* nach dem Adagium *Cuius regio, eius et religio* zum staatstragenden Prinzip im Reich erhob, hatte sich Polarisierung breit gemacht und brach sich zunehmend Territorialismus Bahn. Zudem bildete sich ein Nord-Süd-Gefälle heraus, indem die politische Vormachtstellung bis um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts im Süden des Reiches, in Bayern und in den österreichischen Erblanden, bei den Habsburgern und den Wittelsbachern, lag. Es ließ auch die deutsche Einheitssprache zur schieren Utopie werden: Die protestantischen Territorien richteten sich im offiziellen wie im literarischen Sprachgebrauch am Idiom der Luther-Bibel aus, das die katholischen ihrerseits ausdrücklich ablehnten, da für sie vielmehr die oberdeutsche Kanzleisprache maßgeblich war[19]. So rückte im ausgehenden 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert nicht nur die politische Nation, sondern auch die Kulturnation in unerreichbare Ferne. Opitz wollte hier gegensteuern. Seine diesbezüglichen Äußerungen im *Aristarchus* wie im *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* sind denn auch durch und durch politisch gemünzt[20]. Sie sind Bausteine eines übergreifenden nationalkulturellen Aufwertungsprogramms, das in erster Linie auf die Sprache setzt und längerfristig für die Vorstellungen über das Verhältnis von Landessprache und Latein in den deutschen Landen richtungweisend sein sollte[21]: Aus der nationalen Einheitssprache, die notwendigerweise die Kulturnation nach sich ziehen sollte, müsste sich letztendlich – so Opitz’ Perspektive – auch die

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Vgl. Martin Opitz, *Aristarchus sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae und Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, hrsg. Witkowski, S. 81–118.

[18] Seidel, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien*, S. 265–337.

[19] Dazu Breuer: ‚Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem oberdeutschen Literaturprogramm im 17. Jahrhundert‘. Vgl auch: Ders., *Oberdeutsche Literatur 1565–1650*, S. 44–90; Ders.: ‚Raumbildungen in der deutschen Literaturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit als Folge der Konfessionalisierung‘.

[20] Vgl. Garber, ‚Martin Opitz‘, namentlich S. 133–45.

[21] Dazu insgesamt u.a.: Gardt, *Sprachreflexion in Barock und Frühaufklärung*; Hundt, *‚Spracharbeit‘ im 17. Jahrhundert*, namentlich auch S. 4–7. Insgesamt bahnt sich bei Opitz an, was Hundt, teilweise in der Nachfolge Gardts (Gardt, *Sprachreflexion in Barock und Frühaufklärung*, S. 21, S. 129–88), als „ontologisierend-patriotische Haltung“ angesichts der Sprache für Harsdörffer und Schottelius reklamiert, vgl. Hundt, *‚Spracharbeit‘ im 17. Jahrhundert*, S. 47–48.

staatliche Einheit ergeben. Dabei orientierte er sich an aufstrebenden Nationen im Europa, denen eine nationale Einheitsprache Mittel und Stütze bei der Erlangung bzw. beim Erhalt der staatlichen Eigenständigkeit war, an Frankreich und besonders an der nordniederländischen Republik, mit der die deutschen Lande aus Opitz' Sicht eine enge Sprach- und Stammesverwandtschaft verband, die gleichsam Garantin des Erfolgs seiner Bestrebungen sein könnte[22]. Das Latein ist in seinen Augen bestenfalls noch Vehikel, Mittel, eine intellektuelle Oberschicht für seine Pläne zu gewinnen, und, mitsamt dem lateinischsprachigen Literaturvorrat der Antike, bloß noch eines der Vorbilder, an denen sich die aufstrebende Landessprache als Literatursprache ausrichten könnte.

Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt der Umstand, dass Opitz sein Plädoyer für ein selbstbewusstes Zurückgreifen auf die deutsche Sprache und für deren Aufwertung im *Aristarchus* auf Latein präsentiert, gemessen an Hutten keineswegs einen Rückschritt dar. Es erklärt sich aus dem Zielpublikum, an das er sich über die Köpfe seiner Beuthener Mitschüler hinweg richtet, aber auch aus dem Kontext, in dem er seine Gedanken vorlegt, dem der akademischen Rede bzw. der Schulschrift eben. Der *Aristarchus*, dessen Titel mit dem Verweis auf den kritischen Textphilologen aus Samothrake an sich schon programmatisch ist, enthält manches, was im *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* später ausgebaut werden sollte, so sind hier schon die ersten Umrisse einer spezifisch deutschen Verslehre zu finden, allerdings noch ohne das entscheidende Betonungsgesetz, aber viel ausführlicher als in der späteren Poetik wird hier das Verhältnis von Deutsch und Latein problematisiert. Eingeklagt werden soll hier das Eigenrecht der deutschen Sprache. Das geht schon hervor aus dem zwölf Distichen umfassenden Widmungsgedicht mit dem stolzen Titel *Ad Germaniam*: Es schildert die große Vergangenheit der Deutschen, und es artikuliert sich in ihm schon das Selbstbewusstsein des angehenden Dichters, der *vates* und Wahrer historischen Wissens, Verkörperung somit des kollektiven Gedächtnisses, sein will, vor allem aber geht es hier um Sprachpolitik, um Aufwertung der Landessprache, so zeigen die ersten beiden Verse:

> Accipe festino quae deproperavimus aestu,
> Vindicias linguae, Teutona terra, tuae[23].

> Empfange, was ich in eilender Hitze schleunig zu Papier gebracht habe,
> die Verteidigung deiner Sprache, deutsche Erde.

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[22] Vgl. dazu: Bornemann, *Anlehnung und Abgrenzung*, bes. S. 94–147.

[23] Opitz, *Aristarchus*, S. 62–63.

Dass das Eigenrecht des Deutschen hier gerade gegenüber dem Latein einzuklagen ist, wird im Laufe des *Aristarchus* selber klar, wie auch die anderen Themen aus dem Widmungsgedicht wiederkehren. So greift Opitz ausgiebig auf Tacitus' *Germania* zurück, um die Größe der Deutschen zu dokumentieren, deren Sprache sich seit der Zeit der Germanen unverändert und unvermischt erhalten habe, während das Latein nach der Goldenen Zeit in einen unaufhaltsamen Verfall geraten sei:

> Latinus etiam nitor ultra felicem ac disertam Augusti aetatem se vix reservavit. Labente namque sensim urbe aeterna, mascula quoque illa et robusta oratio eundem exitum fecit. Sive id fatali quadam lege et occulta ac mystica vi accidit; sive vitio superiorum. […] Irruptione enim peregrinorum, cultissimus sermo cecidit cum imperio, et se ipse deseruit. Ac nisi praeclara illa ingeniorum monimenta, indulgentia numinum ac coelesti clementia, reservata huc usque essent; nihil prorsus de Latina ac Graeca eruditione, quam nomen inutile superaret[24].
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> Auch der Glanz der Sprache Latiums erhielt sich kaum über das glückliche redegewandte Zeitalter des Augustus hinaus. Denn mit dem allmählichen Niedergang der ewigen Stadt ging auch die männlich kräftige Sprache zugrunde, vielleicht durch ein Gesetz des Schicksals und eine verborgene geheimnisvolle Macht, vielleicht auch durch die Schuld der Herrschenden. […] Denn durch den Einbruch der Fremden verfiel die aufs feinste ausgebildete Sprache zugleich mit dem Reiche, sie gab sich selbst auf. Und wären uns nicht jene herrlichen Monumente des Geistes durch die Nachsicht der Götter und die Gnade des Himmels bis jetzt erhalten geblieben, so würde von der Bildung der Griechen und Römer uns nichts übrig sein als der wertlose Name.

Heute strebe es, so Opitz, als Literatursprache seinem endgültigen Untergang entgegen, da, wer sich jetzt des Latein bediene, die großen Dichter und Redner der Antike der Einfachheit zeihe, dafür aber selber die Gekünsteltheit und den Manierismus auf die Spitze treibe, bis hin zum regelrechten Schwulst, der der althergebrachten Reinheit des Latein den Todesstoß versetze:

> Nec felicius sane Latinitatis fatum. Iam quilibet nostrum singularem loquendi ideam aut proponit sibi ipse, aut fingit. Vtut loquamur, dummodo non sileamus, perinde est. Salustius antiquum nomen audit, et

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[24] Opitz, *Aristarchus*, S. 66–67.

Criticis curiosissimis mortalium relinquendus. Cicero, praeclarus ille quidem Orator, sed qui perpetuo hoc laborat vitio, quod intelligi non erubescat. Quae calamitas ac invidia Ovidium etiam, poëtarum omnium longè ingeniosissimum, deprehendit. Petronius vero, Tacitus, Curtius, Symmachus ac reliquus ille priscorum ordo Lunae regna sunt, in quae, praeter Endymionem, quem altera demum luce rediisse perhibent, nemo hactenus vivorum nisi somniando pervenit. Haec censura universae classicorum cohorti intentatur. Novorum interea quorundam, et terrae filiorum inusitatam ac portentosam dicendi rationem, miro judiciorum applausu, colimus et amplectimur. Sic elegantissimam illam Venerem Romanam et fraudamus decore nativo, et spurio fuco corrumpimus. Prostituimus denique eam nobis ipsi ac defloramus. Pauci sunt, qui suavissimae et simulachris omnibus emendatiori deae misericordiam, pauciores qui auxilium commodant et operam. Ita sensim ac ἡσύχω ποδὶ Latina illa puritas ad fatalem metam tendit; quam brevi elapsam prius quam elabi sentiemus[25].

Auch mit der lateinischen Sprache verhält es sich nicht besser. Ein jeder von uns richtet sich heute nach einem besonderen Begriff von der Sprache oder macht sich gar selbst einen zurecht. Wie wir sprechen ist gleichgültig, wenn wir nur nicht schweigen. Sallust steht in dem Rufe eines Altertümlers und wird den Kritikern, den Wißbegierigsten der Sterblichen, überlassen. Cicero ist zwar ein trefflicher Redner, er leidet aber beständig an dem Fehler, daß er ohne Scheu verständlich schreibt. Derselbe schlimme Vorwurf trifft auch Ovid, den weitaus begabtesten aller Dichter. Petronius vollends, Tacitus, Curtius, Symmachus und die übrige Schar der Alten gehören ins Reich der Luna, und dort ist außer dem Endymion, welcher erst am zweiten Tag zurückgekehrt sein soll, bis jetzt noch kein Lebender außer im Traume eingedrungen. Während dieser Maßstab an die ganze Schar der Klassiker angelegt wird, üben wir uns unter dem wunderlichen Beifall der Kunstrichter in jener weit hergeholten, monströsen Redeweise einiger von den neuen Staubgeborenen und übernehmen sie als unsere eigene. So bringen wir die feine römische Schönheit um ihren angeborenen Schmuck und verderben sie durch trügerische Schminke. Kurz, wir geben sie uns selbst preis und berauben sie ihrer Reinheit. Nur wenige haben mit der lieblichen Göttin, die makelloser als alle ihre Bilder ist, Mitleid, und noch weniger leisten ihr tätige Hilfe. So nähert sich allmählich Schritt für Schritt die Reinheit der lateini-

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[25] Ebd., S. 68–69.

> schen Sprache ihrem vom Schicksal verhängten Ende, und in kurzem, ehe wir noch ihr Verschwinden bemerken, werden wir sehen, daß sie schon vergangen sein wird.

Die Geschichte des Deutschen kennzeichne sich dagegen durch eine gegenläufige Entwicklung; der Sprache eigne eine ungebrochene Kontinuität der Eigenständigkeit und der unvermischten Reinheit bis auf den heutigen Tag, sie sei aber kein gesichertes, unverrückbares Erbe, sondern brauche der ständigen Pflege:

> Germanorum tamen sermo linguas posterorum, ut fides et candor animos, hucusque indivulsus et incorruptus semper est comitatus. Quotusquisque verò nostrum invenitur, qui aut vindicare eum, aut excolere audeat?[26]
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> Die Sprache der Germanen jedoch ist bis auf den heutigen Tag unvermischt und unverfälscht den Zungen der Nachkommen verblieben, so wie die Treue und Einfalt ihren Herzen. Aber wie wenige unter uns versuchen, diese Sprache zu schützen und weiter auszubilden.

Die deutsche Sprache hätte sich auf hohem Niveau gehalten und wäre einer großen Blüte entgegengegangen, wenn die Deutschen sie nicht, zu Unrecht, geringgeschätzt, unüberlegt der Überfremdung preisgegeben und sich nicht leichtfertig mit Gewandtheit in anderen Sprachen, nicht zuletzt auch im Latein, gebrüstet hätten:

> Sic dum effrenata quadam cupidine peregrinum idioma addiscimus, negligimus nostrum ac in contemptum adducimus. […] Sedulo hoc agamus, ut qui à Gallis ac Italis humanitatem mutuamur et elegantiam: non minus ab ipsis et linguam nostram, quod certatim eos facere in sua animadvertimus, perpolire accurate et exornare addiscamus. Inconsulte facit, qui neglectis domesticis extera habet antiquiora. […] Nunc pudet patriae; et saepe hoc agimus, ne nihil minus quam Teutonicum idioma callere videamur. […] Contemnimus itaque nos ipsi, et contemnimur. Interim purissima et â peregrino squalore libera hactenus lingua mutat, et in miras loquendi formulas degenerat. Monstra vocabulorum et carcinomata irrepunt occulte, ad quae genuinus aliquis Germanus quandoque vix indignationem, quandoque nauseam vix tenet. Dicas in sentinam

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[26] Ebd., S. 68–69.

> durare hanc linguam, ad quam reliquarum sordes torrente promiscuo deferantur. Nulla ferme periodus est, nulla interpunctio, quae non ascititium quid redoleat. Jam à Latinis, jam Gallis, Hispanis etiam ac Italis mutuamur, quod domi nascitur longe elegantius[27].

> Indem wir mit ungezügelter Gier eine fremde Sprache erlernen, vernachlässigen wir die eigene und machen sie verächtlich. [...] Wir wollen eifrig dafür sorgen, daß wir von den Franzosen und Italienern, von denen wir Bildung und feine Sitten entlehnen, auch erlernen, unsere Sprache mit Sorgfalt auszubilden und zu schmücken, ganz so, wie jene es offensichtlich mit der ihrigen tun. Unbedacht handelt, wer das Einheimische zurücksetzt und Fremdes vorzieht. [...] Wir schämen uns jetzt unseres Vaterlandes und bemühen uns gar so zu tun, als verständen wir die deutsche Sprache schlechter als jede andere. [...] So verachten wir uns selbst und werden verachtet. Indessen verändert sich die reine und bisher von fremder Befleckung unberührte Sprache und entartet zu wunderlichen Redeweisen. Wortungetüme und Krebsgeschwüre schleichen sich ein, bei denen ein ehrlicher Deutscher bald seine Entrüstung oder seinen Ekel nicht mehr zurückhalten kann. Man kann sagen, diese Sprache wird zur Kloake, in die sich wahllos aller Unflat ergießt. Es gibt beinahe keinen Abschnitt, keinen einzelnen Satz, an welchem nicht eine fremde Zutat zu spüren ist. Einmal entlehnen wir von den Römern, dann wieder von den Franzosen, und sogar von den Spaniern und Italienern, was unser heimischer Boden viel besser hervorbringt.

Aus der Schilderung der gegenwärtigen Vernachlässigung der deutschen Sprache durch seine Landsleute – aus Unwissenheit um deren hohes Alter sowie deren besonderen Stellenwert unter den europäischen Nationalsprachen heraus, aber auch aus mangelnder Sprachpflege – erhebt Opitz die Forderung, in der Landessprache zu dichten auf adäquater poetologischer Grundlage, um dann im enthusiastischen Epilog, den Deutschen das Ererbte als Verpflichtung nahezulegen, es im europäischen Kontext den anderen Völkern mindestens gleichzutun, wenn nicht gar sie zu übertreffen:

> Quod si precibus dandum aliquid et obsecrationi censetis: per ego vos dilectissimam matrem vestram Germaniam, per majores vestros praegloriosissimos oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiatis; ut eadem constantia animorum, qua illi fines suos olim tutati

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[27] Ebd., S. 70–73.

> sunt, sermonem vestrum non deseratis. Proavi vestri, fortes et inclyti Semones [sic!], animam pro aris ac focis efflare non dubitaverunt. Vos ut idem praestetis, necessitas minime jam flagitat. Facite saltem, ut qui candorem in generosis mentibus vestris servatis illibatum, oratione quoque illibata proferre eundem possitis. Facite, ut quam loquendi dexteritatem accepistis à parentibus vestris, posteritati relinquatis. Facite denique, ut qui reliquas gentes fortitudine vincitis ac fide, linguae quoque praestantia iisdem non cedatis[28].
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> Und wenn ihr glaubt, man müsse Bitten und Beschwörungen nachgeben: Nun, so bitte und beschwöre ich euch bei eurer vielgeliebten Mutter Deutschland, bei euren glorreichen Ahnen: Zeigt eine Gesinnung, würdig eures edlen Volkes, verteidigt eure Sprache mit derselben Ausdauer, mit der jene einst ihre Grenzen schützten. Eure Vorfahren, die tapferen und weitberühmten Semnonen, trugen keine Bedenken, für Altar und Herd zu sterben. Schon die Not fordert jetzt von euch, daß ihr dasselbe leistet. Bringt es wenigstens dahin, daß ihr die hohe Gesinnung, welche ihr lauter in euren edlen Herzen bewahrt, auch in einer lauteren Sprache ausdrücken könnt. Bringt es dahin, daß ihr die Gewandtheit der Rede, die ihr von euren Eltern überkommen habt, euren Kindern hinterlaßt. Bringt es endlich dahin, daß ihr den übrigen Völkern, welche ihr an Tapferkeit und Treue übertrefft, auch an Trefflichkeit eurer Sprache nicht nachsteht.

Ein Vergleich des *Aristarchus* mit dem *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* ergibt, dass Opitz hinsichtlich der Wechselbeziehung von Latein und Landessprache in doppelter Zielrichtung argumentierte: Einerseits befürwortet er, zumal im *Aristarchus*, die Emanzipation des Deutschen gegenüber dem Latein, das er als dem Tode geweiht ansieht, andererseits aber verlangt er vom deutschsprachigen Dichter, dass dieser sich am Latein schule:

> Vnd muß ich nur bey hiesiger gelegenheit ohne schew dieses errinnern/ das ich es für eine verlorene arbeit halte/ im fall sich jemand an vnsere deutsche Poeterey machen wolte/ der/ nebenst dem das er ein Poete von natur sein muß/ in den griechischen vnd Lateinischen büchern nicht wol durchtrieben ist/ vnd von jhnen den rechten grieff erlernet hat; das auch alle die lehren/ welche sonsten zue der Poesie erfodert werden/ vnd ich jetzund kürtzlich berühren wil/ bey jhm nichts verfangen können[29].

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[28] Ebd., S. 88–89.

[29] Opitz, *Buch*, S. 16–17.

Zur Entschärfung des Widerspruchs, der sich hier aufzutun scheint, ist zu berücksichtigen, dass Opitz zum einen zweifellos nur der klassischen Latinität, nicht der zeitgenössischen lateinischen Dichtung, Vorbildwert zuspricht, und das zudem hier keine absolute, statische Vorbildlichkeit gemeint ist; soll doch der deutschsprachige Dichter die lateinischen Mustervorlagen letztendlich nach erfolgreicher Absolvierung des dreistufigen Schulungsprogramms aus *translatio, imitatio* und *aemulatio* übersteigen und so sein unabhängiges dichterisches Können unter Beweis stellen.

Wie sehr der niederländische Dichter Daniel Heinsius[30] (1580–1655) seinem deutschen Adepten Opitz bei dessen Bemühungen zur Aufwertung der deutschen Sprache gegenüber dem Latein Leitgestalt und programmatischer Kristallisationspunkt war, geht aus dessen erster Gedichtsammlung, den *Teutschen Poemata* von 1624[31], hervor. Schon der Titel ist eine Reverenz an das verehrte Vorbild, das 1616 mit seinen *Nederduytsche Poemata* hervorgetreten war[32]. In einem überlangem Gedicht mit der überschwenglichen Überschrift „Vber des Hochgelehrten vnd weitberümbten Danielis Heinsij Niderländische Poemata"[33] besingt Opitz den erstaunlichen kulturellen Aufschwung in den damaligen Niederlanden, nach dem Abzug der Spanier vor Leiden: Mit der Gründung der dortigen Universität seien die Niederlande zur Hochburg der Künste und der Wissenschaft geworden, deren strahlende Mitte Heinsius, der Schwan aus Gent sei; sämtlichen Geistesgrößen der Antike, Aristoteles, Sokrates, Virgil, Cicero und gar dem mythischen Orpheus tue er es gleich, wenn er sie nicht gar übertreffe:

> So bald der Spanier nun vrlaub hat genommen
> Deß Wassers vngewohnt: Ist Pallas zu euch kommen,
> Vnd Phoebus hat mit jhm die Musen hergebracht,
> Die dann auß Niderland Athen vnd Rom gemacht,
> Es war noch nicht genug, der Held von Brennus Stamme,
> Der grosse Scaliger, steckt auff sein helle Flamme,
> Die Franckreich war entführt: Ein Mann, ein einig Mann
> Der Adler in der Lufft, redt alle Völcker an,

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[30] Zu Heinsius' Leben und seinen Werken vgl. Ter Horst, *Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655)*; Peppink, *Daniel Heinsius: Een proefschrift aan de Leidsche hoogeschool*; Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655)*; Lefèvre und Schäfer, *Daniel Heinsius*.

[31] Martin Opitz, *Teutsche Poemata*, hrsg Witkowski.

[32] Daniel Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, hrsg. Becker-Cantarino.

[33] Martin Opitz, *Vber des Hochgelehrten vnd weitberümbten Danielis Heinsij Niderländische Poemata*, Opitz, *Teutsche Poemata*, S. 24–25.

Biß jhr auch Heinsius, jhr Phoenix vnsrer Zeiten,
Ihr Sohn der Ewigkeit, beguntet außzubreiten
Die Flügel der Vernunfft. Das kleine Vatterland
Trotzt jetzt die grosse Welt mit ewerem Verstandt.
Was Aristoteles, was Socrates gelehret,
Was Orpheus sang, was Rom von Mantua gehöret,
Was Tullius gesagt, was jergendt jemand kan,
Das sicht man jetzt von euch, von euch, jhr Gentscher Schwan[34].

Dann überträgt Opitz aber die niederländische Kulturblüte unvermittelt auf die deutschen Verhältnisse der eigenen Zeit, beklagt, wie im *Aristarchus*, die Mißachtung, die die Deutschen ihrer uralten Heldensprache entgegenbrächten, sowie deren Überfremdung, an der auch die Hinwendung zum Latein Mitschuld trage, um dies alles jedoch gleich darauf unvermittelt als durch Heinsius' Leistungen bereits überwunden hinzustellen:

Die Teutsche Poesy war gantz vnd gar verlohren,
Wir wusten selber kaum von wannen wir geboren,
Die Sprache, vor der vor viel Feind erschrocken sindt,
Vergassen wir mit fleiß vnd schlugen sie in Windt.
Biß ewer fewrig Hertz ist endtlich außgerissen,
Vnd hat vns klar gemacht, wie schändtlich wir verliessen
Was allen doch gebürt: Wir redten gut Latein,
Vnd wolte keiner nicht für Teutsch gescholten sein.
Der war' weit vber Meer in Griechenland geflogen,
Der hatt Italien, der Franckreich durchgezogen,
Der prallte Spanisch her. Ihr habt sie recht verlacht,
Vnd vnsre Muttersprach in jhren werth gebracht,
Hierumb wirdt ewer Lob ohn alles ende blühen,
Das ewige Geschrey von euch wirdt ferne ziehen,
Von dar die schöne Sonn auß jhrem Beth auffsteht,
Vnd widerumb zu ruh mit jhren Pferden geht.
Ich auch, weil jhr mir seyt im Schreiben vorgegangen,
Was ich für Ruhm vnd Ehr durch Hochteutsch werd erlangen,
Will meinem Vatterlandt bekennen ohne schew,
Daß ewre Poesy der meinen Mutter sey[35].

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[34] Ebd., S. 24–25.

[35] Ebd., S. 25.

Wenn es hier heißt, dass Heinsius durch seine niederländischen Gedichte die deutsche Sprache aufgewertet habe, so wird damit weniger die Verwandtschaft beider Sprachen betont, als vielmehr die kulturpolitische Leistung des Niederländers, die namentlich darin lag, dass er vorgegebene, verfestigte Rahmen sprengte: Dass er als Akademiker und Universitätslehrer lateinische Gedichte verfasste und damit Lorbeeren erntete, war an und für sich nichts Besonderes, denn dies alles gehörte ins übliche Betätigungsfeld des frühneuzeitlichen Intellektuellen; dass eine Persönlichkeit mit einem solchen Sozialprestige sich der Landessprache zuwandte, stellte seine eigentliche Reformtat dar, und eben diese kulturpolitisch höchst ertragreiche Leistung glaubt Opitz auch für die deutschen Verhältnisse in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen; um die Qualität von Heinsius' niederländischsprachiger Dichtung an sich geht es ihm dabei weniger.

Der „ontologisierend-patriotische" Ausbau von Opitz' Ansätzen bei Harsdörffer, Schottel und Morhof

Mit seinen programmatischen Äußerungen im *Aristarchus* und im *Buch von der Deutschen Poetery* sowie mit seiner kulturpolitischen Inanspruchnahme von Heinsius setzte Opitz Zeichen: Seine zweifache Forderung in Bezug auf das Verhältnis von Landessprache und Latein, dass nämlich erstere sich zwar gegenüber diesem zu emanzipieren habe, dass der volkssprachige Dichter sich aber andererseits an der klassischen Latinität schulen sollte, um sie letztendlich zu übertreffen, kehrt in fast allen deutschsprachigen Poetiken des 17. Jahrhunderts und in vielen sprachhistorisch-philologischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Schriften gleichsam ritualisiert wieder, wenn sich im Laufe des Jahrhunderts auch Akzentverlagerungen abzeichnen. Am instensivsten und am nachhaltigsten hat sich nach Opitz wohl Georg Philipp Harsdörffer[36] (1607–1658) mit dem Verhältnis von Latein und Landessprache befasst[37]. Der einschlägige Diskurs, der sich aus seinen Schriften erschließen lässt, läuft ab im Kontext der sogenannten Sprachgesellschaften, Dichter- und Honoratiorenzirkel, in denen häufig das adlige Moment vorherrschte und die sich, wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Intensität, der Sprachpflege verschrieben[38]. Als Angehöriger und langjähriger Sekretär der wohl nobelsten Sprachgesellschaft, der von

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[36] Zu Harsdörffer vgl. Irmgard Böttcher, ‚Der Nürnberger Georg Philipp Harsdörffer', Steinhagen und von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, S. 289–346.

[37] Dazu: Hundt, *‚Spracharbeit' im 17. Jahrhundert*, namentlich S. 56–83 und S. 158–182.

[38] Vgl. dazu u.a. Otto, *Die Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts*.

Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen 1617 gegründeten Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft, war er gleichsam zur Spracharbeit prädisponiert. Reinerhaltung der deutschen Sprache und deren Schutz vor Überfremdung, ohne andere Sprachen hintanzusetzen, sind ihm – ähnlich wie Opitz – dabei, so bekundet er 1651 in einer Lobrede auf Wilhelm von Sachsen-Weimar, das frisch gewählte zweite Oberhaupt, letztendlich Voraussetzung zum politischen und kulturellen Aufstieg der deutschen Lande, ja zur Wiedererlangung des einstigen Heldenstatus, von dem nur noch die Sprache zeugte:

> In dem wir aber unser Zunge das Lob sprechen/ und mit gesammter Hand bemühet sind die guldnen Kunst Staffeln zu legen/ selbe auf den Majestätischen Thron der höchsten Vollkommenheit zuerheben/ verachten wir keines weges die ausländischen Sprachen/ sondern lieben sie mit wolständiger Bescheidenheit/ lernen sie mit standhaften Fleiß/ studiren sie mit kunstmässiger Gewißheit/ und kostbarer Bemühung/ gebrauchen sie aber ohne Vermengung mit der unsern/ und lassen uns das unteutsche Teutsche von der mißbrauchlichen Gewonheit und ehrsüchtigen Neugierigkeit keines weges aufdringen. […] Solchen einreissendem Unheil einen Damm gegen zusetzen/ solchen besorglichen Nachtheil zusteuren/ und zugleich alle hohe Tugenden/ wolständige Sitten/ deutsches Vertrauen/ und unsre hochbesagte Heldensprache zupflantzen/ zu erhalten/ und zu handhaben/ ist die hochlöbliche Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft wolmeinend gestiftet/ glücklichst fortgesetzet/ und bishero/ durch Gottes Gnade/ rühmlichst erhalten worden.
>
> […]
> Ihr tapfern Deutschen/ ihr Helden im Kriegen/
> der Musen Parnassus muß werden erstiegen/
> mit vollem Vergnügen/ zur friedlichen Stund!
> Last wucheren euer vertrauetes Pfund/
> und selbes nicht sonder befruchten erliegen.
> die Rede kann alles/ ohn Fede/ besiegen:
> Beliebet die Feder übet den Mund/
> bewurtzelt der Tugend und Wissenschafft Grund![39]

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[39] Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Lobrede Des Geschmackes/ Dem Höchwertesten und Teuersten Schmackhaften/ Der Hochlöblichen Fruchtbringenden Geselschaft preißwürdigsten Oberhaupts/ Zu pflichtschuldigsten Ehren/ verfasset Von dem Spielenden*. In: Ders., *Fortpflantzung der Hochlöblichen Fruchtbringenden Geselschaft: Das ist/ Kurtze Erzehlung alles dessen/ Was sich bey Erwehlung und Antrettung hochbesagter Geselschaft*

Harsdörffer geht aber über Opitz hinaus, indem er sich viel ausgeprägter als dieser zu dem, von Gardt und Hundt apostrophierten[40], „ontologisierend-patriotischen“ Ansatz bekennt. In drei Schriften, die ausführliche Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Deutsch und Latein enthalten, erkennt er dem Deutschen den Stellenwert einer mythischen Ursprache zu. In seiner *Schutzschrift für Die Teutsche Spracharbeit*, die 1644 in der zweiten Auflage des ersten Teils seiner *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*[41] erschien, betont er, wie Justus Georg Schottelius[42] (1612–1676), den er unter dessen Gesellschaftsnamen „Der Suchende“ namentlich erwähnt[43], dass die deutsche Sprache sich von Anfang an, über Jahrhunderte somit, unvermischt habe erhalten können und dass sie den *linguae sacrae* allesamt überlegen sei. Dem Latein habe sie zudem voraus, dass sie das Wort Gottes der breiten Masse klar und verständlich vermittle. Verunreinigung des Deutschen ist daher in Harsdörffers Augen regelrechtes Teufelswerk. Aus dem hohen, nahezu sakralen Stellenwert des Deutschen unter den Sprachen der Welt leitet er letztendlich die Forderung her, dass es auch in anderen zentralen Bereichen der Gesellschaft, dem Rechtswesen etwa, an die Stelle des Latein treten sollte:

> Ich sage nochmals: Die Natur redet in allen Dingen/ welche ein Getön von sich geben/ unsere Teutsche Sprache/ und daher haben etliche wähnen wollen/ der erste Mensch Adam habe das Geflügel und alle Thier auf Erden nicht anderst als mit unseren Worten nennen können/ weil er jedes eingeborne selbstlautende Eigenschafft Naturmässig ausgedruket; und ist sich deswegen nicht zu verwundern/ daß unsere Stammwörter meisten Theils mit der heiligen Sprache gleichstimmig sind. Hier könte nach der Länge beygebracht werden die Ankunfft und das Aufnemen der

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Oberhauptes/ Deß Höchteursten und Wehrtesten Schmackhaften/ begeben und zugetragen. Samt Etlichen Glückwünschungen/ und Einer Lobrede deß Geschmackes. Nürnberg 1651, S. 25–44. Hier: S. 43–44.

[40] Vgl. Gardt, *Sprachreflexion in Barock und Frühaufklärung*, S. 21, S. 129–188; Hundt: *‚Spracharbeit‘ im 17. Jahrhundert*, S. 47–48.

[41] Harsdörffers *Gesprächspiele* werden im folgenden zitiert nach dem reprographischen Nachdruck: Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, hrsg. Böttcher. Angegeben wird zu den einzelnen Zitaten jeweils zuerst die Seitenzahl des Originals und dazu in eckigen Klammern die Neunumerierung des Nachdrucks.

[42] Zu Schottelius: Jörg Jochen Berns, ‚Justus Georg Schottelius‘, Steinhagen und von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, S. 415–434.

[43] Zu den Gesellschaftsnamen der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft: Conermann, *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Geöffneter Erzschrein*. Zu Schottelius, der 1642 als 397. Mitglied aufgenommen wurde, vgl. Bd. 3, S. 466–468.

Teutschen: Weil aber solches von dem Suchenden in seinen Lobreden herrlich ausgeführet/ wird nur dieses zu betrachten erwähnet/ daß unsere Sprache und unser Volk aller fremder Dienstbarkeit/ durch des Höchsten Gnade und ihre Tapferkeit/ jederzeit befreyet gewesen: Gestalt die Vberwundene der Siegere Wort/ Sprache und Sitten annemen/ wie wir sehen daß die Frantzösische Sprache von der Celtischen/ Griechischen und Römischen oder Lateinischen/ die Welsche von der Lateinischen und Gotthischen/ die Spanische von der Gotthischen/ Arabischen und Lateinischen gemenget sind. Vnsere Teutsche in allein ist ihrer Reinlichkeit von vielen tausend Jahren hero/ bis auf unsere letzte Zeit/ unbeflecket verblieben.

Nicht wenigere Schicklichkeit hat sie von der Kunst zurühmen. Sie ist Wortreicher als die Ebreische/ in der Verdopplung fugsamer als die Griechische/ in den Sinndeutungen mächtiger als die Lateinische/ in der Ausrede prächtiger/ als die Spanische/ in der Lieblichkeit anmuthiger als die Frantzösische/ in der Verfassung richtiger als die Welsche/ wie solche überreiche Vollkommenheit bey allen Teutschgelehrten ausser allem Zweiffel.

Ist solche von der Natur und Kunst erhabene Würdigkeit geringschätzig/ oder den Vnwissenden unglaubig/ so denket doch zu rücke/ wie es zu unser Ahnen Zeiten aus Verleistung der Teutschen/ und unfugsamer Hegung der Lateinischen Sprache/ dahinkommen/ daß das seligmachende Wort Gottes dem gemeinen Volke gantz unvernemlich/ alle Kirchenhandlungen in Latein verrichtet würden/ als die H. Tauffe/ die Messe/ die Beicht/ das Gesang u.d.g. daß die Anwesende darbey mit den Gedanken abwesend seyn/ und die innerliche Hertzensandacht in eine eusserliche Trostlose Kirchenbegängniß verkehret wurde.

Hieraus ist unschwer zu schliessen/ warüm doch der Fürst der Finsterniß durch seinen Werkzeug so offtermeldte Sprache unterzudrucken und soviel unteutsche Flickwörter einzudringen bemühet ist. Das helle Wort Gottes ist in und mit der Teutschen Sprache an das Liecht gebracht worden/ und kann auch nicht anderst/ als mit derselben/ erhalten werden; gestalt mit dem Wortverstand die Deutung oder Sinnbegrif derselben verlohren/ und wir sonsten die Predigten verstehen würden/ wie die Nonne als man im Sprichwort sagt/ den Psalter.

Nicht weniger Vnheil entstehet aus der Vermengung der Sprachen in dem Weltlichen Stande/ wie manche Rechtsache/ Haß/ Feindschaft/ Zank und Zwietracht solte verbleiben/ wann das Latein den Gerichtshändlen/ Schuldschriften und Vergleichen nicht eingeflochten würde: *hypotheca, obligatio in solidam, fidejussio, Senat. Consult. Vellejan.*

> *renunciatio Privileg. Contestatio, beneficium divisionis, Litis contestatio, insinuatio, impositio silentii*, und dergleichen übliche Wörter/ hat uns der böse Gebrauch/ aber nit die Noht aufgedrungen/ und könten leichtlich mit jederman verständigen Redarten ausgetauschet werden[44].

Ähnlich argumentiert Harsdörffer wenige Jahre später im *Specimen Philologiae Germanicae* von 1646, wenn er hier auch stärker differenziert[45]. Die germanischen Sprachen leitet er, in der dritten und vierten Abhandlung, unmittelbar vom Hebräischen her, indem sie sich über Noahs Sohn Japhet über Europa verbreitet hätten, wodurch das Germanische vom Alter her noch vor dem Griechischen und dem Latein anzusetzen sei. Die verstärkte Pflege des Deutschen sollte keineswegs die Handhabung des Latein beeinträchtigen, wenn die Landessprache auch an den Universitäten gelehrt werden sollte und am Ende dort in der Lehre und an anderen Institutionen, wie dem Gerichtswesen, Latein ersetzen sollte, heißt es in der fünften Anhandlung. In der letzten Abhandlung betont Harsdörffer zwar den Wert des Latein, nicht zuletzt als europäischer Universalsprache der Wissenschaft, in einzelnen Bereichen, der Lautmalerei und der Wortbildung etwa, werde es aber vom Deutschen übertroffen.

Nur bedingt andere Akzente setzt Harsdörffer in seiner Poetik von 1647–1653, dem *Poetischen Trichter*; allerdings steigert er die Wirkungsmacht des Deutschen gegenüber dem Latein gleichsam ins Metaphysische. Er operiert hier erneut mit dem Gegensatz von Latein als Kirchensprache, die verschleiert, und Deutsch, das der Sinn von Gottes Wort für jedermann erhellt. Damit verbindet er jetzt jedoch ein Plädoyer für den deutschen Kirchengesang, der, gemessen am lateinischen Kirchenlied, dem himmlischen Lobgesang der Engel gleichkomme:

> Lernen wir Hebraeische/ Griechische und Lateinische Verse machen/ warum wollen wir es in dem Teutschen nit auch so weit bringen/ daß wir zum wenigsten von einem Gedicht urtheilen können. Gewißlich/ einen Teutschen Vers lesen/ und nachkünstlen/ ist der Jugend eine nützliche Abmüssigung von wichtigerem Studiren. Man lernet dardurch zierlich reden/ eine Sache mit vielen Worten nachdrücklich vorbringen/

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[44] Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: *Schutzschrift/ für Die Teutsche Spracharbeit/ und Derselben Beflissene: zu Einer Zugabe den Gesprächspielen angefüget durch den Spielenden. Anhang, mit eigener Seitenzählung*, zu Ders.: Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, Bd. 1, S. [339]-[395]. Hier: S. 14 [357] – 17 [360].

[45] Zum *Specimen* recht detailliert: Hundt, *,Spracharbeit' im 17. Jahrhundert*, bes. S. 71–83.

> wolsetzen/ jede Meinung richtig auf die andere binden/ und durch solche Verstandübung kan man sich aller Orten (weil es jederman verstehet/ da das Latein wenigen bekant) in Freud und Leid/ angenem und beliebet machen: gestalt solche Kunst heutzutag bey vielen Fürstenhöfen/ und auf etlichen hohen Schulen rühmlich getrieben wird. Ja/ wann uns Teutsche keine andere Ursache zu unser Poeterey treiben solte/ so wären doch die geistlichen Lieder/ zu Erweckung hertzbrünstiger Andacht/ darzu gnugsam/ welche/ ohne kunstrichtigen Bericht/ nicht können verfasset werden.
>
> Von alters her ist das Lateinische Singen in unsrer Kirche geblieben/ damit die studirende Jugend zu üben: der gemeine Mann aber hat viel ersprießlichern Nutzen von dem Teutschen Singen/ durch welches wir gleichsam den Englen nach ahnen/ und näher zu Gott tretten[46].

Der von Harsdörffer wegen seiner „Lobreden“ auf die deutsche Sprache eigens hervorgehobene Justus Georg Schottelius setzt in seiner *Ausführlichen Arbeit von der Teutschen HaubtSprache* aus dem Jahre 1663[47], wie der Titel schon erkennen lässt, stärker als Opitz und Harsdörffer auf den Umstand, dass das Deutsche gemessen an den anderen europäischen Landessprachen ein Hauptsprache wäre, d.h. dass sie nicht, wie etwa das Französische, das Spanische, das Italienische, aber auch das Englische letztendlich vom Latein abgeleitet wäre, sondern wie dieses eine uralte Originalsprache sei, und somit diesem auch gleichkomme, wenn nicht gar noch übersteige[48]. Er hatte dies schon in den „Lobreden“, die Harsdörffer erwähnte und die allesamt in die *Ausführliche Arbeit* eingegangen sind[49], hervorgehoben und baute dabei ein Moment aus, das auch bei Opitz anklang, indem es dort hieß, dass das Deutsche unvermischt sei. Schottelius beruft sich nicht zuletzt auf Johannes Goropius Becanus (1518–1572), der die gemeinsame Wurzel des Niederländischen und des Deutschen, das Keltische, Kimbrische oder Skythische, noch vor dem Hebräischen rangieren ließ und damit Adam und Eva, die ihm zufolge nicht

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[46] Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter: Die Teutsche Dicht- und Reimkunst/ ohne Behuf der Lateinischen Sprache/ in VI. Stunden einzugiessen*. Hier: Tl. 1, Bl.)(5v–)(6r.

[47] Justus Georg Schottelius, *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HaubtSprache (1663)*, hrsg. Hecht. Reprographischer Nachdruck der einbändigen Erstausgabe von 1663 mit fortlaufender Seitenzählung. Im folgenden wird jeweils die Paginierung des Originals angegeben.

[48] Zu Schottels Auseinandersetzung mit der deutschen Sprache vgl. Hundt, *‚Spracharbeit‘ im 17. Jahrhundert*, S. 83–98 und S. 120–136.

[49] Schottelius, *Ausführliche Arbeit*, S. 1–170.

Hebräisch, sondern Keltisch geredet hätten, zu alten Germanen hochstilisiert um der Aufwertung der Landessprache gegenüber dem Latein willen. Schottelius rückt zwar von Goropius Becanus ab, bleibt aber beim hohen Alter des Deutschen, das dieses als Hauptsprache dem Latein ebenbürtig mache:

> Deß Becani Grundsatz ist dieser: Daß dieselbige Sprache die allerälteste seyn müsse/ welche die allerältesten Wörter/ und die eigentlichsten Bedeutungen der Dinge habe. […] Solches ist nicht Becani eigentlicher Haubtgrund gewesen/ sondern er hat ein solches sich bemühet zu beweisen. Weil er aber im Beweistuhme dessen gar zu frey um sich greifft/ sonderlich in dem Buche *Indoscytica* und in der *Hermathena*, und wider die Hebraische Sprache einen gefehrlichen mißlichen Beweistuhm zu ofte antrit/ als haben daher vornehme Leute anlaß genommen/ sein gantzes Buch/ und gantzes Vorhaben/ als einen Irrweg zuverwerffen. […] Wir lassen es/ was den Streit des uhraltertuhmes anlanget/ dabey bewenden […] Dieses bleibet aber wahr/ daß diese uhralte Hauptsprache der Teutschen in jhren Gründen jhr eygen/ rein und Welträumig ist: davon Goropius Becanus (*exceptis frivolis*) wie auch Abrahamus Mylius in seinem Buche von der Niederteutschen Sprache/ wie auch Scrieckius Rodornius aufs weitläuftigste zu besehen; denn dieser letzter in vielen erwiesen/ daß die *Nomina universi* einzig und allein jhre eigentliche Deutung in den Teutschen Wörtern finden: Absönderlich auch hat Cluverius *lib. 1. Germ. antiq.* hievon gehandelt/ und aus den Zeugnissen vielerley Geschichtschreiber/ aus den Namen so viellerley Völker/ aus den eigenen Namen der Leute/ aus den benahmungen der Stäte/ und aus allerhand anderen Wörteren beweislich machet; daß oberzelte vor so langen undenklichen Jahren durch gantz Europen gebrauchte Wörter/ wir Teutschen annoch täglich heutiges Tages in unser Muttersprache gebrauchen[50].

Womöglich noch ausdrücklicher als Schottelius reklamiert Daniel Georg Morhof[51] (1639–1691) im *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* aus dem Jahre 1682[52] ein hohes Alter der germanischen Sprachfamilie, auf die Deutsch und Niederländisch gemeinsam zurückgehen, und zwar auf Kosten des Latein. Im zweiten Kapitel des ersten Teils seiner Sprach- und

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[50] Ebd., S. 31–32.

[51] Zu Morhof: *ADB*, Bd. 22, S. 236–242; *NDB*, Bd. 18, S. 127–128; Waquet, *Mapping the World of Learning*.

[52] Daniel Georg Morhof, *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*, hrsg. Boetius.

Literaturgeschichte versucht er den Nachweis zu erbringen, daß „die Teutsche Sprache älter [sei] als die Griechische und Lateinische“[53], und eine glatte, eindeutig kulturpolitisch begründete Verkehrung der Verhältnisse stellt das dritte dar, in dem er eine Abhängigkeit des Latein von der altdeutschen Ursprache postuliert, unter der gewiss provozierend gedachten Überschrift: „Daß viel Griechische und Lateinische Wörter von den alten Teutschen oder Scythischen herkommen“[54].

Die Präponderanz des Deutschen als Literatursprache im ausklingenden Barockzeitalter: Lizel als paradigmatischer Exempelfall

Schon im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte des 17. Jahrhunderts läßt sich eine allmähliche Akzentverlagerung beobachten, die dazu führt, dass im frühen 18. Jahrhundert das Verhältnis von Landessprache und Latein in den deutschen Landen nicht mehr ausschließlich zur kulturellen Emanzipation des Deutschen und der Deutschen im europäischen Kontext und zur Verwirklichung der deutschen politischen Einheit über die Kulturnation bemüht, sondern auch innenpolitisch verwertet wird: zur Abgrenzung einzelner Bereiche gegeneinander und damit zur Bildung von kollektiven Identitäten, die vor allem konfessionell besetzt sind. Zugleich spiegelt sich hier die sich anbahnende Umverteilung der politischen Schwergewichte wider, die in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts der katholischen, habsburgisch-wittelsbachschen politischen Dominanz im Reiche einen protestantischen Ausgleich in Brandenburg-Preußen erwachsen ließ. Der Gegensatz von lateinischem Universalismus und Landessprache als Inbegriff der staatlich-kulturellen Eigenheit wird nun verstärkt hochgespielt und konfessionell verortet: „Undeutsche Dichtung“, d.h eine solche, die sich nicht nach dem Lutherdeutsch richtet oder sich offenkundig als der lateinischen untergeordnet betrachtet, wird nun gelegentlich als „Jesuiten-Poesie“ verschrieen und als typisch katholisch angesehen. Am ausgeprägtesten bekundet sich dies in zwei Werken, die der süddeutsche, aus Ulm stammende, evangelische Magister Georg Lizel[55] (1694–1761) 1731 unter dem Pseudonym Megalissus und mit dem Titel *Deutsche Jesuiten-Poesie*[56] bzw.

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[53] Ebd., S. 29–40.

[54] Ebd., S. 41–49.

[55] Zu Li(t)zel vgl. *ADB*, Bd. 19, S. 22–23; Milster, *Erinnerung an das Leben und die Verdienste des M. Georg Litzel*; auch: Breuer, *Oberdeutsche Literatur*, S. 8–11.

[56] Georg Lizel, *Deutsche Jesuiten-Poesie Oder Eine Samlung Catholischer Gedichte*.

Der Undeutsche Catholik[57] veröffentlichte. Er dürfte sich besonders auch gegen solche Schriften richten, die aus katholischer Sicht die Universalität des Latein vertraten und dieses damit im Grunde über die Landessprache hinaushoben, wie der 1654 in Frankfurt veröffentlichte *Parnassus Societatis Iesv*[58], der neulateinische Dichtungen von Angehörigen der Gesellschaft Jesu aus ganz Europa präsentierte und stolz verkündete, dass keine Ordensgemeinschaft der Welt so oft einen neuen Virgil, Ovid, Horaz, Seneca oder Martial geschenkt habe wie eben die *Societas Jesu*[59]. Lizel kontert mit der Behauptung, dass Jesuitenlatein schlechtes Latein sei und dass in dem Sinne schlechte deutsche Dichtung mit Recht als Jesuitenpoesie abgestempelt werden könne:

> Es ist ja nichts gemeiners, als daß man ein elendes und schlechtes Latein Küchen- oder Jesuiten-Latein zu nennen pfleget; also kan man auch eine schlechte und elende Poesie eine Jesuiten-Poesie nennen, weilen die Jesuiten unter allen Reimenschmiden die schlechtesten und elendesten sind[60].

Seine Spitze richtet sich unter anderen gegen Dichter wie Jacob Balde[61] (1604–1668), der zu Lebzeiten noch im Geiste der *Respublica litteraria* überkonfessionell gehandelt wurde, hier aber mit einem lateinisch-deutschen Mischgedicht aus dem *Agathyrsus* (1658) dem Spott ausgeliefert wird als Inbegriff katholisch-bornierter Dichtkunst[62], ohne dass Lizel übrigens den satyrischen Charakter solcher Gedichte erkennt. Im *Undeutschen Catholiken* äußert er sich noch weit expliziter. Die Protestanten sind hier zu Wahrern einer verantwortungsvollen Sprachpflege und damit zum Ausbund an Vaterlandsliebe geworden, während den Katholiken, die sich bevorzugt fremder Sprachen bedienen würden, zumal des Latein, die volle Schuld an der Überfremdung aufgebürdet wird:

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[57] Georg Lizel, *Der Undeutsche Catholik Oder Historischer Bericht Von der allzu grossen Nachläßigkeit der Römisch-Catholischen, insonderheit unter der Clerisey der Jesuiten*, in *Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache und Poesie*.

[58] *Parnassus Societatis Iesv*.

[59] *Parnassus Societatis Iesv*, Bl.)(3v: „Substituit vel una Societas IESV (ut reliquos taceam, quorum innumera, eaque perpeti memoriâ dignissima in poësi monumenta exstant) complures pro uno aliquo, quem docta suspexit antiquitas & Numen aliquod credidit; dedit una Societas tot orbi Virgilios, Ovidios, Horatios, Senecas, Martiales, ut difficile sit lauream è tot uni decernere cùm omnes mereantur; quando olim facillimum erat uni Virgilio aut Flacco primas suo in genere deferre, qui secundum non habuit".

[60] Lizel, *Jesuiten-Poesie*, Bl.)(6r.

[61] Zu Balde u.a.: Westermayer, *Jacobus Balde (1604–1668), sein Leben und seine Werke*, hrsg. Pörnbacher und Stroh; Bach, *Jakob Balde: Ein religiös-patriotischer Dichter aus dem Elsaß*; Berger, *Jacob Balde: Die deutschen Dichtungen*; Burkard, Hess, Kühlmann und Oswald, *Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche*.

[62] Lizel, *Jesuiten-Poesie*, S. 135–137: „Vom Lob und Wolstandt der dürr oder magern Poeten. Iacob Balde, Jesuit".

> Die Protestanten, welche sich überhaupt die Wohlfarth des Vaterlandes angelegen seyn lassen, und die Wissenschaften auf das höchste treiben, haben sich bißher ungemein bemühet, die verborgene Schäze unsrer Sprache zu entdeken, und zum gemeinen Gebrauch mit zu theilen. Sie sind auch hierinnen glüklich gewesen, und haben es dahin gebracht, daß sie sich ihrer Arbeiten nicht schämen dörfen. Nur wäre zu wünschen, daß auch die Herren Catholiken diesem Exempel nachgefolget, und das ihrige zur allgemeinen Aufnahme beygetragen hätten. Aber da muß man gerechte Klagen führen über ihre Nachlässigkeit, die eben so groß, ja noch grösser ist, als der Fleiß, welchen sie auf ausländische Sprachen wenden. Sie haben vor der lateinischen, spanischen, französischen und italiänischen mehr Hochachtung, als vor der deutschen[63].

Lizels Annahme, dass Katholiken sich aus Rückständigkeit und zum Teil auch aus zähem Festhalten am Latein in eine kulturelle Sonderstellung hineingesteigert hätten, ist bestenfalls als Rückschau mit verengtem Blickwinkel zu bewerten; es ist beileibe keine Zeitdiagnose, denn als solche wäre sie schon in dem Augenblick, wo sie der Öffentlichkeit präsentiert wurde, fragwürdig gewesen.

Fazit: Das unverrückbare Eigenrecht der Landessprache gegenüber dem Latein im 18. Jahrhundert

Im zweiten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts sind die deutschen Lande auf bestem Wege zur Kulturnation. Damit verliert auch das Spannungsverhältnis von Latein und Landessprache seine politische Brisanz. In Johann Christoph Gottscheds[64] (1700–1766) *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, die 1729, somit noch vor Lizels Streitschriften, erstmals erschien und mit insgesamt vier Auflagen bis 1751 zum poetologischen Leitfaden der Frühaufklärung werden sollte[65], treten Landessprache und Latein keineswegs noch zueinander in Konkurrenz und werden die deutschen Katholiken überhaupt nicht als kulturell rückständig in literarischen Dingen verteufelt. Stärker als der lateinischen Dichtung wird jetzt der französischen Vorbildwert zugesprochen. Was Opitz noch als Utopie galt, hatte sich verwirklicht: Das Deutsche kann jetzt ein Eigenrecht für sich unter den Kultursprachen in Anspruch nehmen und auch dem Latein ungescheut an die Seite treten. Selbstbewusst skizziert Gottsched den erheblichen Anteil der Deutschen am Werdegang der europäischen Dichtkunst, wobei er zugegebenermaßen durchaus noch Argumente der mythisch-ontologisierende Tradition ins Feld führt:

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[63] Lizel, *Der Undeutsche Catholik*, Bl.)(7v.

[64] Zu Gottsched: P.M. Mitchell, ‚Johann Christoph Gottsched', von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 18. Jahrhunderts*, S. 35–61.

[65] Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*.

> Bey dem allen aber bleibt es wohl gewiß, daß die scythischen oder celtischen Völker, das ist, unsre Vorfahren, und die Barden derselben, als ihre Poeten, etwa um die Zeiten des Tacitus, auch wohl noch zeitiger, die Reime in ihren Liedern eingeführet haben mögen. [...] Wie nun die Griechen in ihrem Sylbenmaaße die Lateiner zu Nachfolgern bekommen haben: so haben auch die alten Deutschen ganz Europa reimen gelehret. Italien, Spanien und Gallien nahmen die Art derjenigen Völker an, die sich durch die Gewalt der Waffen ihrer bemächtigten. Die Dänen, Schweden, Holl- und Engländer sind selbst von deutschem Geschlechte, und haben also die Kunst von ihren eigenen Vorfahren gefasset. Ja auch die Polen, eine Abkunft der alten Sarmater, beliebten die reimende Poesie. Nichts ist dabey mehr zu bewundern, als daß die Italiener, Spanier und Franzosen, die doch Abkömmlinge der Lateiner sind, nicht das regelmäßige Sylbenmaaß ihrer Vorfahren beybehalten; sondern selbiges entweder gar mit der deutschen Reimkunst vertauschet, oder doch damit verbunden haben. [...] Da nun alle diese Nationen, und die Pohlen noch dazu, bey dieser unvollkommenen Art Verse zu machen geblieben sind: so haben die Deutschen sie gewiß weit übertroffen. Unsre Poeten haben es durch die Zärtlichkeit ihres Gehöres bald gemerket, daß die regelmäßige Abwechselung langer und kurzer Sylben, dadurch die griechische und römische Poesie so vollkommen geworden, auch in unsrer Muttersprache statt haben könne; und daher hat man schon vor unserm großen Opitz allerley Gattungen des Sylbenmaaßes gebraucht. [...] Diesem Vorgänger sind nun nach der Zeit alle deutsche Poeten gefolget: und also übertrifft nunmehr unsre deutsche Poesie an Kunst und Lieblichkeit des Wohlklanges, die Poesien aller Italiener, Franzosen und Spanier; weil wir nämlich den Reim unsrer Vorfahren, mit dem majestätischen Sylbenmaaße der Griechen und Römer, vereinbaret haben[66].

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[66] Ebd., S. 76–81.

Die seit Opitz ersehnte politische Einheit der deutschen Lande steht allerdings auch zu dem Zeitpunkt noch aus; Gottsched und seine Zeitgenossen wissen mittlerweile aber, dass sie sich nicht ohne weiteres über die Kulturnation verwirklichen ließe; sie setzen lieber auf solche Utopien, die die im Zuge der Aufklärung neu bewertete Vernunft vorgaukelt. Verspricht diese doch, die Machbarkeit einer großen Zukunft, eher der Menschheit insgesamt als der spezifischen Nation, zu gewährleisten – mit vollem Eigenrecht der Landessprachen zwar, aber noch nicht ohne das Latein als Verkehrssprache der Gelehrten und Gebildeten über den eigenen Sprachbereich hinaus. Zugleich jedoch war der allumfassende Diskurs auf nationaler Ebene, den die Aufklärung ebenfalls allenthalben implizierte, mit seinem egalitären Grundzug, einer breiteren Anwendung des Latein über die Bildungselite hinaus eher abträglich, während er dagegen die Landessprachen bereicherte, mit einem weitgehend auf das Latein zurückgehenden bildungssprachlichen Vokabular. Daher mag sich zwar um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts der „Tod“ des Latein angebahnt haben, gleichzeitig aber wurde dessen Fortleben *ad infinitum*, nicht länger neben, sondern vielmehr in den Landessprachen, längerfristig gesichert[67].

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[67] Vgl. dazu auch: Stroh, *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein!*; Ostler: *Ad infinitum*.

CHAPTER 8

From *Philosophia Naturalis* to Science, from Latin to the Vernacular

H. Floris Cohen

> Immo si nauta descendit ad fundum maris ut habeat super humeros centum dolia aque ipse non sentit gravedinem illius aque quia illa aqua que est supra ipsum non inclinat ad amplius esse deorsum sed respectu aeris inclinaret si aer esset inferior. Et iterum quamvis aqua non esset in suo loco naturali sed multum alte in vase ut in cacumine turris beate marie tamen una pars respectu alterius non inclinaret ad esse deorsum ut si aliquis esset ibi in balneo et haberet tibiam suam in fundo ita quod supra eam esset magna quantitas aque quam ipse in aere non posset portare tamen non sentiret pondus illius aque.[1]

> Even if a sailor descends to the bottom of the sea so that he has one hundred vessels of water upon his shoulders, he does not sense the weight of that water, as that water which is above him does not incline to be farther below. And even if the water were not in its natural place, but very high in a vessel like on top of the tower of the Notre Dame, still one part of it would not incline to be below so that, if someone would be there in a bath with his leg on the bottom so that above that leg there would be a large quantity of water which in the air he would not be able to carry, he would still not feel the weight of that water.

Sentences like these would not have pleased Cicero. They come neither from live Roman speech, nor from dead scholarly Renaissance speech, but from live medieval speech. They were spoken by a fourteenth-century teacher at

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[1] Buridanus, *Subtilissime questiones super octo phisicorum libros Aristotelis*, fol. 74rb–75ra; see also Toth, *The Concept and Role of* experimentum *in John Buridan's* Physics Commentary, p. 90. Reprint of the edition Paris 1509 of the *Subtilissimae quaestiones super octo Physicorum libros Aristotelis* in 1964 as *Kommentar zur Aristotelischen Physik*. Grant, 'John Buridan, a Fourteenth Century Cartesian'; *idem*, 'Medieval Natural Philosophy: Empiricism without Observation'; King, 'Jean Buridan's Philosophy of Science'; Klima, *John Buridan*.

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the Paris Faculty of Arts, named Johannes Buridanus or Jean Buridan (c. 1300–after 1358).

In speaking these lines Buridan was setting forth to his students an intriguing detail of Aristotelian natural philosophy as expounded in Book IV of Aristotle's treatise Φυσική. The treatise was not entitled thus in Buridan's handwritten copy, which was in Latin (as translated from Arabic) and carried the title 'Physica'. The customary translation 'Physics' suggests that this work shares much ground with the modern discipline of that name. This is far from the case. The point is not so much that modern physicists tend to regard Aristotle as a remarkably inept colleague in that he managed to have it wrong so often on truly fundamental topics like motion or the composition of matter. Rather, in this work (literally entitled 'On Nature') Aristotle was not in any way a scientist but rather a natural philosopher. Unlike a modern physicist he derived all conceivable phenomena in the whole natural world from certain first principles regarded as self-evidently true. To cultivate natural philosophy was a speculative business. A few empirical phenomena like falling objects or mixed fluids provided food for the formation of those first-principles, but for the rest the sole function of empirical phenomena was to illustrate and, in so doing, to underscore their indubitable truth.

Precisely that is what happens in the passage by Buridan just quoted. There is no question here of his finding out what may happen when a sailor descends to the bottom of the sea—does he feel the weight of the water pressing upon his shoulders, or does he not? Nor has Buridan really taken a bath-tub, carried it up the freshly laid, still snow-white stone steps of the Notre Dame, placed it on top of the tower, filled it with water taken upstairs by his teaching assistants, and seated himself in the bath so as now to find out for himself whether he feels the weight of all that water pressing upon his legs or not. The reason he does not bother to carry out these experiments is that he already knows the answer, which had been given by Aristotle, or rather—since Aristotle had not asked the question—could immediately be derived from Aristotle's first principles. These involve the idea of natural place—heaviness is the inclination of an object to move to its natural place, which for earthy matter is as near the centre of the universe as it can get, and for watery matter as near as it can get to the earthen sphere thus formed around that centre. Buridan does not give us here an early instance of experimentation, but rather fits in with the predominant mode of pursuing knowledge of nature in his time, which is through speculative thought sustained by pieces of empirical evidence. These are borrowed most often from everyday experience but on occasion, like here, from a pseudo-experimental setup. And all this is done in Latin.

To the rule that, in medieval and also in Renaissance Europe, speculative natural philosophy was done in Latin there are, to my knowledge, few exceptions. One exception is a commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* written by order of the French king by the most original of all medieval natural philosophers, Nicole Oresme (c. 1320/5–1382), under the title *Le Livre du ciel et du monde* ('The Book of Heaven and Earth').[2] This contains among many other things a sophisticated discussion of whether perhaps the stars stand still and the Earth turns around its own axis, but which in the end settles the argument with an appeal to Psalm 92:1: 'nientmoins touz tiennent et je cuide que [le ciel] est ainsi meu et la terre non: Deus enim firmavit orbem terre, qui non commovebitur' ('even so everybody maintains and I, too, think that the Heavens are moved and not the Earth: For God hath established the Earth, so that it shall not move').[3]

On the whole, however, the vernacular was not so much the language of natural philosophy as rather of another mode of pursuing knowledge of nature, one that came up in Europe about half-way through the fifteenth century. This was an empiricist mode, not experimental as a rule but rather focused on finding out how things in nature actually behave and also how to make some practical usage of those findings. The properties of phenomena are not known beforehand, as in natural philosophy, but have actually to be traced down and accurately described first. For instance, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) investigated in the Italian language but also in neat drawings how precisely birds manage to fly, with a view to having bird flight imitated by humans. In a similar vein Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541) investigated properties of chemicals, which he used for the preparation of mineral cures, all in an often esoteric mixture of German and Latin phrases, like for instance: 'Das ding das zu eschen wirt, das ist ein Substantz, das ist ein stuck dorauß das holtz wirt. Und wiewohl es ist Ultima materia und nit prima, So beweist es aber primam materiam, deren Ultima sie ist […].' ('the thing that turns to ash is a substance: a piece of that [stuff] of which wood is made. And even though it is *ultima materia* and not *prima* [*materia*], nevertheless it establishes the *prima materia* of which it is the *ultima*…').[4] Other empiricist treatises are just in Latin, such as those of Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) and Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who reported in Latin on their findings regarding human anatomy and the exact placement in the heavens of the stars and the planets, respectively. In some cases the usage of the vernacular may look explicable in that there were close connections with the domain of the arts and crafts, as notably with Leonardo but also numerous others. Yet of Vesalius, who had his famous anatomical atlas *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) illustrated by some of Titian's students, quite the same can be said. So a general rule for the choice made is hard to come by.

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[2] Modern edition in: Nicole Oresme, *Le Livre du ciel et du monde*, ed. Menut and Denomy. On Oresme, see also Taschow, *Nicole Oresme und der Frühling der Moderne*, and the review by Goddu; a biography by Kirschner in Zalta (ed.) *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

[3] Oresme, *Le Livre du ciel et du monde*, ed. Menut and Denomy, p. 536; See also Molland, 'Nicole Oresme and Scientific Progress'.

[4] Paracelsus, *Opus Paramirum* 1, 74; Paracelsus, Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541: *Essential Theoretical Writings*, ed. Weeks, p. 320. On Paracelsus, see, for instance, Webster, *Paracelsus: Medicine, Magic and Mision at the End of Time*.

This strongly empiricist current in the pursuit of nature-knowledge did not go back to the Ancients. That is surely why the load of ancient tradition and ancient language was felt less heavily in these forward-looking pursuits than in natural philosophy, where ongoing exposition of ancient truths established long ago was the rule. This was also the case in a third mode of pursuing knowledge of nature, the mathematical variety. Recall the bath-tub Buridan fancied being taken up the Notre Dame, and also that in antiquity Archimedes (287–212 BC) had developed his own views on the weight of water inside a bath-tub—he allegedly jumped out of it and ran through the streets of Syracuse in the nude, exclaiming 'Eureka'! What he had found, was that the apparent loss of weight of his or any other body immersed in a fluid equals the weight of the fluid displaced thereby—a proven mathematical theorem quite at variance with Buridan's speculative *a priori* conviction that at least at certain places water in a bath-tub weighs nothing. Buridan still had no inkling of Archimedes' work—natural philosophy stemmed from the schools of Athens, mathematical science from Alexandria and subsidiary courts, and not until half-way through the seventeenth century did the twain actually begin to meet on a more than incidental scale.[5]

To the large extent that mathematical science was of Greek origin, it was mostly recovered in Europe during the Renaissance. The Greek texts, freshly imported from Byzantium after its conquest by the Ottomans in 1453, were reconstituted, translated, sometimes expanded, and most often also printed into Latin, by scholars lately dubbed 'mathematical humanists'.[6] Mathematical science dealt not only with what we now call pure mathematics, but also with planetary trajectories (Ptolemy), equilibrium conditions for solids and fluids (Archimedes), musical intervals, and light rays. Writing about these subjects was done as a rule in Latin, as for example in an effort by Nicolaus Copernicus

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[5] The statements here so baldly asserted are basic to Cohen, *How Modern Science Came Into The World*.

[6] Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*.

(1473–1543) to set Ptolemy's errors right and restore Greek planetary astronomy to its original purity, entitled *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* ('On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres', 1543). Still, in mathematical science, too, there is the exceptional treatise in the vernacular, as for example three treatises on musical theory in which the Venetian choir master Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) sought to bring the Pythagorean account of musical consonance in line with recent developments in musical composition, as notably the usage by composers of the triad as the foundation of harmony.[7] It is tempting to ascribe the use of the vernacular in Zarlino's case to his hopes of reaching an audience beyond the world of scholarship, yet a parallel treatise by the Spanish musical theorist Francisco de Salinas (1513–1590), *De musica libri septem* (1577) that must have aimed for a similar audience was written in Latin.[8]

Another exception is a kind of mathematics not known to the Greeks, which rather stems from India (decimal place system, invention of zero) and the Islamic world (algebra). Upon reception in Europe, the subject was almost always addressed in the vernacular, which need not surprise in view of the largely commercial usage to which these numbers and computations were as a rule being subjected. To the scholarly world properly speaking they hardly yet belonged.

On the whole, and barring exceptions that do not always look readily explicable, in Europe by the year 1600 there are three almost entirely separate modes of pursuit of knowledge of nature, to wit, highly abstract geometric science written in Latin; speculative natural philosophy also written in Latin, and fact-finding empiricist researches written in Latin or in the vernacular in very roughly equal measure. Natural philosophy predominates in all this, albeit no longer in the Aristotelian variety exclusively, as in Buridan's and Oresme's times. By far the majority of those engaged in the pursuit of nature-knowledge are philosophers, most often university professors who naturally deal in Latin, or Jesuit fathers who almost always wrote in Latin, too. For instance, of the Jesuit who persuaded his superiors to take some mathematics up in the order's regular philosophy courses, a German who invariably signed as Christophorus Clavius (1537/8–1612), we do not even know his real family name—Christoph Klau is just a guess.[9]

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[7] An online edition of the three works on TMI: http://euromusicology.cs.uu.nl/; a facsimile online edition of the Italian (1562) on: http://imgbase-scd-ulp.u-strasbg.fr/displayimage.php?album=556&pos=0; translation of *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) by Palisca.

[8] Online edition on Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum: http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/start.html.

[9] On Clavius, see Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*.

With the year 1600 we have now reached the onset of the Scientific Revolution. It took shape as the near-simultaneous occurrence of three distinct revolutionary transformations. Each of the three modes of nature-knowledge just distinguished underwent certain drastic changes, and I shall now list the major works that together embody those changes, with a view to the language in which they were written.[10]

Mathematical science in the Greek mode was revolutionized by Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) and by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). Kepler's publications are all in rather convoluted yet grammatically correct Latin, with the exception of a few prognostications he wrote in most charming German for his several employers, from Emperor Rudolf II to Count Wallenstein. Here, for instance, is Kepler's view on the worth of astrology, a view as skeptical as in the end it is confident:

> Niemandt soll für ungläublich halten / daß auß der Astrologischen Narrheit und Gottlosigkeit / nicht auch eine nützliche Witz und Heiligthumb / auß einem unsaubern Schleim / nicht auch ein Schnecken / Müschle / Austern oder Aal zum Essen dienstlich / auß dem grossen Hauffen Raupengeschmeiß / nicht auch ein Seidenspinner / und endtlich auß einem übelriechenden Mist / nicht auch etwan von einer embsigen Hennen ein gutes Körnlin / ja ein Perlin oder Goldtkorn herfür gescharret / und gefunden werden köndte.
>
> No one should consider it unbelievable that from astrological folly and impiety also useful wisdom and a sanctuary; from unclean slime also a snail, muscles, oysters, eel, serviceable as food; from the huge pile of vermin of caterpillars also a silk moth, and finally, that by an industrious hen from foul-smelling manure might be grubbed out and found a good grain of corn, nay, even a pearl or a grain of gold.[11]

There is little chance that *Astronomy & Astrophysics* or any other learned journal anywhere in the world would still accept, or even be willing to have refereed, prose of such poetic beauty!

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[10] Cohen, *How Modern Science Came Into The World* (this book is one lengthy investigation into the question of what, if any, identifiable coherence can be seen to underlie the diverse events that together make up what may still with justice be called 'the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century').

[11] Kepler, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Van Dyck a.o., vol. 4, p. 161 (from *Tertius interveniens: Warnung an etliche Gegner der Astrologie, das Kind nicht mit dem Bade auszuschütten*).

In any case, Kepler generally used Latin. The case of the other revolutionary in mathematical science, his contemporary Galileo Galilei, is different—it looks as if his choice of Latin or the vernacular was determined by either the audience aimed at or the history of his own text. His first book publication, which contained his telescopic discoveries, was in Latin, *Sidereus nuncius* ('The Starry Messenger', 1610).[12] Describing many new astronomical discoveries, and intended by its dedication to enhance the glory of Cosimo de'Medici, the book and accompanying telescopes were distributed all over Europe through the diplomatic network of the Grand-duke of Tuscany; therefore, Latin was the obvious choice. The various polemics in which Galileo got involved as his adherence to Copernicus' idea of an Earth moving became more outspoken, took place mostly in Italian, directed as they were at his home front. So was the book that provoked the infamous trial in which he set forth a plethora of arguments for Copernicus and against Aristotle and Ptolemy, the *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano* ('Dialogue on the Two Most Important World Systems, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican', 1632). This somewhat flawed yet path-breaking, brilliant, and immensely witty book was meant to win over an audience not skilled in any astronomical technicalities, hence for sure Galileo's opting for the vernacular.[13] The Inquisition banned the book, yet within two years of the ban and of Galileo's condemnation a Protestant publisher in Straßburg issued a Latin translation, with other translations in other languages following soon.

Meanwhile the most revolutionary work of all, Galileo's *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche intorno ai due nuove scienze* of 1638, is in a sense bilingual.[14] The earlier *Dialogo* presented itself as an ongoing conversation between three scholars, Galileo's mouthpiece Salviati, further Sagredo, the bright layman who anticipates the questions that might occur to an intelligent reader, and finally Simplicio, who caricatures the Aristotelian point of view. In the *Discorsi* the same threesome carries on the conversation, once again distributed over four *Giornate* or 'Days', only, on Day III of the *Discorsi* Salviati turns to reading aloud a lengthy Latin manuscript written by a person called 'Our Academician'. This of course is Galileo himself, who was a proud member of the 'Accademia dei Lincei'. The curious alternation of languages that follows, reflects the history of Galileo's own thought—the laws for perpendicular fall, for fall along an incline, and for projectile motion that fill Day III and IV of the *Discorsi* had all been discovered and written down in the 1590s, when Galileo was still a university professor at Padua. Accordingly, Latin seemed the most obvious language to write in even if only in private.

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[12] See http://www.rarebookroom.org/Control/galsid/index.html. The best book on Galileo's life and works is Heilbron, *Galileo*.

[13] It was translated by Drake: *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*.

[14] Online edition: http://www.liberliber.it/biblioteca/g/galilei/discorsi_e_dimostrazioni_matematiche_intorno_a_due_nuove_etc/pdf/discor_p.pdf. The book has also been translated by Drake: *Two New Sciences*.

So, on the whole, the language in which mathematical science was written around 1600 continued to be Latin even though it was robbed of its extreme abstractness and placed in far closer contact with reality by means of Kepler's laws of planetary motion and Galileo's laws of falling and projected bodies. This was true, in spite of the special circumstances that moved Galileo in defence of his Copernicanism to appeal to a lay audience. The revolutionary works that at about the same time gave rise to a partly novel philosophy of nature present a somewhat more mixed picture. Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), the first to enrich ancient atomism with a wholly speculative account of natural phenomena in terms of the various movements supposedly carried out by tiny particles in incessant motion, did so in his private notebook only.[15] Sometimes the subject matter appeared to lend itself far better to one of the two languages at his disposal than to the other, as for instance with his notes on topics that concern engineering problems in the Netherlands. Even so, it is not always so easy to tell for what reasons he used now his somewhat stilted Latin, now Dutch. One given entry is almost always in one language only, yet even on a single day Beeckman might well alternate between the one and the other language. Given the nature of a diary, topics keep recurring forever, and although sometimes Beeckman appears to have a predilection for treating a given topic consistently in either Dutch or Latin, more often than not he chooses now the one now the other without any apparent rule or order.

His disciple and friend René Descartes (1596–1650) presents a complicated case in another sense.[16] For instance, the first work that he wrote with a view to having it published carried a characteristically modest title, 'Le monde' ('The World'). News of Galileo's condemnation caused him at once to bury the near-finished manuscript in his desk drawer. Not until he found a way to circumvent the attribution of motion to the Earth did he publish another text with basically the same content, this time in Latin, under the equally modest title *Principia philosophiae* (1644)—soon, under Descartes' own supervision, translated into French. French was also the language of his first publication, the *Discours de la méthode* (1637), which among other things provided a brief summary of some main points of 'Le monde'. The *Discours* is really an extensive preface to three appended treatises on mostly mathematical subjects, to wit, the rainbow and other atmospheric phenomena; the refraction of light in lenses, and a treatment of geometric curves and algebraic equations. The latter treatise, a highly advanced, truly pioneering work simply entitled *La géométrie*, did not begin to make a vast impact until a Latin translation appeared, which was later to serve young Isaac Newton (1642–1727) as his first introduction to mathematics—an incredible feat in its own right. Descartes was very much of an opportunist, and we need scarcely doubt that he thought hard and fast about the language most proper for each of his publications. His ultimate aim was to replace Aristotle as the predominant natural philosopher. Both his move to the Netherlands, where he lived for the largest part of his active life, and his ongoing cultivation of Jesuit priests were meant to serve this final objective, and it looks as if he made the choice between publication in Latin or in French subservient to it.

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[15] Van Berkel, *Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637)* and *idem, Isaac Beeckman on Matter and Motion*.

[16] Good studies of his life and works are Gaukroger, *Descartes: An Intellectual Biography* and Clarke, *Descartes: A Biography*.

The third pioneer of a speculative natural philosophy of moving particles was Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), who, however, never published in any other language than prolix Latin.[17]

The third revolutionary transformation concerns a much increased, more pointed usage of fact-finding experiments than happened earlier in the empiricist investigations of a Leonardo or a Vesalius. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) advocated this in a work meant to supplant Aristotle's *Organon*, hence appropriately entitled *Novum organum* (1620). It forms one part of an uncompleted work in which he hoped to put down his entire program for the wholesale upheaval of the pursuit of nature-knowledge, entitled *Instauratio magna*. The only work on the subject that he wrote in English is *New Atlantis* (1626), an utopian treatise depicting an ideal society run on the kind of applied science that Bacon envisaged. Three more pioneers of fact-finding experimentalism, who unlike Bacon also practiced what they preached, all published their most path-breaking or even all their works in Latin—William Gilbert's *De magnete* ('On the magnet', 1600), William Harvey's *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* ('Anatomical Exercise on the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals', 1626), and Jan Baptista van Helmont's *Ortus medicinae* ('The Dawn of Medicine', 1648). Only, the *Ortus* is a (vastly expanded) translation, prepared by van Helmont himself, of a text he first wrote in Dutch under the title *Dageraet* (likewise, in view of his running conflict with the Inquisition, published posthumously, this one in 1659). Van Helmont mentioned two

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17 See Osler, *Divine Will and the Mechanical Philosophy*, and Fisher, *Pierre Gassendi's Philosophy and Science*.

reasons for writing in his mother tongue. He wanted to be comprehensible to those closest to him (a consideration familiar to those who, like van Helmont, stood in Paracelsus' tradition). But it was also part of his personal epistemology that the ideas we receive are conceptualized by us in our mother tongue. Since van Helmont had picked up all his academic knowledge at Louvain university, in scholastic Latin, the writing of *Dageraet* faced him with the task of finding suitable Dutch equivalents for well-known Latin concepts, as also for concepts he thought up himself (for instance, he invented the idea, and also the term, 'gas', loosely derived from Greek 'chaos'). Even so, the grammatical structure the reader encounters in *Dageraet* leans heavily on the Latin way of sentence construction instilled in Joan Baptista as a youth.[18]

For the first generation that made the Scientific Revolution, then, Latin seems on the whole to be the preferred language to use. This is particularly curious in the case of the experimentalists, whose approach to natural phenomena is least marked by the ancient tradition—the vernacular used by Leonardo, Paracelsus, and many others working in an empiricist vein is not continued, with two prominent exceptions only, *The New Atlantis* and *Dageraet*. In mathematical science and in natural philosophy the picture looks more mixed. This is due above all to the presence of two authors very much concerned with their public image, Galileo and Descartes, who with regard to the most appropriate language to take appear to face a fresh decision every time a new publication is in the offing.

One major change that marks the transition to the next generation, roughly comprising those active between the 1650s and the end of the seventeenth century, is the rise of scientific societies.

The pursuit of nature-knowledge had always been a highly patronage-infested affair. Whereas Aristotelian philosophers were entrenched in the universities or, if they were Jesuits, in the order of that name, mathematical scientists and fact-finding experimentalists depended for their living and for their chances to publish on an individual patron if they could find one. By the 1660s patronage begins to change in kind, at least where the pursuit of nature-knowledge is involved, insofar as it shifts from mostly individual to more institutionalized forms. Not counting the Jesuit order, three scientific societies come up, a fairly short-lived one in Florence and two highly important ones in Paris ('Académie Royale des Sciences') and in London ('Royal Society, for the improvement of naturall knowledge by Experiment'). Under its aegis the first scientific journal comes into being, the *Philosophical Transactions* (since 1665). The journal quickly develops a style of reporting of its own, directed above all to getting across a sense of the veracity of experimental events. Circumstantial, matter-of-fact, sober, down-to-earth reporting ought to vouch for the truth of the experimentally found facts reported upon. As a rule, the journal published in English.

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[18] See http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/helm009dage01_01/. Many thanks to Sietske Fransen, who is preparing a PhD thesis on the subject, for all the information she kindly gave me about the existence and some intriguing features of *Dageraet*.

One prominent Fellow faithfully to follow and to expound this kind of reporting of experimental findings was the Anglo/Irish investigator Robert Boyle (1627–1691).[19] He encountered the very same problem that had exercised Jean Buridan three centuries earlier, albeit in a radically altered context. Concerned with Aristotle's doctrine of natural place, Buridan had come to argue that a sailor on the bottom of the sea does not feel the water pressing upon him. Boyle came upon the same issue through his experiments with the air pump. Unlike Buridan, Boyle questioned numerous people who, albeit not divers themselves, had heard actual divers report that, generally speaking, they did not experience a crushing weight at the depths they were able to reach. The problem that remained for Boyle was the reliability of these testimonies: could one really trust a person of the low social status of a professional diver? All this, to be sure, went on in English, which by now was the regular language in which to report on experimental matters. Still, the Royal Society aimed to serve, not only the sake of experimental science in Great Britain, but also on the Continent. Hence, foreigners need not publish in English but might contribute in Latin as well. Only in the case of Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), who had no other language than Dutch, the letters to the Royal Society in which over many decades he wrote down his microscopic discoveries had to be translated into English, not Latin, first.

Generally speaking, then, and with the Jesuits' Latin definitely a case apart, the vernacular tended to get settled as the language in which to report on experiments, and Latin to remain the *lingua franca* in mathematical science. However, after mid-century two pioneers, Isaac Newton and Christiaan Huygens, began to blend these categories, as notably in their optical work. It is informative to follow Newton's choice of language throughout his publishing career, particularly where his writings on light and colour are concerned. The private notes in which around 1665 he recorded his major discovery that sunlight is not pure white light but really a compound of all colours of the spectrum, plus the mostly experimental investigations by means of which he sought to clinch this conclusion, are all in English. Four years later he addressed his absent students on the subject in Latin. When in 1672 he broke his silence and informed the Royal Society of his discovery, he clad his 'New theory' in the prescribed format of the *Philosophical Transactions*. When this first publication of his involved him in an ongoing range of criticisms and rebuttals that he came to resent ever more deeply, he responded in Latin to one Jesuit critic on the Continent who neither knew English nor operated through the intermediary of the journal's editor, and for the rest in English. In the meantime he wrote, also in English, an extensive experimental account of numerous optical phenomena for the benefit of the Royal Society, not to be published but only to be read aloud over many consecutive sessions. Still, he kept seeking a mathematical foundation for his theory of colour, yet in the end in vain. So when by the 1690s he collected all his optical material for a publication in book form, he had two reasons for writing it in the vernacular. Due to the missing mathematical foundation his account had to be focused primarily on the sustaining experimental evidence. Also, decades earlier he had already produced many serviceable texts in English. That is how he came to write in that language his second book, under the succinct title *Opticks* (1704). A Latin translation, supervised and supplemented by Newton himself, appeared within two years.

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[19] See, for instance, Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science*.

Newton's first book however, which is on orbital motion and contains his discovery and proof of universal gravitation, was in Latin from the outset. It is entitled *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), and it was not translated into English during Newton's lifetime. On the subject of motion treated the mathematical way Newton almost invariably wrote in Latin. One exception occurred when in 1679 a brief correspondence with Robert Hooke challenged him to derive the elliptical orbit of the planets from the supposition that some attractive force diminishing with the square of the distance deflects a planet from its rectilinear, uniformly traversed path. Newton cut off the correspondence, but he noted down the proof in English—possibly a reflection of the correspondence, which of course was in English. Five years later a visitor, Edmond Halley, learned from Newton that he had sought to prove that proposition, and asked Newton to show him the proof, which Newton then claimed not to be able to find back in his desk drawer. This time Newton wrote the proof down in Latin, and stuck to that language all through his subsequent journey of discovery which within three more years produced the *Principia*.

With Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) a similarly mixed pattern can be found. His unequivocally mathematical masterpiece of 1673 is squarely in Latin—*Horologium oscillatorium* ('Pendulum Clock'). But with his optical researches he got himself into difficulties. When in the 1650s he started a treatise *Dioptrica* on the refraction of light in lenses, with a view to optimizing telescopes, Latin was the obvious choice to make for so clearly mathematical a subject. But as he moved on, the problem of the nature of light began to captivate him. Originally a problem in speculative natural philosophy only, in Huygens' hands the question of what light really is got enveloped in a blend of mathematical reasoning and experimental testing, most of which he did in French.[20] In 1679 he gave a lecture to his fellow Académiciens in French, which in 1690 he published as *Traité de la lumière* ('Treatise on Light'). His original treatise *Dioptrica*, on which he had kept working, remained unpublished during his lifetime. Language was in part responsible, witness the following apology in the preface to *Traité de la lumière*:

> On pourra demander pourquoy j'ay tant tardé à mettre au jour cet Ouvrage. La raison est que je l'avois escrit assez negligemment en la Langue où on le voit, avec intention de le traduire en Latin, faisant ainsi pour avoir plus d'attention aux choses. Apres quoy je me proposois de le donner ensemble avec un autre Traité de Dioptrique, ou j'explique les effets des Telescopes, et ce qui apartient de plus à cette Science. Mais le plaisir de la nouveauté ayant cessé, j'ay differé de temps à autre d'executer ce dessein [...].
>
> One may ask why I have delayed for so long the publication of this work. The reason is that I had written it rather negligently in the language in which one sees it, with the intention to translate it into Latin, doing so in order to give more attention to things. Next I planned to give it together with another Treatise on Dioptrics, in which I explain the effects of Telescopes, and all the other things that pertain to that science. But the pleasure of the new ceased, and I kept postponing the execution of that plan ...[21]

Indeed, Huygens did translate a few pages of the *Traité de la lumière* in Latin, but apparently he got bored and gave up the effort, to the detriment of his treatise on the geometric properties of light rays refracting in lenses.

Newton had only Latin and English to choose from, but Huygens was after all a Dutchman, so he had three options. He wrote three treatises in Dutch. Two are manuals with detailed instructions for artisans—one for lense grinders, the other for mariners.[22] The third is a foray in quite unknown territory—an utterly unGreek piece of mathematics dealing with probability calculus, which he first wrote under the title *Tractaet handelende van reeckening in speelen van gheluck* (1660; 'On Reasoning in Games of Chance'), but with his Latin translation (*De ratiociniis in ludo aleae*) appearing three years earlier.

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[20] Dijksterhuis, *Lenses and Waves*.

[21] Huygens, *Traité de la lumière*, p. *2v.

[22] The treatises were, respectively, *Memorien aengaende het slijpen van glasen tot verrekijckers* ('Memoirs concerning the grinding of glass for telescopes', 1685) and *Kort onderwijs*

These somewhat scattered remarks allow no more than a provisional conclusion, suggested only by my reading over the years without ever making specialized inquiries into the subject of language in science. Barring the numerous exceptions and half-way cases that we have encountered along the way, that conclusion looks roughly as follows. On the eve of the Scientific Revolution, c. 1600, Latin is standard in mathematical science. So it is in natural philosophy, which is invariably of the speculative kind. Empiricist investigations may be in Latin or in the vernacular, for reasons sometimes easy to detect, sometimes hard to guess. A century later, by the end of the 17th century, Latin is still standard in mathematical science insofar as the mathematics in question has recognizably Greek roots. Empiricist undertakings, now mostly experimental, are rendered most often in the vernacular, with for main exception Jesuit writings on the subject. Insofar as natural philosophy is still of a speculative kind, its cultivation is confined to the universities, with Latin as its obvious vehicle. But pioneers like Huygens and Newton seek to make natural philosophy hypothetical rather than speculative, and are blending it with experimentation and with mathematical argument, leaving the choice of language more a matter of convention or of pure coincidence. Indeed, the title of Newton's masterpiece, *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, while exemplifying the new blend, still bows to the old expression, natural philosophy, which by now translates far better into what it has really become in the meantime—science. Modern scientists have a hard time grasping what Aristotle or Buridan or even Descartes was up to, but Newton they rightly recognize as their older colleague, talking about the same things in basically the same manner as they do, albeit in a long superseded mathematical vocabulary. Natural philosophy had definitely given way to 'recognizably modern science'.[23]

On the whole, then, there is in the course of the seventeenth century a shift from Latin to the vernacular, but the shift is neither straightforward nor complete nor devoid of elements of the contingent and the coincidental. Did the shift continue? On the long run, certainly. When around 1800 the still largely separate domains of mathematical and empirical/experimental science began to fuse for good, this spelled by and large the end of Latin as a language

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aengaende het gebruijck der horologiën tot het vinden der lenghten van Oost en West ('Short instruction concerning the use of clocks for finding longitude in East and West', 1686).

[23] Drake used the expression (most often in the variety 'recognizably modern *physics*') in many of his works, e.g., on p. 98 of his *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*.

of science—excepting only Hans Christian Ørsted's discovery of electromagnetic interaction ('Circa efficaciam conflictus electrici in acum magneticam', 1820), not a single major nineteenth-century scientific discovery was still published in Latin. But in between, over the period of the Enlightenment, my overall impression is that things remained roughly in the state attained c. 1700, or even that Latin temporarily managed to regain some of the territory lost.

Still, the language of the classics left its stamp on the language of science for good. In what went before I have repeatedly spoken of mathematics, of experiments, of natural philosophy, etcetera—all expressions adopted straightforwardly from Greek or Latin. If I had written the present chapter in my mother tongue, I would not have used so many expressions of so unambiguously classic an origin. I would have spoken, not of 'mathematics' from Greek μάθημα, but of 'wiskunde', compounded from Dutch 'wis' = 'certain' and 'kunde' = 'expert knowledge'. Why is it that Dutch is so exceptional in having for 'mathematica' 'wiskunde', for 'proportio' 'evenredigheid', for 'parallel' 'evenwijdig'?

These, and many more words along these lines, we owe to one particular mathematical scientist of Dutch descent, Simon Stevin.[24] Born in Brugge (Bruges) in 1548, he moved to the Northern Netherlands when he was about 30 years old. For many years he served Stadtholder Prince Maurits, until his own death in 1620. Of his many works, he wrote and published one in Latin, one in French, and all others in Dutch. As he kept writing in the vernacular, he turned ever more purist, to the point of inventing ever more Dutch words for expressing concepts available so far in Greek or Latin only.

He defended the practice in a piece entitled *Uytspraeck van de weerdicheyt der Duytsche tael* ('Discourse on the dignity and worth of the Dutch language'),[25] in which he argued that Dutch lends itself more readily to scientific objectives than any other language. His most original argument runs as follows. In Dutch more than in any other language, Greek definitely included and Latin even more so, one can with great facility make composite words, which is an important feat 'since the names of things are also thereby their brief definitions' ('overmidts der dinghen namen daer duer oock hare corte bepalinghen sijn'). 'Evenwijdig' for 'parallel' indicates already by way of the expression itself that the width ('wijdte') is equal ('even'). 'Stelkunde' for algebra already indicates that this is the discipline which provides expert knowledge ('kunde') of what we 'stellen' = suppose. And so on. In the end Stevin even went so far as to argue that very long ago, in the 'Wijsentijt' (Age of the Sages) when all the knowledge was already available which the present age is busily seeking to recover, the one and only language spoken was Dutch—really humanity's Ursprache!

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[24] There is a recent biography: Devreese and Vanden Berghe, *Magic is no Magic*.

[25] It is Stevin's own prologue to his *De Bheginselen der Weeghconst* ('Principles of Statics').

All this went beyond sheer terminology. Indeed, Stevin's purist predilection for the vernacular and the properties he rightly or wrongly attributed to it helped decide the course of arguments he made in mathematical science. Here, to conclude my argument, is one extended example. One of Stevin's treatises is entitled 'Vande Spiegheling der Singconst'—a typically purist title. 'Vande' just means 'On the'. 'Spiegheling' stands for 'theory', attained along the following route: Dutch 'spiegel' is mirror; light rays reaching a mirror reflect, hence 'spiegeling' = 'reflection', which is quite near 'theory'. 'Singconst' is literally 'the art of singing', which is how Stevin renders the term music ('muziek' in Dutch). So the title as a whole translates as 'On the Theory of Music'. In it he defends a quite original thesis. You may know that modern musicians, notably pianists, play in equal temperament. That is, the tuner has divided the octave between C and the next higher c in 12 semitones of equal size, so that there is no difference between, say, D sharp and E flat. This, to be sure, is an artificial arrangement. Musicians unencumbered by a keyboard instrument, notably singers, do make a difference between these semitones, and generally seek to get as many consonant intervals as pure as they can. That is, they seek for the major third that is given by the frequency ratio 5:4, for the fifth as 3:2, and so on. The whole problem is that to have all consonant intervals pure is strictly impossible; a compromise has to be struck, and after three centuries of bickering over the best temperament the arrival on the scene of the piano finally decided in favor of the most deadening of all possible temperaments, the great equalizer, equal temperament. What is original in Stevin's treatise is that he regarded this artificial manner of resolving an inevitable problem not as artificial at all, or indeed as a problem in need of solution, but rather as the natural tuning system. It is not the ratio 5:4 that defines the major third, but the cube root of 2 does. Not artifice but nature itself thus divides the octave, or so Stevin stubbornly upheld over the length and breadth of his treatise.

He adduced numerous ingenious arguments to support this outrageous thesis, and one is derived from language. It runs like this. How is it that the Greeks, who were clever enough to hit upon the true, equal division of the octave, came up instead with this childish division according to these ratios of the first few integral numbers like 2:3 or 3:4 or 4:5? Why did it require a Dutchman to find out that all the consonant intervals flow from the equal division of the octave into twelve semitones? Here is why. The Greeks should have derived the division from the only proper kind of proportionality, *geometric* proportionality, which unlike so-called arithmetic or harmonic proportionality leads at once to the equal division. But they failed to recognize this. Neither the Greek nor the Latin words express the relationship between the ratios of the terms in question. Greek has λόγος for 'ratio', and ἀναλογία for their relationship. Latin, along with all the languages that stem from it, is even worse: it provides no connection at all between *ratio* and *proportio*. But luckily there is one language which can express the connection quite clearly and concisely. This language is Dutch, and the proper word for it has been coined by Stevin himself—evenredigheid. This, Stevin says, is a word "of infinite power", for it is the "definition of its own essence":[26]

> ... te seggen dat 6, 4, 3 en dierghelycke Singconstighe everedenheyt maecken daer oneindelycke ydelheden uijt volghen ende besloten worden; Men antwoort duer beweghing van tvoornoemde gheluijt, hier van syn gheen even Rhedens, daerom oock gheen Everedenheyt.

Or, translated in the language of this book, however unfit to make this particular point since all terms in question derive straightforwardly from the very Latin Stevin deemed unfit for scientific discourse:

> ... from the statement that 6, 4, 3 and the like constitute a harmonic proportion ('everedenheijt'), an infinite series of vanities follows and is made to follow. One responds by pronouncing the aforesaid word: here are no even Ratios, therefore, there is no Everedenheyt.

Language, then, is more than a neutral vehicle for scientific arguments; on occasion it can influence them, alter them, or, as here with Stevin, even go so far as to appear to decide them.

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[26] Cohen, *Quantifying Music*, pp. 57–61.

CHAPTER 9

The Use of the Vernacular in Early Modern Philosophy

Wiep van Bunge

Hegel to Copleston

Few modern philosophers have determined our understanding of early modern philosophy in the way Hegel has. More in particular, Hegel held highly influential views on the real significance of the language in which philosophy came into its own after the Middle Ages. In his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* Hegel introduced the issue in his paragraph on Luther, who completed his Reformation of Christianity, or so Hegel argued, by rendering the Bible into German, for according to Hegel philosophical self-consciousness can only be achieved in a *native* language, a language, that is, we can truly call our *own*. For, Hegel continued, only a language that is able to express our innermost concerns can serve as a vehicle for our subjectivity:

> In der Sprache ist der Mensch produzierend: es ist die erste Äusserlichkeit, die der Mensch sich gibt durch die Sprache; es ist die erste, einfachste Form der Produktion, des Daseins, zu der er kommt im Bewusstsein; was der Mensch sich vorstellt, stellt er sich auch innerlich vor als gesprochen. Diese erste Form ist ein Gebrochenes, Fremdartiges, wenn der Mensch in einer fremden Sprache sich ausdrücken oder empfinden soll, was sein höchstes Interesse berührt. Dieser Bruch mit dem ersten Heraustreten in das Bewusstsein ist so aufgehoben; hier bei sich selbst in seinem Eigentum zu zein, in seiner Sprache zu sprechen, zu denken, gehört ebenso zur Form der Befreiung. Dies ist von unendlicher Wichtigkeit. Luther hätte nicht seine Reformation vollendet, ohne die Bibel ins Deutsch zu übersetzen; und nicht ohne diese Form, in eigener Sprache zu denken, hätte die subjektive Freiheit bestehen können.[1]

According to Hegel, Luther constitutes such a pivotal moment in the history of *Geist* or Spirit, since the Reformation first affirmed the principle of

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[1] Hegel, *Werke* XX, pp. 52–53.

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self-consciousness—and this principle, Hegel felt, was the very principle of modern philosophy itself.[2] While this early nineteenth-century conception of the rise of modern philosophy entails a highly normative conception of what philosophy really is, its insistence on the crucial dependence of genuine philosophical reflection on the vernacular served until recently as a standard ingredient of scholarly descriptions of the incipience of modern philosophy.

Consider, for example, the way in which Frederick Copleston introduced the fourth volume, on Descartes to Leibniz, of his monumental *History of Philosophy*:

> whereas the mediaevals wrote in Latin, in the post-mediaeval period, we find an increasing use of the vernacular. It would not, indeed, be true to say that no use was made of Latin in the pre-Kantian modern period. Both Francis Bacon and Descartes wrote in Latin as well as in the vernacular. So too did Hobbes. And Spinoza composed his works in Latin. But Locke wrote in English, and in the eighteenth century we find a common use of the vernacular. Hume wrote in English, Voltaire and Rousseau in French, Kant in German.[3]

Indeed, many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century names could be added, including Machiavelli and Bruno, Montaigne and Charron, Robert Hooke, Anne Conway and Sir Kenelm Digby, as well as Pascal, Malebranche, Jean Du Hamel, Pierre Bayle, Fénelon and Fontenelle. All this will be pretty familiar, as will be Copleston's subsequent observation that the rise of the vernacular in early modern philosophy was closely related to the rapidly changing position in society of the philosopher: unlike their medieval predecessors, they, or to be more precise: the philosophers who made it to handbooks such as Copleston's, were no longer employed as university professors. Bacon was a lawyer and a politician, Descartes a nobleman of independent means, Hobbes served as tutor and secretary to the Cavendish family, Spinoza was an optician who even refused a chair in Heidelberg, Locke was a physician, Leibniz a diplomat and a librarian, Berkeley a bishop, and so on. As a consequence, they were no longer bound by the conventions ruling academic scholarship, the main one being of course the use of Latin.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* IV, p. 16.

Recent Revisionism

Over the past few decades a lot of energy has been invested in dismantling this picture, according to which the rise of early modern philosophy: a) was expressed in the vernacular, and b) took place outside the universities, and I should now like to sketch six objections that could be made to it, most of them inspired by recent research, after which I hope to be in a position to assess its tenability. First, as Copleston himself observed already, Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes and Spinoza still used Latin—Spinoza even exclusively so, the single text of his that has survived in Dutch, the *Korte Verhandeling*, being a translation made by his Amsterdam friends.[4] To his considerable chagrin, even Locke was quickly identified as the author of the anonymous *Epistola de tolerantia*, published at Gouda in 1689. Leibniz and Newton also wrote much of their work in Latin, as did Kant for that matter, for not only were Kant's so-called 'pre-critical' works in Latin, from 1796 to 1798 Friedrich Gottlob Born issued a translation in four volumes, entitled *Opera ad philosophiam criticam*.[5] In some cases the success a philosophical work enjoyed was *solely* due to its Latin translation: Campanella's *La Città del sole* was largely ignored until the author himself produced a version in Latin.[6] When Descartes in 1619 met Isaac Beeckman at Breda, the future author of the *Discours sur la méthode* was only able to communicate with Beeckman because both men spoke Latin.[7] But also among the so-called minor authors of the age, dozens could be referred to who still published many of their most important works in Latin, including Marin Mersenne, Pierre Gassendi, Nicolas Malebranche, John Toland, Samuel Pufendorf, Christian Thomasius and Christian Wolff. What is more, not all seventeenth and eighteenth-century university professors felt obliged to publish exclusively in Latin: Galileo, Antoine Arnauld, Henry More and Ralph Cudworth all held important academic positions (only More, a Cambridge Fellow, never made it to a professorial chair, although he became prebend), and they all published primarily in their native languages.

Neither does it appear to have been the case that the vernacular held any privileged position in proto-Enlightenment 'liberating' circles bent on castigating Christian 'prejudice': it is not as if the most 'emancipatory' thinkers opted for the vernacular out of principle. On the contrary, several of the most daring products of the early radical Enlightenment, including several anonymous clandestine manuscripts, were composed in Latin, as were for example, the *Origo et fundamenta religionis Christianae*, the *Theophrastus redivivus*, the *Symbolum Sapientiae*, the *De vera religionis inventione et forma*, the *Jordanus Bruno redivivus* as well as Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch' *Concordia rationis et fidei* and Theodor Ludwig Lau's *Meditationes philosophicae*.[8] Spinoza expressly forbade his friend to issue a Dutch translation of his hotly contested *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[9]

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[4] Spinoza, *Korte Verhandeling*, pp. 71–80.

[5] *Immanuelis Kantii Opera*.

[6] Waquet, *Latin, or the Empire of a Sign*, p. 87.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Second, over the past few decades our understanding of the history of the early modern university has been increased dramatically, and few intellectual historians today will be prepared to be as dismissive of the academic practice of philosophy as was long customary.[10] In particular the significance of universities for what is still, reluctantly, termed 'the scientific revolution' has been reassessed fundamentally, leading the late great Roy Porter to conclude that although Galileo quit his chair at Padua in 1610 and Newton left Cambridge in 1696 to become Master of the Mint, 'a remarkably high proportion of the great names of early modern science actually made their career (or at least embarked upon their career) as professors in university employment.'[11] Moreover, the very domains which were transformed most fundamentally during the seventeenth century belonged to the core curriculum of the *studium generale* taught by the *artes* faculty, and by the end of the seventeenth century the gap which traditionally had separated natural philosophy from mathematics was beginning to close, especially in France and the Netherlands—arguably on account of the success of Cartesianism. And while the scientific importance of the medical research being done at Padua, Montpellier, Leyden, Oxford and Cambridge has been recognized for quite some time now, there is also considerable evidence suggesting that mathematics played a much larger role in many of the more prominent universities of the early modern age than academic statutes would seem to convey.

In addition, we should not overestimate the hostility among seventeenth-century 'novatores' such as Descartes and Hobbes toward the early modern university; Descartes was very concerned to have his views taught at Utrecht,

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[8] Schröder, *Ursprünge des Atheismus*, Appendix.

[9] Spinoza, *The Letters*, p. 243.

[10] For a survey, see De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *Universities in the Middle Ages* and *idem* (ed.), *Universities in Early Modern Europe*.

[11] Porter, 'The Scientific Revolution and Universities'. See also, for instance, Gascoigne, 'A Reappraisal'; Ruestow, *Physics at Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Leiden*; Feingold, *The Mathematician's Apprenticeship*; Brockliss, *French Higher Education*; Wallace, *Galileo and his Sources*; Vanpaemel, *Echo's van een wetenschappelijke revolutie*.

Leyden as well as the Sorbonne and made sure to have his work translated into Latin as soon as possible; Hobbes, a major classicist in his own right, seriously felt his *Leviathan* would make for a fine course in Oxford.[12] Gassendi was a professor at the Collège Royal, Pierre Bayle held a chair at the Rotterdam Illustrious School—not very impressive perhaps, and he refused an offer from Franeker University, but it would seem that all German Cartesians were indeed professors, and one expert recently characterised philosophy in seventeenth-century Germany as 'overwhelmingly academic'.[13] And while it is true that the national societies, set up in France, Britain and Prussia for the advancement of science beyond the confines of the university, promoted the vernacular, as is evident from the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* and from the decision of the Prussian Academy in 1745 to exchange Latin for French, both the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Journal des Savans* were swiftly translated into Latin. The important German scientific journal *Acta Eruditorum* ran, exclusively in Latin, from 1682 to 1782. The use of Latin in scholarly correspondence remained popular until well into the eighteenth century. Françoise Waquet wrote her study on the continuing relevance of Latin from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries after she had completed her book, co-written with Hans Bots, on the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters, in which the use of Latin remained a sign of distinction, of class if you will. 'Democratic' as this Republic may have been, it was of course inhabited only by people, mainly men, with a proper education.[14]

Third, many experts on early modern philosophy today have become very weary of presenting Descartes as the unique point of departure, the decisive step forward to modernity in the way Hegel, Copleston and the authors of countless other surveys of seventeenth-century thought have attempted to do. Instead, they have become acutely conscious of the continuity between Descartes and the Scholastic background Descartes himself professed to have obliterated. In fact, from Étienne Gilson to Jean-Luc Marion, Dennis Des Chene and Roger Ariew, a powerful scholarly tradition has arisen which has demonstrated the extent to which Descartes depended on the very Aristotelian natural philosophy he claimed to have destroyed once and for all.[15] Over the past few decades, early modern Aristotelianism has made a particularly robust comeback on the scholarly agenda of historians of philosophy both in England and the United States and on the European Continent.[16] The result is that since also Spinoza has been studied from that point of view recently, no major seventeenth-century philosopher before Locke has now not been commented upon at length from a Peripatetic perspective.[17]

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[12] Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*; Serjeantson, 'Hobbes, the Universities and the History of Philosophy'.

[13] Hunter, 'The University Professor in Early Modern Germany'. On Gassendi, see below, on Bayle: Bost, *Pierre Bayle*; on German Cartesianism: Trevisani, *Descartes in Germania*.

[14] Bots and Waquet, *La République des lettres*, esp. pp. 146–148. See also Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*.

More in general, today the recognition of the continuing popularity of the competing classical schools of thought such as Stoicism, Epicureanism, and of course Scepticism or Pyrrhonism during the early modern age is widely shared among historians of philosophy.[18] And while the fate of Platonism following the Italian *quattrocento* is far less well documented,[19] a fascinating phenomenon like the seventeenth-century 'Cambridge Platonists' demonstrates that even an almost obsessive preoccupation with the wisdom of the Ancients did not have to imply a preference for the use of Latin: as noted, both Henry More and Ralph Cudworth wrote their most important treatises in English.

Fourth, it might be worthwhile to pause and reflect on the use of language in the school of thought which traditionally has been regarded as the *terminus ad quem* of early modern philosophy, namely German Idealism, for its particular use of the *German* language has always given rise to comments. In particular Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is heavy with such a peculiar terminology of Kant's own making that many of its first readers were baffled by its idiom. Translating Kant's 'transcendental' philosophy into *other* native languages turned out to be no easy feat: the Dutch Kantian Paulus van Hemert was chastised by his contemporary critics for the highly peculiar 'Dutch' he used—Van

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[15] See most notably Gilson, *Études sur le rôle de la pensée médiévale*; Marion, *Sur le prisme métaphysique de Descartes*; Des Chene, *Physiologia*; Ariew, *Descartes and the Last Scholastics*.

[16] Randall, *The School of Padua*; Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*; Mercer, 'The Vitality and Importance of Early Modern Aristotelianism'; Grant, *The Foundations of Modern Science*; Di Liscia, Kessler and Methuen (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature*; Blackwell and Kusukawa (eds.), *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; Ariew and Gabey, 'The Scholastic Background'.

[17] See for instance Schuhmann, 'Hobbes and Renaissance Philosophy'; Leijenhorst, *The Mechanization of Aristotelianism*; Mercer, *Leibniz's Metaphysics*; Osler, *Divine Will and the Mechanical Philosophy* as well as several of the essays presented in Sorell (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Philosophy* and Manzini, *Spinoza*.

[18] See for instance Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*; Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus*; Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*; Wilson, *Epicureanism at the Origins of Modernity*.

[19] See, however, Hedley and Hutton (eds.), *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity*.

Hemert actually invented many new words in order to bring home Kant's 'critical' philosophy.[20] Early nineteenth-century critics of Kant accused him of having reinstalled just another variant of Scholasticism—not unlike the way in which some twentieth-century philosophers have come to regard the tradition of what for want of a better word is still referred to as 'analytical philosophy'.

This brings me to a fifth objection: is it really true that medieval philosophy was exclusively scholastic, that is put into the Latin we associate with Aquinas, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham? Or is it possible to identify philosophical traditions in the vernacular before, say: Machiavelli? According to Ruedi Imbach it most certainly is, for two reasons in particular: on the one hand, well before the end of the fourteenth century several key texts in philosophy had been translated into the native languages of Europe: Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, for instance, by 1400 was available in fourteen different versions in French alone.[21] On the other hand, Imbach has identified 'lay' authors active during the High Middle Ages, including many who had little use for Latin, including (the unfortunately named) Brunetto Latini, to whom many examples could be added from the tradition I know best: the Dutch.[22]

As early as 1267 Jacob van Maerlant wrote 'scholastica willic ontbinden. In dietsche wort uten latine' ('I wish to liberate scholasticism from its Latin shackles and render it in Dutch').[23] Closely associated with the court of Floris V, count of Holland, Van Maerlant produced a remarkable series of philosophical translations, including the popular pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum* as well as an encyclopaedia on the wonders of Nature and a dialogue on a wide variety of ethical subjects—all in Dutch, or 'Dietsch' as Van Maerlant would have it. Thus, he created a philosophical vocabulary in the vernacular which around 1400 was further developed by Dirc van Delft and by the many contemporary translations made of the writings of Geert Grote and the other members of the *devotio moderna*. Consequently, at the dawn of the early modern age even such minor provinces of the Holy Roman Empire as the Netherlands had a pretty elaborate philosophical vocabulary at their disposal.

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[20] One of the most vociferous critics of Van Hemert was the Amsterdam and Leiden professor Daniel Wyttenbach, who was a born Swiss and who still published exclusively in Latin: Von Prantl, 'Daniel Wyttenbach als Gegner Kants'. On the early Dutch reception of Kantianism, see more recently Van Hemert, *Gezag en grenzen van de menselijke rede*; Wielema, 'Die erste niederländische Kant-Rezeption'; Hanou, *Sluiers van* Isis; Onnasch, 'De eerste receptie van Kants filosofie in Nederland'; Franke, *Een gedeelde wereld?*, Chapter 3.

[21] Imbach, *Laien in der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, pp. 43–52.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–66.

[23] Krop, 'De wijsbegeerte en het Nederlands', p. 82. This article has been a great help in the preparation of this lecture. See also Nitschik, *Das volkssprachliche Naturbuch*; Van Oostrom, *Maerlants wereld*.

Finally, and arguably most importantly, the Hegelian vision according to which no genuinely innovative work in philosophy could be done before Descartes identified the subject as the *locus* from which the Spirit could unfold itself and thus put the wheel in motion toward its ultimate self-discovery, hinges on the presupposition that the Renaissance, as Jacob Burckhardt put it in his seminal *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, did not produce any original philosophy of its own.[24] Now as a matter of fact, possibly the greatest twentieth-century scholar of Renaissance humanism basically agreed, for according to Paul Oskar Kristeller Renaissance humanism as a professional endeavour did not really include philosophy:

> Much of the work of leading humanists and all of the work of many minor humanists has no significance whatsoever for philosophy in any sense of the term but only for scholarship and literature. Vice versa, much of the philosophical literature of the Renaissance was not due to the humanists, but to Aristotelian philosophers with a scholastic training, to Platonist metaphysicians influenced by both humanism and scholasticism and above all by Plato and Neoplatonists such as Ficino and his followers, or to original thinkers, marginally influenced by humanism, from Nicholas of Cusa down to Telesio, Bruno and Francis Bacon.[25]

Two observations seem in place: first, it could be argued that, from an early modern perspective, it was hardly self-evident that philosophy should be original or innovative at all. Indeed, Descartes and his first supporters were actually *accused* of wanting to introduce all sorts of 'novelties'. Why, many seventeenth-century thinkers still felt, should we be at all committed to change let alone abandon Aristotelianism? As a highly flexible, universally applicable conceptual vocabulary, it served to articulate our common-sense experience of the world we live in. It is not as if Descartes had established its deficiencies. He merely presented an *alternative* view of the world that incidentally made the universe look very odd indeed and very different from the way we *experience* it to be.[26] By the middle of the seventeenth century it remained very much to be seen whether Descartes' vision of philosophy as a project of future enquiry, in which the use of Latin was no longer self-evident, would actually prevail.

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[24] Burkhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*. This view was criticised already by Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos*.

[25] Kristeller, 'Humanism', pp. 133–134.

[26] Van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality*; Verbeek, 'Dutch Cartesian Philosophy'.

Second, several prominent, more recent specialists on Humanism, that is on the intellectual movement flowering between the death of William of Ockham in 1347 and the publication of Descartes' works in the 1640s, have been pretty successful in demonstrating that from Lorenzo Valla onward, 'humanist' thinkers had a far more profound effect on philosophy and theology for that matter than Burckhardt's and Kristeller's views allowed for.[27] The Dutch historian of philosophy Lodi Nauta has recently made an impressive attempt to turn Valla into a genuine precursor of 'ordinary language philosophy'.[28]

Still, humanist authors excelled at nothing as much as they did in writing Latin, although it was precisely their linguistic acumen that also enabled them to produce important translations, empowering philosophical discourse beyond the confines of the university throughout Europe—consider, to name just one, particularly illuminating example Jill Kraye's paper on Thomas Gataker's rendering into English of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*: among classicists, Gataker's translation from 1652 still stands as a marvel of scholarship, yet by historians of philosophy it has been ignored completely.[29] And not all humanists preferred Latin: from Montaigne through Bayle right up to Vico, a powerful tradition of profound, 'humanist' erudition expressed in the vernacular established a connection between 'humanist' scholarship and cutting-edge philosophical analysis, turning, if you will, 'the Renaissance' into the natural cradle of 'the Enlightenment'.

Hegel Vindicated

It would seem, then, when all is said and done, that the Hegelian point of view on the rise of the vernacular in philosophy as a token of its budding modernity stands in need of urgent qualification. Or should we, perhaps, abandon it altogether? I think not: for despite our increased awareness of the continuities between the 'old' and 'new' philosophies in the early modern age, and despite the evident connections between 'lay' philosophers opting for the vernacular and professional academics communicating exclusively in Latin, this did not alter the fact that Latin *was* a dead language. As such, it could only be resuscitated at the expense of its purity. Moreover, the seventeenth century in particular witnessed a profound shift in 'paradigm' if you will: in natural philosophy as well as in metaphysics, from cosmography to the definition of matter and the explanation of change and motion, there is simply a world of difference between, say the Cambridge Platonists and their contemporary John Locke, and not the least of these changes directly concerns the use of the vernacular. Whereas More and Cudworth were still inspired by the vision of an 'Ancient Wisdom', an essentially timeless *prisca sapientia*, by contrast Locke's conception of philosophy as the task of what he called 'an Underlabourer' is completely oriented toward the *future* elucidation of issues concerning theory of knowledge. When natural philosophy, which during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had still served as the major arena in which the great battle between 'old' and 'new' conceptions of philosophy had been raging, grew into natural science, epistemology became the chief concern of philosophy, but as such it remained closely associated with the latest developments in physics in particular. Thus, the relevance of classical philosophy gradually evaporated as did the use for Latin. As Peter Burke has pointed out, of the over 500 early modern translations from the vernacular into Latin that have been identified by him a mere 18 titles belong to philosophy.[30]

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[27] See for instance the essays collected in Kraye and Stone (eds.), *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*. Antony Grafton's justly famous collection of essays entitled *Defenders of the Text* has little to offer on Philosophy. See, however, Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon*.

[28] Nauta, *In Defense of Common Sense*.

[29] Kraye, ' "Ethnicorum omnium sancticissimus." '

What is more, if we take a closer look at for instance the Dutch example, which I just happen to be most familiar with, it simply cannot be denied that from the early nineteenth century onward the use of Latin in philosophy became very rare indeed. Although Dutch was a relatively young language, it had a considerable philosophical tradition that was closely related to its codification. Only by the second half of the sixteenth century, at a time when the Southern Netherlands had turned into a very wealthy province of the Spanish empire and the Dutch Revolt was about to launch the Dutch Republic as a sovereign state, did the codification of the Dutch language get under way. The first Dutch grammar was published in 1564, probably by Dirk Volkertsz. Coornhert, a personal friend of William of Orange and the author as well of the first Dutch Ethics in the vernacular, entitled *Zedekunst* (1586). Recent research has established, however, that Coornhert stood in a considerable *literary* tradition of moral reflection in the Dutch language, which may perhaps help to explain the stunning self-consciousness of a host of humanist scholars active around 1600 and arguing with great zeal for the exceptional excellence of the Dutch language.[31] The Antwerp scholar and personal physician to Philip II (who according to Venetian diplomats 'spoke Latin quite well, for a prince'),[32] Johannes Becanus, went to considerable lengths in order to demonstrate that it was in reality the language spoken by Adam and Eve.[33]

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[30] Burke, 'Translation into Latin in Early Modern Europe'. See also Grant, 'European Vernacular Works in Latin Translation'.

During the seventeenth century the rapidly increasing importance of Dutch in philosophy is evident not only from the many excellent translations produced both of Frank Burgersdijk's Aristotelian handbooks and of the writings of Descartes and Spinoza.[34] For in addition radical Cartesians such as Lodewijk Meyer and Adriaan Koerbagh also composed highly interesting dictionaries, explicitly aimed at 'enlightening' the common man.[35] Adriaan Koerbagh, who died in jail in Amsterdam in 1669, having been prosecuted for 'atheism', articulated what could perhaps be called a 'political linguistics', according to which Latin had essentially become a power tool in the hands of the legal as well as the clerical 'professions', creating an ignorant and therefore powerless 'clientele' of people who had simply been unable to afford a university education.

Although the Radical Enlightenment envisaged by Meyer and Koerbagh failed to make a lasting impact on the Dutch Republic, the abundant availability in the vernacular of 'new' and potentially revolutionary philosophical texts around 1700 gave rise to a very lively philosophical culture—all sorts of laymen, some of them female, with little or no Latin at all now felt able and entitled to take part in highly obtuse metaphysical disputes concerning the nature of God, the essence of the soul and the definition of matter.[36] When the Amsterdam minister Balthasar Bekker launched his broadly Cartesian attack on belief in witchcraft and sorcery, entitled *De betoverde Weereld* (1691–93), dozens of amateur philosophers and theologians joined the fray.[37] By this time, Dutch professors of philosophy and theology no longer felt inhibited either to cross swords with laymen in Dutch.

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[31] Buys, *De kunst van het weldenken*. See also Bange, *Moraliteyt saelt wesen*.

[32] Waquet, *Latin, or the Empire of a Sign*, p. 154.

[33] Van Hal, '*Moedertalen en taalmoeders*', pp. 83–136.

[34] Dibbets, 'Kóks Burgersdijkvertalingen'; Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker'; Akkerman, *Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza*, Chapter 5.

[35] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, Chapters 10 and 11; Den Boer, 'Le Dictionnaire libertin d'Adriaen Koerbagh'; Koerbagh, *A Light Shining in Dark Places*. The relevant literature on Meyer and Koerbagh and many other minor Dutch authors of the time can be found in Van Bunge et al. (eds.), *Dictionary*.

[36] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment, passim*; Wielema, *The March of the Libertines*.

[37] Fix, *Fallen Angels*; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, Chapter 5; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, Chapter 21.

During the eighteenth century Dutch philosophers would continue to publish in their native language although in the *siècle des Lumières* another second language quickly became increasingly important: when Latin did start to give way several prominent Dutch authors such as Justus van Effen, Belle van Zuylen and Frans Hemsterhuis wrote largely and in Van Zuylen's and Hemsterhuis' cases exclusively in French. The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed yet another flowering of Dutch philosophical literature, this time of a largely political nature, but from a European perspective the efforts of these late eighteenth-century authors mattered little if only since they were essentially concerned to diagnose the sorry state of the Dutch Republic itself. But it's true that Dutch Enlightenment discourse was almost univocally in Dutch and intentionally so. Using Latin in philosophy beyond the academic classroom became, indeed, antiquated.[38]

Important as the late eighteenth-century may have been in relation to the ensuing creation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the inward-looking nature of its philosophical thought prevented it from rising above an essentially local relevance.[39] Unfortunately, much the same must be said of Dutch nineteenth-century philosophy. Disappointing as the writings of for instance Philip Willem van Heusde and Cornelis Opzoomer may appear to us, their contemporary impact was considerable, not only within the Dutch universities, but in a very real sense they also served as public intellectuals.[40] Although Dutch academic orations as well as dissertations continued to be in Latin until the middle of the nineteenth century, to all intents and purposes Opzoomer was delighted to be able to publish his findings in his native language. Perfectly in tune with the creation, in 1813, of a new Kingdom of the Netherlands,—and, I should add, the creation in 1797 at Leyden of the first chair for Dutch linguistics[41]—the call for a genuinely 'Dutch' philosophy was ubiquitous.[42]

Thus it would seem that the final blow to the use of Latin in philosophy was delivered neither by scholarly, scientific or strictly philosophical developments, nor by the increasingly awkward fact that Latin was a dead language, the idiom of which had to be stretched constantly in order to fit a world packed with canons, steamships, and countless other objects Cicero could not have dreamt of, but by the rise of the nineteenth-century nation-state. It should be noted that Hegel's appreciation of the vernacular had been prepared in considerable detail by Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808), delivered in Berlin during the French occupation. Only a living language Fichte had argued in his fourth address, which articulates the way in which a people actually experiences the world it inhabits is able to express a meaningful reflection of this very experience. Even single words that are 'foreign' to the German Language will inevitably evoke artificial sentiments. We know, Fichte claimed, what 'Menschlichkeit' means, but which ideas is a concept like 'Humanität' supposed to instil?[43] Indeed, the continuing, unbroken and untainted vitality of the German language, Fichte concluded, will assure the German people of a glorious future, in particular in philosophy. Prefiguring not only Hegel, but also and more ominously Heidegger, Fichte felt that any future *true* philosophy would have to be German:

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[38] Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800*, esp. Chapters 13 and 19. See also Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*; Velema, *Republicans*.

[39] De Quay, *De genoegzaamheid van het natuurlijk gezond verstand*, Chapter 6.

[40] See Van Heusde, *Wijsbegeerte van het gezonde verstand*; Opzoomer, *Het wezen der kennis*.

[41] Held by Matthijs Siegenbeek. See Noordegraaf, *Norm, geest en geschiedenis*; De Vries (ed.), *'Eene bedenkelijke nieuwigheid.'*

[42] Krop, 'De wijsbegeerte en het Nederlands', pp. 109–112.

> Die wahre, in sich selbst zu Ende gekommene und über die Erscheinung hinweg wahrhaft zum Kerne derselben durchgedrungene Philosophie hingegen geht aus von dem Einen, reinen, göttlichen Leben,—als Leben schlechtweg, welches es auch in alle Ewigkeit, und darin immer Eines bleibt, nicht aber als von diesem oder jenem Leben; und sie sieht, wie lediglich in der Erscheinung dieses Leben unendlich fort sich schliesse und wiederum öffne, und erst diesem Gesetze zufolge es zu einem Seyn und zu einem Etwas überhaupt komme. Ihr entsteht das Seyn, was jene sich vorausgeben lässt. Und so ist denn diese Philosophie recht eigentlich nur deutsch, d. i. ursprünglich; und umgekehrt, so jemand nur ein wahrer Deutscher würde, so würde er nicht anders denn also philosophiren können.[44]

The political development of the rise of the nation-state largely coincided with the moment philosophy returned to the university—a university, moreover, that during the nineteenth century abandoned the use of Latin. After Kant most of the major philosophers once more were professors: from Kant to Hegel and from Hegel to Husserl and Heidegger, from Comte to Derrida and from Mill to Quine—even Nietzsche embarked on his career as an academic, and even Wittgenstein's return to philosophy took the shape of his return to Cambridge in 1929 (a few hours after Wittgenstein's arrival, John Maynard Keynes wrote a letter to friend, announcing 'God has arrived. I met him on the 5.15 train').[45]

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[43] Fichte, *Sämtliche Werke* VII, pp. 311–28.

[44] *Ibid.*, VII, p. 362. On the Heidegger connection, see Sluga, *Heidegger's Critics*; Bambach, *Heidegger's Roots*; Rockmore, 'Fichte, Heidegger, and Nazis'.

Conclusion

In 1751, in his *Discours préliminaire* to the *Encyclopédie*, d'Alembert observed the gradual decline of Latin and 'l'usage de toute écrire aujourdhui en langue vulgaire.' While d'Alembert acknowledged the advantages of this for French *philosophes*, he was also weary of where this might lead to, for today, he continued, even Englishmen write in their native language and even in Germany Latin is losing ground. Soon 'Swedes, Danes and Russians' will opt for the vernacular:

> Ainsi avant la fin du XVIII^e siècle, un philosophe qui voudra s'instruire à fond des découvertes de ses prédécesseurs, sera constraint de charger sa mémoire de sept à huit langues différentes; et après avoir consumé à les apprendre le temps le plus précieux de sa vie, il mourra avant de commencer à s'instruire. L'usage de la langue latine (…) ne pourrat être que très utile dans les ouvrages de philosophie, dont la clarté et la précision doivent faire tout le mérite, et qui n'ont besoin que d'une langue universelle et de convention. Il serait donc à souhaître qu'on rétablit cet usage: mail il n'y a pas lieu de l'esperer.[46]

Latin did not return, and d'Alembert knew full well that it wouldn't—not in philosophy, that is. In the 1770s, the French journalist Jacques Vincent Delacroix compared Latin to a house 'richement meublée, spacieuse et abandonee'.[47]

Over the past few decades philosophy has once more become a discipline in which a single language has come to dominate. Today professional philosophers who were not born in an Anglophone country are again challenged by the necessity to express themselves and communicate in a *foreign* language. Although most of us continue to publish in English *and* in Dutch, many of us feel our Dutch papers and books do not really count—even when English and American colleagues exhort us not to abandon our native language, as did the members of the committee responsible for the most recent Research

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[45] Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein*, p. 255.

[46] D'Alembert, *Discours préliminaire*, pp. 153–154.

[47] Burke, '*Heu domine, adsunt Turcae*', pp. 29–30.

Assessment of Philosophy in the Netherlands.[48] Perhaps the bilingualism of our early modern predecessors may carry some consolation, for it would seem that, in the end, it did not really matter that Montaigne and Descartes wrote in French, Spinoza and Newton in Latin, and Leibniz in both: they were all read and they are still being studied today. We have only just begun to seriously question the reasons why some early modern philosophers made it to the canon, while others didn't.[49] Easy answers do not seem available, and canons evolve, but one could be forgiven to expect that in the long run, philosophers who opted for the vernacular did increase the accessibility of their writings: perhaps Gassendi could have made a bigger impact, had he not chosen to publish massive, intricate volumes such as his *Disquisitio metaphysica* of 1644. But then again, the beautiful and highly accessible English produced by eminent scholars such as Henry More and Ralph Cudworth could not ensure them a position in the Canon of European philosophy either. The fact that their work was also translated into Latin could not make any difference.

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[48] http://www.qanu.nl/comasy/uploadedfiles/philosophy_def.pdf, p. 13.

[49] See, most recently Rogers, Sorell and Kraye (eds.), *Insiders and Outsiders in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*.

CHAPTER 10

Latin et vernaculaires dans l'Université du XVIIIe siècle / Latin and Vernacular Languages in the Eighteenth-Century University

Françoise Waquet

This article explores the linguistic uses of the eighteenth-century Western university. Firstly, it describes some situations and practices – public and private teaching, old and new subjects. Even if vernaculars were used, the eighteenth-century Western university remained profoundly Latin. One question is: what form of Latin was spoken and heard in universities? Answering this question illuminates the discourses explaining or legitimizing the linguistic choices that prevailed during this period. This allows a better understanding of the many reasons, linguistic as well as social, for justifying the use of Latin, opposing the vernacular, or adopting both Latin and the vernacular. The main argument for Latin was not its quality as the language of science; tradition and convenience played a more important role, as well as the decorum and prestige of the university and professorial functions. Examples are drawn from Italy, Sweden and France.

On lit à l'article 'Langue' de l'*Encyclopédie* (1765) : le latin est « d'une nécessité indispensable [...] tant pour la philosophie et la théologie que pour la jurisprudence et la médecine »[1]. L'expression « nécessité indispensable » souligne avec le pléonasme d'insistance que, encore en plein XVIIIe siècle, théologiens, philosophes, juristes et médecins ne pouvaient pas faire l'économie du latin. Toutefois, ce texte qui est de l'ordre du constat n'éclaire guère sur les raisons de cette nécessité. Pourquoi des hommes de savoir ont-ils été amenés à ne pas utiliser leur langue ou une langue vernaculaire, mais le latin ? Répondre, comme on a pu le faire, que c'est parce que le latin était la langue de la science, est une explication purement verbale. D'autant que l'on voit des langues vernaculaires alors largement utilisées pour des ouvrages scientifiques. Avec cette dernière remarque, il est clair que le monde du savoir est un monde bilingue.

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[1] Nicolas Beauzée, article 'Langue' dans D'Alembert et Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, 19, p. 587.

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À cet égard, l'université est apparue un bon observatoire donnant à voir des situations et des pratiques où les acteurs utilisent le latin et la langue vernaculaire. Je m'en tiendrai au XVIIIe siècle. C'est, à cet endroit, une période cruciale. La question de la langue du savoir se pose alors dans des termes bien plus contrastés que par le passé avec une opposition marquée entre le latin et les vernaculaires, et à terme la victoire écrasante des seconds. Ces changements majeurs et la nouvelle écologie linguistique qui en ressortit ont généralement été appréciés du côté des vainqueurs. Dans mon exposé, je procéderai à l'inverse des historiographies traditionnelles qui se sont attachées à suivre – et à célébrer – l'émergence, les progrès et le triomphe de la langue du pays : en effet je mettrai le focus sur le latin. Je m'arrêterai sur un certain nombre de situations et de pratiques afin de décrire les usages linguistiques du monde universitaire : en quelles circonstances et à quels effets employait-on l'une ou l'autre langue ? Quel latin s'écrivait et se faisait entendre dans les universités ? Les réponses à ces questions éclaireront les discours que les hommes du temps ont tenus afin d'expliciter ou de légitimer leurs choix linguistiques ; elles permettront de mieux comprendre les raisons multiples qui ont été invoquées pour justifier une utilisation du latin, pour refuser le passage au vernaculaire, ou pour se servir de deux langues.

Situations et pratiques

L'Université resta, pendant tout l'Ancien Régime, profondément latine[2]. Partout en Europe, c'est en latin que les professeurs faisaient leurs leçons et c'est en latin que les étudiants soutenaient thèses et disputes. Les essais, faits ici et là, pour introduire la langue vernaculaire dans l'enseignement magistral tournèrent généralement court ; ils furent d'ailleurs peu nombreux et l'on cite toujours les mêmes – je pense à Thomasius qui enseigna en allemand à Halle en 1687 et d'ailleurs sans lendemain. Dans la plupart des cas (et ils sont peu nombreux), le vernaculaire ne fut adopté que pour des matières nouvelles ou des enseignements techniques. J'en donnerai deux exemples. En 1754, à Naples, Antonio Genovesi qui avait jusqu'alors enseigné en latin la métaphysique, puis l'éthique, prenait possession de la première chaire de commerce créée dans la péninsule ; c'est « en bonne langue italienne » qu'il fit désormais ses cours. À Valence, en Espagne, une exception fut faite à l'ordonnance royale de 1753 qui maintenait l'usage exclusif du latin dans l'université, en faveur des mathématiques et de la physique présentées comme de savoirs pratiques à l'intention de personnes se destinant à des métiers dans l'agriculture, l'industrie et le commerce. Autre cas de figure, lui aussi peu fréquent : des professeurs se partagent dans leurs cours entre latin et vernaculaire. À l'Académie de Lausanne, Jean-Pierre Crousaz qui enseigna la philosophie dans le deuxième quart du XVIII^e^ siècle alternait pour ses leçons latin et français ; son collègue Barbeyrac faisait en latin le cours de droit romain, en français ceux de droit naturel et d'histoire. Le règlement de 1788 disposa que les leçons de droit naturel se feraient en français ou en latin, que le français serait de rigueur pour la physique et l'histoire, que le professeur de philosophie enseignerait en français les mathématiques mais qu'il emploierait le latin pour la métaphysique et la logique. Ces situations, rares et tardives, ressortent d'autant plus que l'enseignement *ex cathedra* se donna généralement en latin, partout en Europe jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Régime.

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[2] De façon générale, Waquet, *Le Latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, chap. 1.

Toutefois, des indices montrent une pénétration du vernaculaire qui ne remet pourtant pas en cause la préséance du latin. La leçon consistait (avec bien des nuances selon les lieux, les moments et les disciplines) en un commentaire d'un auteur canonique que le professeur dictait à partir d'un texte composé par ses soins ; elle était suivie par des explications. Des exemples montrent que le commentaire et la dictée étaient en latin, l'explication en langue vernaculaire ; ils donnent à voir un bilinguisme de fait. À Pise, le professeur faisait sa leçon et dictait en latin. Puis, il sortait dans la cour de l'université et, se tenant près d'une colonne (d'où l'expression *répétition à la colonne*), il passait au toscan pour résumer ce qu'il avait dit à l'heure précédente, pour répondre aux questions que les étudiants posaient et pour apporter les éclaircissements souhaités. À Naples, il existait une pratique similaire qui, de plus, avait été codifiée dans les statuts de l'université : le professeur, au terme de son cours, devait donner pendant une demi-heure des explications ; il descendait alors de la chaire et il abandonnait le latin pour le napolitain. Qu'en était-il ailleurs ? L'histoire des universités qui, depuis quelques années, s'attache moins exclusivement aux contenus de l'enseignement pour reconstruire les pratiques enseignantes, pourrait apporter ici des éclaircissements.

L'enseignement privé donne à voir une autre situation de bilinguisme dans le monde universitaire. Partout en Europe, des professeurs donnaient en marge de leur enseignement, des cours privés qui leur étaient directement payés par les étudiants. Cette modalité qui vaut pour toutes les disciplines n'a pas reçu une attention à sa mesure, et son histoire reste à écrire[3]. À Pise, ces leçons qui se tenaient au domicile du professeur – d'où leurs noms *lezioni domestiche* ou *lezioni domiziliari* – se développèrent au point que les professeurs firent de moins en moins de leçons publiques. Dans les années 1740, les autorités intervinrent pour réglementer les choses, en fait, pour transférer l'enseignement public au domicile des professeurs. Ceux-ci furent alors explicitement tenus de suivre le schéma traditionnel de la leçon[4]. On peut penser que, pour le temps de l'explication, ils en restèrent à la langue vernaculaire ; on peut aussi penser qu'alors que ces leçons chez le professeur étaient moins formelles que les leçons à la Sapienza des professeurs sont à l'occasion passés à l'italien pour la première partie de leur cours. Des études manquent ici pour apprécier la part de l'une et l'autre langue. Alors que l'exemple pisan laisse entendre que le professeur avait une plus grande liberté dans l'usage linguistique, il est possible qu'il ait volontiers employé sa langue tant pour sa propre commodité que pour mieux faire comprendre tel ou tel point à ses étudiants. Cela ressort clairement de la situation qui existait dans les années 1770 à l'université de Padoue. De l'avis unanime des professeurs, seul le dixième des étudiants (30 sur 300) comprenait « moyennement » le latin ; le salut, venait pour le plus grand nombre, de l'école privée où ils allaient, après la leçon, écouter l'explication[5]. Ajoutons que le climat de plus grande familiarité qui s'établissait dans l'enseignement privé a pu porter à un abandon plus grand du latin au profit de la langue de tous les jours.

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[3] Pour de premiers repères dans l'Europe des XVII^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles, voir Waquet, *Parler comme un livre*, pp. 87–88 ; pour Amsterdam au XVII^e^ siècle, Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, chap. 3.

Alors que l'enseignement *ex cathedra* se donnait majoritairement en latin, une question se pose : quel latin les professeurs parlaient-ils ? Des exemples montrent que la performance fût loin d'être toujours excellente, que le latin parlé dans les universités n'était pas toujours d'une fluidité et d'une pureté cicéroniennes, que la langue vernaculaire n'était pas sans colorer le discours. Les documents gardant la trace d'un latin parlé sont plutôt rares ; aussi le témoignage laissé par Giambattista Morgagni (1682–1771) sur des cours qu'il entendit à Padoue en 1707 a tout son prix. Morgagni, qui quelques années plus tard devint une figure majeure de la science médicale (il est considéré comme le fondateur de l'anatomie pathologique), était alors un jeune médecin de talent à la recherche d'un poste. Il s'était rendu à Padoue où il comptait des amis pour explorer les possibilités qu'il y avait d'obtenir une chaire. Il profita de ce séjour pour aller écouter des professeurs et il a laissé une longue relation de ce qu'il entendit. Je ne m'arrêterai pas ici sur les informations que l'on peut en tirer quant aux diverses tendances – traditionnelles et modernes – qui étaient alors représentées à l'université de Padoue. Je m'en tiendrai aux observations nombreuses que Morgagni fit sur le latin que parlaient les professeurs qu'il entendit. Tous faisaient leurs cours en latin, mais la performance était inégale. Même les meilleurs latinistes étaient loin de manier un latin impeccable, ne serait-ce que parce qu'ils commettaient des fautes d'accent et qu'ils se trompaient sur la quantité des voyelles. La plupart d'entre eux « trébuchaient » dans le latin, et certains plus que d'autres. La palme reviendrait ici au professeur de logique Albanio Albanese à propos duquel Morgagni notait : « il mêlait au fil de la leçon bien des mots italiens, comme *perché ? per che causa, mò, ma, questo è infallibile*, aux mots latins dans lesquels il se trompait parfois »[6]. Déjà, un demi siècle plus tôt, un voyageur danois, de passage à Padoue, avait noté dans son journal : « Presque aucun professeur [...] ne parlait latin sans faire de solécismes » et il avait remarqué que le professeur d'anatomie Pietro Marchetti mêlait des mots italiens à son latin[7].

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[4] Marangoni, 'Lo Studio di Pisa', pp. 153–202. Cet article est, à ma connaissance, le seul qui pour le XVIII^e^ siècle, affronte directement le sujet, ici à partir de l'exemple pisan.

[5] Bernardinis, 'Una riforma di due secoli fa', pp. 355 et 357. La remarque, faite par Gozzi, date de 1771.

Les disputes et les soutenances de thèse offrent un autre lieu d'observation de la langue parlée. Au XVII^e^ siècle déjà, la Sorbonne ne résonnait pas en ces occasions d'un latin tout pur. La réaction de Casaubon est éloquente : « s'étant trouvé à une thèse [...], il y entendit disputer fort et ferme, mais dans un langage si barbare et si peu intelligible pour lui qu'il ne pût s'empêcher de dire en sortant de la salle : je n'ai jamais ouï tant de latin sans l'entendre »[8]. En 1676, Locke qui assista à une dispute à l'université de Montpellier notait dans son journal : « Beaucoup de français, un latin laborieux, peu de logique et peu de raison »[9].

Les prononciations nationales colorèrent encore ce latin qui se faisait entendre dans les universités. Alors que chaque nation pensait que sa prononciation du latin était la bonne, le latin parlé ici et là se ressentait grandement de l'origine des locuteurs. Il ne manque pas d'épisodes, souvent ridicules et cocasses, montrant l'incompréhension entre des hommes parlant pourtant une même langue. Ils traduisent aussi une situation langagière où la langue vernaculaire transparaissait dans le latin. Archibald Pitcairn, qui enseigna la médecine à Leyde à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle, ne put se départir d'un fort accent écossais qui le rendait peu intelligible[10]. Les choses étaient moins visibles et moins gênantes au sein d'une même aire linguistique : il n'en reste pas moins que l'influence du vernaculaire s'exerçait également. Des fautes de prononciation relevées par Morgagni s'expliquent par la contamination d'un mot italien quasiment similaire.

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[6] Ongaro, 'Morgagni uditore a Padova', p. 358.

[7] Borch, *Itinerarium, 1660–1665*, t. II, p. 228.

[8] Ménage, *Menagiana* [1694], t. II, p. 17.

[9] *Locke's Travels in France 1675–1679*, pp. 50 (cit.) et 53 (autre exemple).

[10] D'après deux lettres de Theodorus Johannes van Almeloveen à Johann Reiske et à Heinrich Meibom, 17 et 18 décembre 1691 (Utrecht, Bibliothèque de l'Université, ms. 995 III 6K12, fol. 67–68 et 69–70).

Les thèses et autres écrits universitaires sont un indice supplémentaire d'une situation de bilinguisme. Des thèses soutenues en Suède dans les années 1610–1720 attestent non seulement de l'invention de néologismes pour dire des réalités nouvelles, mais encore de l'élaboration d'un jargon universitaire latin : des mots reviennent fréquemment, voire sont en vogue, mots qui, s'ils existaient bien sous l'Antiquité, étaient d'un emploi rare ou avaient un sens différent. De plus, on y relève nombre de constructions non classiques qui sont en fait des calques de la langue vernaculaire[11]. Le même défaut se note dans le latin d'auteurs d'une autre envergure. Selon le philologue Gilles Ménage – son témoignage date de la fin du XVIIe siècle –, la plupart des écrits des savants, ses contemporains, étaient « pleins de gallicismes, de teutonismes, d'anglicismes et de tous les autres idiomes européens »[12].

À considérer le monde universitaire, il convient donc de parler de latins au pluriel plutôt que d'un latin, comme l'a souligné Piero Del Negro dans un article sur les langages de la didactique à Padoue au XVIIIe siècle : le tableau qu'il tracé donne à voir, pour la langue ancienne, toute la gamme de pratiques existant entre « une pure langue latine » et un « latin ordinaire » ; il montre aussi la part de l'italien et des dialectes qui se faisaient entendre dans les murs de l'université[13].

Discours

Alors que le monde universitaire apparaît fortement coloré par les langues vernaculaires, on se demandera pourquoi à cette date haute du XVIIIe siècle, il en est resté officiellement au latin. On se le demandera d'autant plus qu'écrire en latin ne semble pas avoir été toujours aisé de l'aveu même des contemporains. Je citerai le témoignage de deux professeurs de médecine qui pourtant dans leurs cours firent preuve d'une assez bonne, voire d'une bonne latinité. Antonio Vallisneri, un de ces professeurs que Morgagni entendit à Padoue, déplorait en des termes imagés : à quoi bon « se casser la tête » sur une langue morte[14] ? Lazzaro Spallanzani qui, enseigna à Pavie dans la deuxième moitié du siècle, soulignait les difficultés qu'il y avait à utiliser le latin et il précisait : « Il est pour nous incomparablement plus facile de s'exprimer avec clarté, précision et élégance dans la langue que nous parlons, vu la familiarité que nous avons avec elle, que dans la langue latine dont on ne peut, parce qu'elle est morte, saisir aussi facilement la force, le goût et les grâces »[15].

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[11] Benner et Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin*; Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden*, pp. 65 et suivantes, avec pour des exemples de jargon universitaire, pp. 94–97, 99, 111, 117–18, 121–22, 127, 132, 142–43, 158–59, 162–63, 166–67, 170–72.

[12] Ménage, *Menagiana* [1693], pp. 196–97.

[13] Del Negro, 'Pura favella latina', pp. 121–40.

Un pays encore latin

En dépit de protestations qui se font entendre tout au long du XVIII^e^ siècle contre la difficulté à manier la langue ancienne, l'université resta le pays latin. Peut-être d'abord parce que le latin y était « naturel » aux professeurs qui y enseignaient. Depuis les premiers apprentissages, ces hommes avaient baigné dans du latin. Rappelons qu'en Italie et en France les petits enfants apprenaient à lire sur des textes en latin et que, dans ces pays comme ailleurs, l'enseignement au collège se donnait très largement en latin. Par la suite, ces hommes avaient fait en latin le plus gros de leurs lectures et c'est en latin qu'ils avaient acquis et continuaient d'acquérir des pans entiers de leur savoir. On ajoutera ici que le latin ne fut pas seulement le conservatoire de la tradition, mais qu'il fut aussi la langue dans laquelle parurent des œuvres emblématiques de la modernité, voire dans laquelle une science, la botanique, se constitua. L'influence exercée par tous les ouvrages – anciens et modernes – qui parurent en latin joua assurément dans le maintien de cette langue. De plus, les concepts qu'ils véhiculaient n'étaient pas toujours aisément traduisibles dans les vernaculaires alors qu'ils étaient parfaitement clairs pour les doctes qui avaient à les manier. En fait, ces hommes étaient plus entraînés au latin qu'à leur langue maternelle. Rollin, chancelier de l'université de Paris, s'excusait pour la qualité de son français dans son *Traité des études* (1726) ; il aurait mieux fait d'écrire en latin, expliquant qu'il « avait plus d'usage en cette dernière langue, à laquelle il a employé une partie de sa vie, que de la langue française »[16].

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[14] Altieri Biaggi, 'Lingua della scienza', p. 447.

[15] Spallanzani, *Edizione nationale delle opere. Parte prima: Carteggi. Volume quarto*, p. 245 (lettre du 20 juillet 1770 à Girolamo Ferri qui publia l'année suivante un écrit où il exhortait les savants à conserver l'usage du latin dans leurs écrits scientifiques). Sur le latin « courant, limpide et élégant » que Spallanzani parlait pendant ses cours, voir *Parte seconda. Lezioni : Scritti letterari*, t. II, p. 288.

[16] Cité d'après Gusdorf, *Les Sciences humaine*s, p. 304.

Par ailleurs, la connaissance des langues étrangères était limitée – rares, par exemple, sont en Italie les savants connaissant l'anglais[17]. Une telle situation linguistique faisait encore le jeu du latin. Et elle jouait à l'échelle européenne. D'où ces traductions en latin qui continuèrent à paraître pendant tout le siècle. Bien plus, dans un monde où se multipliaient les écrits savants dans les vernaculaires, le latin en vint à être considéré comme un ultime recours. Ce problème n'était pas nouveau : il avait été perçu au XVIIe siècle par un Mersenne ; il était désormais crucial. D'Alembert qui, dans le *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*, approuvait l'usage d'écrire dans sa langue, notait « l'inconvénient » qui en résultait, un inconvénient, qui, prévoyait-il, allait encore augmenter. Et il poursuivait : « Ainsi, avant la fin du XVIIIe siècle, un philosophe qui voudra s'instruire à fond des découvertes de ses prédécesseurs sera contraint de charger sa mémoire de sept à huit langues différentes ; et, après avoir consumé à les apprendre le temps le plus précieux de sa vie, il mourra avant de commencer à s'instruire. L'usage de la langue latine, dont nous avons fait voir le ridicule dans les matières de goût, ne pourrait être que très utile dans les ouvrages de philosophie, dont la clarté et la précision doivent faire tout le mérite, et qui n'ont besoin que d'une langue universelle et de convention »[18]. Enfin, la vie professionnelle faisait encore une part notable au latin. Vallisneri que j'ai mentionné comme professeur d'université était aussi un médecin qui, tout partisan du vernaculaire qu'il fût, rédigea toujours ses consultations en latin, comme d'ailleurs tous ses confrères[19].

Dignité et aptitude

À ces raisons qui plaident assez généralement pour un usage du latin, s'en ajoutent d'autres qui sont particulières à une aire géographique donnée. Tous les vernaculaires n'étaient pas alors aptes véhiculer le savoir. Il y a des différences notables dans l'Europe linguistique du temps. L'italien et le français avaient conquis leur dignité littéraire, depuis plusieurs siècles pour l'italien. Il n'en allait pas de même au début du XVIIIe siècle pour l'allemand, et, pendant toute la période qui nous intéresse ici, le suédois ne fut jamais considéré comme une langue de culture. Lorsqu'au début du XVIIIe siècle, on suggéra à l'université d'Uppsala que quelques cours pourraient être faits en suédois, les professeurs s'y opposèrent vivement. Leur réaction ne doit pas être rapporté à un conservatisme de principe. Leur raison principale était qu'il leur serait plus difficile de faire un cours en suédois et de trouver pour toutes les réalités dont ils avaient à traiter l'équivalent en vernaculaire d'un latin qui disait parfaitement et facilement ce qu'ils avaient à dire[20]. Cela ressort d'ailleurs de la comparaison qu'a faite Hans Helander entre des écrits en latin et des écrits en suédois qui furent produits à l'université d'Uppsala. Le parallèle tourne toujours à l'avantage du texte latin, « stylistiquement raffiné et exquis, caractérisé par de la facilité et de l'élégance » ; les écrits en suédois, eux, témoignent de « la lutte de l'auteur avec sa langue maternelle récalcitrante »[21]. Pour Linné et ses collègues suédois, le latin s'imposait.

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[17] Une étude d'ensemble sur le sujet fait défaut et l'on ne peut se fonder que sur des exemples relevés ici et là. L'anglais ou l'allemand, par exemple, étaient fort peu connus en dehors des territoires mêmes où ils étaient parlés. Une grande partie de la réputation du savant florentin Anton Maria Salvini tint à sa connaissance de ces deux langues (Paoli, 'Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1729)', pp. 505, 518, 527). Muratori abandonna vite un apprentissage peu fructueux de l'anglais (*Epistolario*, t. VI, pp. 2585, 2643, t. VII, p. 2756 [lettres à G. Riva, 24 octobre 1726, 29 mai 1727, 1er avril 1728], p. 2934 [lettre à G.G. Zamboni, 7 septembre 1730]).

[18] Cité d'après l'édition donnée par F. Picavet, pp. 113–14.

[19] Altieri Biaggi, 'Lingua della scienza', p. 447.

Honnêteté et convenance

Des raisons sociales ont aussi contribué à la permanence du latin dans le monde savant en général et universitaire en particulier. Le latin fut utilisé pour dire des réalités qui auraient pu être offensantes. Cette fonction d'euphémisation qui n'était pas nouvelle, trouva une justification supplémentaire avec l'utilisation croissante des vernaculaires. Elle rend compte d'un emploi du latin dans les polémiques. Celles-ci constituent une dimension d'un monde savant volontiers prompt à s'enflammer et elles y eurent parfois une violence aujourd'hui inconnue[22]. Le latin a été utilisé pour dire des choses que l'honnêteté ne permettait pas de dire. Ce que Pierre Bayle explicitait quand il écrivait que les injures lancées en latin étaient moins offensantes qu'en français car « l'emportement est moins blâmable en latin qu'en vulgaire »[23].

L'argument de la convenance fut encore invoqué pour maintenir le latin dans l'enseignement universitaire. Il se donne à voir, par exemple, dans la politique linguistique de l'université de Valladolid. Alors que comme dans l'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, les réformes promouvaient l'emploi du castillan, il fut décidé que, pour « des raisons de pudeur », la médecine, l'anatomie et la chirurgie continueraient à être enseignées en latin[24].

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[20] Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden*, p. 19.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

[22] Je renvoie à mon article 'La République des Lettres : un univers de conflits'.

[23] Bayle, *Nouvelles lettres*, pp. 168–70 (cit. : p. 168).

[24] Torremocha Hernandez, *Ser estudiante en el siglo XVIII*, p. 97.

Le latin permettait aussi de dire des choses qui auraient pu entraîner de fâcheuses conséquences et il fonctionna alors comme autorisant un débat relativement libre. Le théologien luthérien Johann Lorenz von Mosheim souligna dans un texte de 1744 (préface à la 2ᵉ édition de l'*Antibarbarus* de Noltenius) cet avantage : des questions difficiles et sensibles de nature philosophique, scientifique ou religieuse pouvaient être discutées en latin dans la sphère savante sans aucun danger, alors que la discussion des mêmes sujets dans la langue vernaculaire était lourde de risques en répandant des idées chez un peuple peu éduqué qui les comprendrait mal, les déformerait et en ferait un mauvais usage. Cet avantage que Mosheim explicitait, on le voit à l'œuvre dans la Suède universitaire des XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles. Ainsi, lorsque Peter Forsskål, un élève de Linné, voulut donner une version suédoise de sa thèse *De libertate civili* (1759), les autorités s'y opposèrent : il est vrai, reconnurent-elles, que des idées similaires se trouvaient chez d'autres auteurs, mais ceux-ci avaient été assez sages de les publier en latin[25].

Plus important : le latin fut identifié à la dignité même des fonctions professorales. Être professeur et parler latin étaient une seule et même chose ; de sorte que toucher au latin c'était remettre en cause la dignité d'une profession. Cela est parfaitement explicité dans les débats fort vifs qui eurent lieu à Padoue dans les années 1760 et suivantes quand circulèrent des projets de réformes visant à développer la part du vernaculaire dans l'enseignement. Les défenseurs du latin se manifestèrent et, à l'appui de leur position, ils avancèrent des raisons qui ne relevaient pas toutes de l'ordre intellectuel ou linguistique. Pour comprendre pleinement leur argumentation, rappelons qu'à Padoue, les professeurs donnaient, à côté de leur enseignement public, généralement dans les bâtiments de l'université, un enseignement privé qui était parfaitement autorisé, et il le donnait généralement chez eux. Il arriva que l'enseignement public fut dans l'ordre intellectuel de moindre conséquence que l'enseignement privé et qu'il eut d'abord un rôle social, servant le prestige de l'Université et de ses membres. Ce qui comptait alors le plus dans l'enseignement en chaire dit *ad pompam* était la performance oratoire du professeur qui, précisons-le, devait faire son cours en latin et sans notes. Les réformes qui visaient à introduire le vernaculaire dans l'enseignement public suscitèrent une réaction violente des défenseurs du latin qui remontrèrent que c'eût été déroger au décorum de l'Université et de la profession que de parler *ex cathedra* « en habit professoral, le même dialecte que celui que parlait le bas peuple ». Au fil des réformes et des contre-réformes, on en arriva à consacrer un bilinguisme qui non seulement laissa au latin la part majeure dans certains enseignements, mais encore lui conserva le beau rôle, comme il ressort des quelques exemples suivants. Il fut décidé que le professeur parlerait latin dans ses cours, mais que les étudiants, eux, utiliseraient l'italien pour leurs examens. Il fut aussi établi que la plupart des professeurs devaient faire un cours en chaire en latin suivi d'une explication donnée aux étudiants, qui, elle, pouvait être en italien – ce qu'un professeur énonça ainsi : « le même professeur doit après la leçon publique depuis la chaire, faire une école privée à ras de terre, comme s'il descendait de cheval et devenait piéton ». La dignité attachée à la langue ancienne devait être bien forte pour qu'en 1797 le professeur de médecine Leopoldo Caldani, qui avait été chargé du discours d'ouverture de l'année universitaire, renonça à la toge pour un habit noir plus conforme au nouvel ordre politique, mais parla en latin[26].

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[25] Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden*, pp. 25–29.

De multiples raisons furent donc invoquées tout au long du XVIIIe siècle pour maintenir au latin une place dans l'université où les vernaculaires pénétraient en de multiples façons. La qualité du latin comme langue de la science n'est pas le principal argument, loin de là. Ajoutons que dans cette apologétique on fit feu de tout bois. Pour en rester à Padoue, on voit dans les années 1770 les défenseurs du latin mettre en avant l'universalité du latin et le caractère international qu'il garantissait à leur université ; peu importe que la population étudiante fut alors composée à 95% de sujets de la République de Venise et que le reste fut, pour la plupart, de langue italienne[27]. Enfin, ici comme ailleurs, jouèrent l'intime conviction et le conservatisme pour affirmer que le latin était la langue par excellence de l'université ; elle ressort d'une lettre écrite dans le contexte des polémiques padouanes où se lit cette affirmation péremptoire : « on a enseigné, on enseigne, et, j'ose dire, on enseignera toujours en latin »[28].

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[26] Del Negro, 'Pura favella latina', *passim* et pour les situations indiquées, successivement, pp. 136–37, 134.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

CHAPTER 11

Latinitas Goes Native: The Philological Turn and Jacob Grimm's *De desiderio patriae* (1830)

Joep Leerssen

The period 1750–1850 has been described by the great German historian Reinhart Koselleck as the *Sattelzeit*: a watershed between two historical paradigms, in which social, cultural and conceptual changes co-occurred and mutually reinforced each other.[1] Notions of society, time, culture, and the position of the individual in all of these, underwent fundamental alterations. Although Koselleck worked mostly in social and conceptual history, the concept of the *Sattelzeit* is also useful in literary history, to clarify the simultaneous rise of Romanticism, of historicism (also in the writing of history and of literary history) and of the modern philologies.

As I have argued elsewhere, the *Sattelzeit* witnesses the emergence of what we call 'national literatures' in Europe.[2] Whereas the concept of literature in Classicism and the early Enlightenment was predicated on a universalist, transhistorical hypercanon (with Homer, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Cicero, Dante (Fig. 11.1), Camões, Cervantes and Shakespeare all simultaneously present), a 'philological turn' occurs after 1760. Literature (until then almost a *singulare tantum*, like 'milk' or 'guilt', referring to 'the condition of being literate') turned into a countable plural of *literatures*, distinguished either as to their period of production (to begin with, 'ancient' or 'modern') or, crucially, as to the language of their expression. While, in the words of Jorge Luis Borges, the classicist concept, with its undifferentiated notion of literature, had regarded the plurality of peoples and periods as mere incidentals, the new paradigm turned diversity of period and language into its central taxonomic criterion.[3]

At the same time, we see, in the philologies, the rise of the 'modern philologies' alongside the older classical studies. Exemplary transitional figures are Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) and Angelo Mai (1782–1854). Lachmann used his formidable textual scholarship, method, and reputation, acquired in the

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[1] Koselleck: 'Über die Theoriebedürftigkeit der Geschichtswissenschaft'.

[2] Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*.

[3] "Para el concépto clásico, la pluralidad de los tiempos y de los hombres es acesoria. La literatura es siempre una sola." Quoted in my 'Literary Historicism'.

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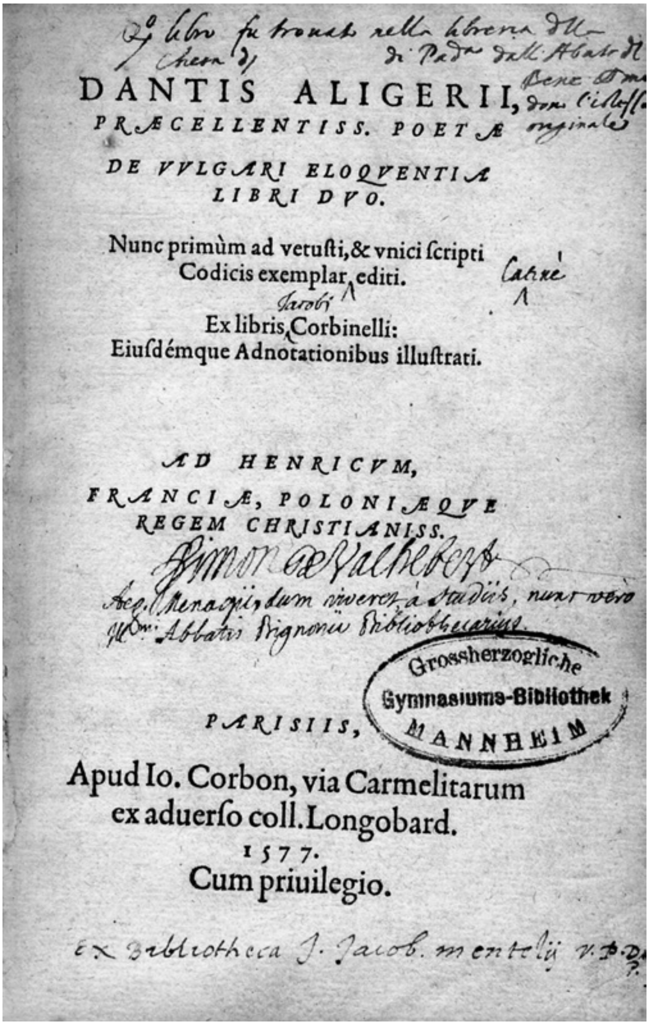

Q.o libro fu trovato nella libreria della Chiesa di ... di Pad.a dall'Abbate di Bene ... originale

DANTIS ALIGERII,
PRÆCELLENTISS. POETÆ
DE VVLGARI ELOQVENTIA
LIBRI DVO.

Nunc primùm ad vetuſti, & vnici ſcripti
Codicis exemplar editi.
Ex libris Iacobi Corbinelli:
Eiuſdémque Adnotationibus illuſtrati.

AD HENRICVM,
FRANCIÆ, POLONIÆQVE
REGEM CHRISTIANISS.

Simon de Valhebert

Acq. Menagii, dum viveret, à Studiis, nunc vero Ill.mi Abbatis Bignonii Bibliothecarius.

Grossherzogliche Gymnasiums-Bibliothek MANNHEIM

PARISIIS,
Apud Io. Corbon, via Carmelitarum
ex aduerſo coll. Longobard.
1577.
Cum priuilegio.

ex Bibliotheca J. Jacob. mentelii

FIGURE 11.1 *Dante Alighieri, Title page of* De vulgari eloquentia, *Paris, 1577 with manuscript notes by Gilles Ménage. University of Mannheim Sch 072/212 (http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/dante1/jpg/bs001.html).*

hard work of classical philology (editions of Lucretius, Propertius, Catullus, the New Testament), to edit and canonize texts which became the 'classics' of vernacular German literature, such as the poetry of Wolfram von Eschenbach and the *Nibelungenlied*.[4] Angelo Mai discovered or rendered legible many classical texts (Cicero, Plautus) by a novel treatment of palimpsests, and became the chief librarian of the Vatican Libraries; but in the process also discovered (in Milan's Ambrosian Library) important fragments of Wulfila's Gothic bible translation, thereby giving a huge boost to Germanic philology.[5]

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[4] Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann.*

As these cases already indicate, the modern vernacular philologies do not arise out of nothing, but should rather be seen as a branching-off or *meiosis* from classical philology. Accordingly, the use of Latin as the idiom of international learning occupies an intriguing position in the *Sattelzeit*. On this position I want to offer a few brief observations.

Latinitas usually connotes a trans-vernacular sphere of learning, the communicative coherence of elite networks: the medieval monasteries, church institutions, universities and academic disciplines. It had maintained itself as the working language of humanists, scholars and scientists from the renaissance throughout the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth century. Medical, legal and theological discourse still used it as a matter of course in the nineteenth century; by now it has shrunk to the liturgical use of the university (diplomas) and the Roman Catholic church.

The *Sattelzeit* also marks a threshold in the history of this *latinitas*. The modern philologies begin to use, by a tacit and implicit logic, their own root language. German grammars are written in German, French literary histories in French. (Only in certain minute philological habits does the Latinity of the discipline leave its fossilized traces: the abbreviations of the apparatus criticus, terms like manuscript, pagina, ibidem, sqq., et al., variae lectiones, anonymus.)

This transition is neither abrupt nor absolute. Certain philological works, certainly if they are of an antiquarian nature and deal with 'dead' languages, are still written in Latin, e.g. Johann Caspar Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica* of 1854. Indeed, Zeuss's Celtic grammar marks the end-point of a century, roughly between 1760 and 1860, which can be considered a transitional phase in which the investigation of vernacular cultures dovetails with the philological learning and the Latinity of established scholarly traditions rooted in the established practices of humanist and seventeenth-century scholarship.

The beginning of that transitional century is marked by the éclat of Macpherson's Ossian.[6] The story is well known: how one James Macpherson, investigating oral literature in the Scottish Highlands, uncovered pieces of Gaelic poetry which were presented to the world as the fragmented remains of the fourth-century bard Ossian. These poems were first published as 'Fragments' (in 1760), and, following further fieldwork and editorial interventions, as reconstituted epic lays (1767). The effect on European literature was one of widespread galvanization. Ossian immediately acquired the stature of a 'Northern Homer' (indeed, that was his current epithet) and in the years 1765–1790 came to be placed alongside Homer as Europe's aboriginal bard and primal genius, mainspring, not of a classical-Mediterranean tradition, but of a romantic-Nordic one.

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[5] For a wider context of this philological Fachgeschichte, see Bluhm, *Die Brüder Grimm*, Hummel, *Philologus auctor*, Ridoux, *Evolution des études médiévales*; Turner, *Philology*.

[6] Cf. Gaskill & Stafford, *From Gaelic to Romantic*; Gaskill, *The Reception of Ossian'*.

Macpherson's procedure was in fact calqued on classical antiquarianism: in the contemporary excavations of Pompeii, many 'fragments' were coming to light, *disiecta membra* crunched by the ruinous passage of time, but capable of being reconstituted into the objects they once were.

The fact that the epic lays of Ossian came to be widely discredited as a fraud, a concoction by the Scottish mountebank Macpherson, did nothing to quell the wave of interest. The question remained an open one, if and how the disjointed texts of contemporary popular culture could be seen as the fragmented remains of primordial epic wholes. That historical relationship between the primal epic and its latter-day fragmented remains was placed on the historical agenda again in 1795 by a famous study, in Latin and in the mode of established classical philology, by F.A. Wolff: *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Wolff accepted the fact that Ossian was no Homer; but, so he continued to cogitate, perhaps Homer himself had been a Macpherson? Thus the Ossianic Scandal morphed into the notorious Homeric Question.

In Wolff's view, Homer may have been, like Macpherson, a collector and redactor of oral, rhapsodic lays that wafted in fluid performativity across the ancient world, and which were spliced together by 'Homer' into a single large-scale whole; much as Macpherson had cobbled together his Ossianic epic from dispersed oral traditions in the Scottish Highlands. That view of Homer went against Homer's established reputation as a heroic 'primitive genius', who conceived and created his epics in a single Big Bang of untaught creativity and mastery (thus for example in William Duff's *Critical observations on writings of the most celebrated original geniuses in poetry* (1770) and in Robert Wood's *An essay on the original genius and writings of Homer*, 1775).[7] The complexities and details of these opposed views of Homer, before and after Wolff, have been a thoroughly discussed topic among classicists, beyond my competence and my present concern. For my purpose, Wolff's importance lies in the fact that he sees epic as something that has crystallized out of, and may fragment back into, disjointed oral practices. That was a crucial working basis for the emerging generation of modern philologists.

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[7] Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius*.

The Grimm Brothers, for instance, felt that many 'trivial' forms of literature, heedlessly disregarded by those who concentrated only on the high literary canon, might have an important antiquarian importance. In the German fairy-tales about elves and gnomes they discerned the debased echoes of an ancient Nordic mythology.[8] The medieval satirical animal-tale of Reynart the Fox they traced back to Frankish roots and beyond that, speculatively, to ancient Germanic or Nordic epic tales about totem-animals.[9] None of that would have been thinkable if it had not been for the *Prolegomena ad Homerum* and the idea of a cultural archeology reaching back beyond the epic emergence of a literate tradition.

Thus the prestigious method of classical antiquarianism and philology was applied to vernacular literatures, with as a result a huge rise in prestige for the non-classical traditions of Northern Europe. We can see how, in the period 1760–1860, scholars with an interest in national antiquities time and again draw on the prestige of classical philology in their investigations. Source editions, which are of enormous importance in the rediscovery of national histories, are (ironically almost) produced under Latin titles, falling back on 'best practices' established by Mabillon's diplomatics and Muratori's benchmark *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*. Examples from various European countries include Martin Bouquet's *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores* (1739 ff.), Jacob Langebek's *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* (1772); Charles O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicarum scriptores veteres* (1815–1826); Erik Gustav Geijer's *Scriptores rerum suecicarum medii aevi* (1818–1825); Alexandre Herculano's *Portugaliae monumenta historica* (1856).

The most famous of these is doubtless the enormous and still ongoing enterprise of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH, begun in 1819).[10] The organization behind it sports a heraldic motto (one of those ritual/liturgical textual outposts where Latin maintains itself), the 'seal' found on all of its publications, stating 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum'; the sacred love of the fatherland inspires us. That invocation of *amor patriae* is a tell-tale indicator of shifting mentalities. It is of course a ciceronian concept, one of the classical virtues. As such it had been often invoked among the 'classical republicans' of the Enlightenment and by that ideological movement which even derived its name from the Roman notion of *patria*: the Patriots.[11]

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[8] Shippey, *The Shadow-Walkers*.

[9] Leerssen, 'A cross-country foxhunt'.

[10] The famous British "Rolls Series" (so named because its nominally responsible editor is the Master of the Rolls) also follows the pattern. Its official title when it was started in 1858 was *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, and it continued a previous venture, started in 1848 in imitation of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, entitled *Monumenta Historiae Britannica*.

Tellingly, the *Sattelzeit*, alongside so many other shifts and transitions, sees a conceptual shift also in the political virtue of *amor patriae* or 'Love of the Fatherland'.[12] For Enlightenment Patriots, 'love of the fatherland' meant essentially the civic virtue of being a useful member of society, and an opponent of arbitrary government, oppression and corruption. As such, semantically and politically, it was opposed to the doctrine of aristocracy, which felt that only the king and his nobility, as the elite portion of society, should be empowered to govern the state. In the United Provinces in the 1780s, Patriots were those who opposed the power of the Prince of Orange, much as in the North American colonies, they were the opposition against the prerogatives of George III, invoking instead the rights of the people in the social contract. In the French Revolution, the two factions, aristocrats and democrats, would face each other with the mutually antagonistic slogans *vive le roi* and *vive la patrie*.[13]

In the nineteenth century, this societal, liberal-democratic notion of *amor patriae* and patriotism tilts ninety degrees. The fatherland whose rights and liberties are being defended are now no longer those of the citizens in the body politic, but those of the native country amidst other countries. The fatherland's freedom is threatened by foreign oppressors and the threat of conquest, the fatherland's identity and cohesion depend not just on a social contract but on transgenerational cultural traditions. Patriotism tilts into nationalism. The *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, by the prestigious German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1808), are usually seen as a 'tipping point' in that process. Thus the motto of the MGH, invoking that 'sacred love of the fatherland', is ambivalent, harking back to a classical virtue and looking forward to a very modern ideology: nationalism. That nationalism is fed by the rediscovery of 'national classics', raising each vernacular to the status of a Major League literature, comparable to the august classics, each with its foundational source-texts much as Greece had its Homer and Rome its Laws of the Twelve Tables and its Aeneid.

One vernacular classic may count as a *locus classicus* for this national pride conducted through Latin: the *Beowulf* epic. Retrieved from oblivion in the late eighteenth century, it was first printed in Copenhagen in 1815 by the Danish scholar Thorkelin, who, tellingly, claimed the ancient text for the Danish tradition, and advanced that claim in the prestigious langue of high learning. The text appeared as a 'Poëma Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica' in his *De*

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[11] Venturi, *Utopia and Reform*; Viroli, *For Love of Country*.

[12] Cf. generally my *National Thought in Europe*.

[13] Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*.

Danorum rebus gestis seculo III. et IV. That Thorkelin read (and of course badly misread) the Old English text as if it were written in an old form of Danish, opened the door for a century of conflicting appropriations, with English, Danish and German scholars all claiming it for their own national tradition.[14]

Thus *latinitas* became implicated, in the twilight days of its bimillennial European life-span, in the rise of vernacular nationalisms. The aforementioned *Grammatica Celtica* of 1854, by Zeuss, provides another telling example. Itself in the high ivory-tower mode of recondite philology, it was nevertheless implicated in the nineteenth-century trends of national thought. To begin with, it based itself on material that had become available as a result of the rise of cultural nationalism, e.g. in Ireland. It relied, not only on the scholarly groundwork of continental linguists, but also on the *Rerum hibernicarum scriptores veteres* by Charles O'Conor, an attempt to salvage and retrieve the lost treasures of Gaelic literature for a contemporary audience. More importantly, it drew on John O'Donovan's Irish Grammar of 1845, a key text in the run-up to the nationalist revival of the Gaelic language.[15] That grammar had been written, in English, by a native speaker of Gaelic who is now heralded as one of the great cultural precursors of Irish nationalism. But not only did Zeuss draw on texts which we must situate in a context of national revivalism; in turn, too his *Grammatica Celtica* was itself eagerly seized upon by cultural nationalists in Ireland to prove that their native language was no mere rustic dialect but an ancient language with philological prestige and importance. Also, the English critic Matthew Arnold cited Zeuss as an example how modern scholarship could inspire a proper appreciation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celtic' mentalities coexisting in the English national character.[16]

The most intriguing 'nodal point' in these developments is Jacob Grimm's inaugural lecture as Professor of German Philology at the University of Göttingen in 1830. Grimm's reputation by 1830 stood very high indeed. Besides publishing the classic collections of fairy tales and legends, he had put German philology on a proper footing by drawing up a revolutionary German grammar on historical-comparative principles and editing important source documents from German legal history. Both he and his brother Wilhelm accepted a call to a professorial chair in Göttingen, where they remained until 1837.[17]

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[14] Shippey and Haarder, *The Critical Heritage: Beowulf*. More generally also Van Hulle and Leerssen, *Editing the Nation's Memory*.

[15] Boyne, *John O'Donovan*; my own *Remembrance and Imagination*.

[16] Cf. my *Remembrance and Imagination* and 'Englishness, Ethnicity and Matthew Arnold'.

Grimm was known as one of the great champions of his native culture, and in all his work evinced a dedication to the greatness and reputation of German letters and traditions—a dedication which is typical of the romantic nationalism of these decades. In his inaugural lecture he delivered an intellectual blueprint of his national commitment; and he delivered it in the language required of such academic rituals: Latin. This text thus provides us with an almost unique intersection in European history: the use of Latin for the purpose of a nationalist manifesto. In the process, that use of Latin becomes itself a fraught point of reflection.

The lecture is entitled *De desiderio patriae*.[18] That *Desiderium patriae* translates as 'homesickness', which already alerts us to one of the crucial turns of thought in this piece. Grimm conflates the notions of desire and love, *desiderium* and *amor*, and he leads us from one to the other deliberately and purposefully. For it is *amor patriae* which presides over the closing sentence:

> necesse est enim in tanta conversione et perturbatione rerum, qua hoc nostro tempore transitus ex recepta consuetudine in novum plane ordinem nobis portenditur, tum vigilantibus tum et dormientibus, *amorem patriae* caste servare, qui si manet, salvi etiam nunc esse possumus, nisi dii immortales nobis irascantur et succenseant. quapropter eo animo simus inter nos, ut decus et libertatem, ad quam nati sumus, impigre tueamur et ut oculi nobis scintillent altiusque corda palpitent, quoties *dulce nomen patriae* proferri audimus.

> For in this time of turmoil and change through which there is forshadowed for us, whether we are aware of it or not, that passage from our traditional ways into a new order, we must hold fast the pure and holy

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[17] For the biographical background, see Martus, *Die Brüder Grimm: Eine Biographie*, esp. 332–335.

[18] The text was printed in the *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterhum und deutsche Literatur* 7 (1881), 320–326, and in Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, 4, pp. 411–18. The full text is also online at www.spinnet.eu > resources > writings, as is the English translation by J.J. Schlicher first published in Voss and Schlicher, 'Jacob Grimm's De Desiderio Patriae'; I quote from his translation. A contemporary German summary ("Auszug aus der Rede über das Heimweh") was printed by the *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen* at the time, doubtless provided by Grimm himself, substantiating the reading of *desiderium patriae* as "homesickness". In the quotation I italicize nationally evocative terms.

> *love of our country*, for while that love lasts we may even yet be saved, unless the anger of heaven itself should be against us. Let us then be united in the common purpose to guard like men the honor and liberty to which we are born, with eyes afire and hearts beating high whenever we hear spoken *the beloved name of our native land*.

Love of the fatherland for Grimm is a non-rational affect which as *desiderium* is a rooted in an instinctive tugging at the heartstrings. It is that love which inspires homesickness when one is abroad, and conversely homesickness, as a universal affect, proves that love of the fatherland is neither a socially inculcated political virtue nor a matter of pragmatic expedience. For that reason Grimm opens his lecture by scornfully rejecting the pragmatic nostrum (often attributed to Erasmus) *ubi bene, ibi patria*.

> Quod communi multorum sermone teritur jactaturque, ubi bene sit, ibi patriam esse, id quidem improbe dici et nequissimum genus levitatis prodere semper mihi visum est.

> The well-worn saying which we hear so often, that where we are well off there is our fatherland, has always appeared to me to express a shallow and mischievous sentiment.

On the contrary, says Grimm: love of the fatherland is wholly unlike the appreciation of useful possessions, it is the non-negotiable bond that links us to those who are close and dear to us and accompanies us throughout our life's experiences. To exemplify this affect of home-love and its concomitant homesickness as it existed in all ages and societies, Grimm does not (as might be expected) use the classic examples such as Ovid's *Tristia*, but lines from the ninth-century German cleric Otfrid von Weissenburg. Grimm interrupts his Ciceronian prose with a quotation in the ancient, incomprehensible Old German, without source reference or translation, as an 'in-joke' to baffle all the non-Germanists in the audience (cf. Wolff *op. cit.*, 333). Translated, the lines read:

> Oh foreign land, you are hard,
> You are very hard indeed, and I tell you so in truth.
> Labour and strife are the lot of those away from their homeland;
> That I have experienced myself.
> Abroad I have never found anything good or pleasant,
> But only a rueful mood, a sorrowful heart, and manifold pains.

The text then reverts to the 'more familiar' Latin…with a degree of irony which becomes apparent later on when Grimm outlines the fortunes of the German language: its primitive flourishings; its etiolation in the later Middle Ages; its restoration, consolidation and standardization achieved by Luther; and its vitiation as a result of the greater prestige of, precisely, Latin. The rise of Latinate learning, Grimm observes, diverted energies and prestige away from the cultivation of the native vernacular; and the Latin that took hold of German intellects was, as he sees it, a debased, scholastic Latin rather than the pure language of classical antiquity.

> […] haud vereor, ut vobis, auditores, displiceam, neque ut sententia mea aliter ac eam nunc aperiam a vobis accipiatur. itaque ingenue profitebor, linguae usum latinae apud majores nostras *desiderio patriae* diu obfuisse et quasi callum obduxisse. […] aegre tamen patimur, primo statim tempore conversionis nostrae ad veram fidem linguam vernaculam a plurimis cultus divini officiis remotam et plane fuisse cohibitam. etenim cum clerici aliive, qui ad rempubl. administrandam adhibebantur, ecclesiastica plerumque institutione a pueris essent imbuti, consuetudo increbruit, ut non solum annales historiaeque latine conscriberentur, sed novae etiam leges *in ista tantum lingua, spreta patria*, conderentur et ingruenti paulatim juri romano omnes fenestrae late paterent. Quo quantum et fere irreparabile damnum *linguae moribus institutisque patriis*, omni paene medio aevo, illatum sit, ita apertum et manifestum est, ut invitus illud dicam. […]
>
> illo enim tempore lingua latina non e fonte suo limpido ac perenni hauriebatur, sed e receptaculis stagnisque aegre stillabat scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, qui ad ingenia excitanda et efformanda minimum valebant […]
>
> omnibus igitur, qui ingenii essent subactioris, sermonem latinum adeo praeferentibus, ut libros in eo componerent, carmina conderent, eoque vel ad epistolas familiares uterentur, qua tandem via lingua nostra, non dico ad eloquentiam, sed ad usum interiorem formari excolique potuit?

> I am <not> afraid that my views may perhaps be displeasing to you and may be understood in a way that I do not intend. So I shall at once freely say that the use of the Latin language by our ancestors long held back the growth of *patriotic feeling*, and, if I may so express myself, covered it with a thick skin. […] we shall nevertheless regret that from the very beginning of our conversion to the true faith our *own native tongue* was not used in the services of the church, and even denied any share in them.

> For since the functionaries of the church and those others who were employed in the service of the State had from boyhood been educated in the church schools, it became customary to write not only chronicles and histories in Latin, but even new laws were always written in *that language, with complete disregard of our own tongue*, so that all doors were wide open for the gradual introduction of Roman law as well. What a great and almost irreparable damage was in this way done to *our native language and to our national character and institutions* during nearly the whole Middle Ages is too evident to require mention. [...] For the Latin of that time was not drawn from a clear and perennial spring, but dipped grudgingly from the standing pool of ecclesiastical writings which offered very little to stimulate and form the mind. [...] While all those who by disposition at all inclined to submit to this state of things preferred the Latin language so much that they wrote their books and composed their songs in it, how could *our own language* be developed and perfected, I will not say to the point of eloquence, but even for private use?

To understand this Latin attack on the use of Latin in its proper context, we should realize that Grimm's argument follows a double track. On the one hand he expounds the instinctive, universal-human nature of the emotional bond one feels with one's *Heimat*, experienced most sharply in the painful feelings of nostalgic homesickness when one is exiled from it, on the other hand he deduces from it a more social effect: the solidarity and bonding between fellow-nationals which is the firmest basis for social cohesion and which is cemented in the shared use of a common language.

In both respects, Grimm was following a line of argument which was of crucial importance in the development of cultural nationalism as it took place in early-nineteenth-century Germany, and in both respects Grimm is echoing (albeit without overt acknowledgement) the ideology outlined by his older contemporaries Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Ermst Moritz Arndt. Both had resisted the values of the French Revolution (transmogrified into napoleonic rule) by redefining the idea of nationality and love of the fatherland.

Whereas 'the nation' for Rousseau and the French constitutionalists was a social contract, and therefore defined primarily in the class-transcending solidarity of all those sharing the framework of a society and economic system, Fichte (in the aforementioned *Reden an die deutsche Nation*) saw the nation primarily in terms of the filiation between generations, and the moral-cultural contract between ancestors and descendants. In thus shifting the notion of nationality from the synchronic to the diachronic, from the civic to the ethnic, Fichte already drew on a moral category to demonstrate his point: the selfless, untaught, unpremeditated, instinctive and universal love between parents and children. This fundamentally human affect manifests an interpersonal and intergenerational solidarity and thus demonstrates (so Fichte argued) that nationality is an inborn pre-given rather than a political doctrine. Thence, Fichte deduced that to maintain an unbroken continuity (i.e. cultural loyalty to one's national identity) from ancestors to descendants was an imperative both moral and political. Hence, again, the Germans, who had stuck to their language and traditions, were a more authentic, and as such a morally superior, nation compared to those who had in the course of history given up their tribal languages and institutions for the heritage of ancient Rome (Roman law, Romance languages). That line of reasoning, from human affects to a chauvinistic proclamation of the moral superiority of the German nation over others, is echoed step by step by Grimm.[19]

The other presiding genius behind Grimm's position is Ernst Moritz Arndt. What is peculiar to Arndt's German propaganda is that he extends the cultural argument to the territory occupied by the state. That, too, is a novelty in the ideological developments of these *Sattelzeit* decades: the territorialization of culture. Arndt argues that the shape and demarcation of a reconstituted Germany should include all lands whose inhabitants historically belonged to the complex of German culture. The most widely effective propaganda medium in which he disseminated this notion was the 1813 song 'Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?' ('What is the German's fatherland?'), which from stanza to stanza surveys the regions from Alps to North Sea, to conclude in each case that the German's fatherland is greater than each separate region. Finally the answer to the title question is given:

> What is the German's fatherland? Name it to me then, at last!
> —As far as the German tongue is heard singing the praise of God in heaven
> That, bold German, you may call yours!

In many political tracts, Arndt used this principle to claim contested borderlands for a greater, inclusive Germany.[20] The Swiss Cantons, the Rhine Valley, Flanders, Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein by this definition were all legitimate German claims. Arndt's mode of substitutive reasoning (the state should be constituted by the constituent nation, that nation is defined by its language, therefore the state's territorial footprint should be the that of the language area) has become deeply ingrained in European nationalism and has caused untold mischief in those many borderlands and transition zones which are linguistically mixed and which have therefore been claimed by competing adjacent states. Be that as it may, we see that Grimm himself follows the same line of substitution. The fatherland is that place where we are embedded in the kinship-solidarity of our fellow-nationals, as manifested in the fact that we speak the same language. And Grimm concludes with a sentence that might almost be a Latin paraphrase of Arndt's 'Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland':

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[19] It should be added that Grimm's historicism also derived from his erstwhile law professor and mentor at Marburg, Friedrich Carl von Savigny.

[20] Cf. my *De bronnen van het vaderland.*

> Linguam vero patriam, quae summum firmamentum reip. est, indefesse colamus perpoliamusque, et quam late illa vigeat, tam late Germaniam extendi non dubitemus.
>
> But in *our own* language which is the surest foundation upon which our state can rest, we must cultivate and perfect, and not doubt [that, as far and wide as it thrives, thus far Germany extends].[21]

In all these respects, Grimm's inaugural lecture is a brilliantly condensed position paper by one of the leading philologists and cultural nationalists of his time. In the climate of 1830, it looks forward, indeed, to a *transitus ex recepta consuetudine in novum ordinem* ('a transition from tradition to a new order') which was to lead, ultimately, to Germany's unification, to the idea of the nation-state and the nation's right to self-determination, and to bitter wars between those nations all vehemently supported by the nativist and xenophobic *amor patriae* of their citizens. That this fateful message should have been proclaimed in the language of Erasmus is one of the great ironies of Europe's cultural history.

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[21] Here, the translation of the closure does not follow that of Schlicher (note 18), who gives: "that the limits of its life and power will also be the boundaries of Germany itself"; that translation abandons verbal fidelity and loses the Arndt echo, which is why I have substituted my own rendition.

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