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NOTE

This essay is the fourth in a set of five articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are “Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity” by William M. Barton and Raf Van Rooy (pp. 1–26), “Roger Ascham’s Latin–Greek Code-Switching: A Philosophical Phenomenon” by Lucy Nicholas (pp. 28–49), “Dialects and Languages in the Poetic Oeuvre of Laurentius Rhodoman (1545–1606)” by Stefan Weise (pp. 51–73) and “Non δίγλωττον aut τρίγλωττον neque πεντάγλωττον, sed παντάγλωττον? The Polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Her (Latin–Greek) Code-Switching” by Pieta Van Beek (pp. 96–117).

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Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Vicente Mariner’s (ca. 1570–1642) Correspondence with Andreas Schott (1552–1629). A Case Study.*

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ABSTRACT

As one of very few authors from seventeenth-century Spain who chose to write in Ancient Greek, the work of Valencian Vicente Mariner (ca. 1570–1642) offers unique perspectives on the attitudes towards the classical languages in contemporary Iberia. Aside from a handful of published volumes, Mariner’s extensive, multilingual oeuvre has been preserved in manuscript form. Mariner’s activity as a translator and Neo-Latin poet has been of interest to scholars from a variety of disciplines since the mid-twentieth century. The author’s deliberations on Ancient Greek, Latin and the vernaculars (Castilian and Valencian/Catalan) have also received the attention of theorists interested in the historical relationships between the classical and modern languages. More recently, Mariner’s poetic production in Greek has become the object of interest within the context of a turn to “Neo-Ancient Greek” literature.

While earlier studies invariably reflect on the relationship between Greek and Latin in the author’s work and his attitudes towards them, Mariner’s bilingual correspondence with humanist friends and colleagues has yet to become the object of focused attention. As granular evidence the choices involved in Mariner’s use of Greek and Latin thanks to its numerous moments of code-switching, this paper offers a close-reading of a letter addressed by Mariner to prominent Belgian scholar Andreas Schott (1552–1629) in April 1617. Alongside considerations of the communicative significance of the numerous switches between Latin and Greek in the document, this contribution also compares Mariner’s use of the languages in his letter with his theoretical reflections on Greek and Latin and their relationship in his poetry.

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1 Introduction

As one of very few authors from seventeenth-century Spain who chose to write in Ancient Greek, the work of Valencian Vicente Mariner (ca. 1570–1642) offers singular perspectives on the learning, uses and perceptions of the classical languages in contemporary Iberia. Aside from a handful of published volumes, Mariner’s extensive, multilingual oeuvre has been preserved predominantly in manuscript form. The heavy codices at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* see his work as a translator of Greek literature from all periods intermingled with a large number of poetic compositions in Latin, Greek and Spanish, shorter theoretical tracts as well as an array of epistles to scholars and dignitaries from across Europe.

Mariner’s work as a translator and Neo-Latin poet has been of interest to scholars from a variety of disciplines since the mid-twentieth century.¹ The author’s deliberations on Ancient Greek, Latin and the vernaculars have also received the attention of theorists interested in the relationships between the classical and modern languages in seventeenth-century Iberia.² More recently, Mariner’s poetic production in Greek has become the object of interest in a selection of studies within the context of the turn to New Ancient Greek literature.³ Whilst these contributions invariably reflect on the relationship between Greek and Latin in the author’s work, Mariner’s bilingual correspondence with humanist friends and colleagues across Europe has yet to become the object of focused attention. As granular evidence of the choices involved in Mariner’s use of Greek and Latin thanks to their numerous moments of code-switching, these letters offer untapped data on the Valencian’s attitudes towards the classical languages and their relationship.

This paper will focus in the first place on Mariner’s Latin–Greek code-switching in a letter to translator and editor Andreas Schott SJ (1552–1629) preserved in manuscript at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, Madrid, MS 9813. As one of the earliest, longest and representative examples of their written exchange, the letter makes a particularly rich source for a study of the relationship between the two classical languages in Mariner’s corpus. Alongside considerations of the communicative significance of the numerous switches between Latin and Greek in the letter, this contribution will also compare Mariner’s use of the languages in his epistle with his theoretical reflections on Greek and Latin and their relationship in his poetry.

¹ The compilation of Mariner’s works was made by Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*.

² Mariner’s *Declamatio hispano sermone confecta, qua linguarum peritia excutitur*, for example, was first listed in Cisneros, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis*, 526 and received dedicated attention in Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 3.29–34.

³ See, for example, the overview of Iberian production in Pontani, “Iberia.”

2 The author and his work

Vicente Mariner (Vicent Mariner d’Alagó[n], Vicentius Marinerius Valentinus) was a native of Valencia. Despite careful investigation by previous scholars, his precise date of birth remains uncertain. From the data available a date around 1570 seems most likely.⁴ As the son of merchant family from Valencia’s middle class, Mariner entered the city’s university and studied in the Faculty of Arts before joining the Theological Faculty and receiving holy orders. Whilst at the *Studi general* de Valencia, then established as a centre of Hellenic studies in the Iberian Peninsula,⁵ Mariner studied Greek under local clergyman Juan Míngues.⁶ Mariner included praise of his teacher’s role in his education and Valencia’s intellectual scene in one of his later and very rarely published works.⁷

Mariner moved to the court in Madrid in 1610, where he was employed as preceptor for the household of Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma (1553–1625), with whom he was already in contact in Valencia.⁸ As part of his work as a scholar and teacher among the Spanish nobility, Mariner next served as librarian from 1617 onwards for the notable collection of Fernando Afán de Ribera y Téllez-Girón (1583–1637), which was kept at the Casa de Pilatos in Seville. The letter at the heart of this article contains an extended description of the impressive physical attributes of the library, which has since been lost.⁹ A good deal of Mariner’s epigrammatic poetry—among the author’s preferred genres—is dedicated to members of the noble families whose favour he enjoyed throughout his career. Preserved in BNE Madrid MS 9813 are bilingual Greek and Latin poems addressed by Mariner to Aragonese humanist Martín Abarca de Bolea y Castro (1555–ca.1616), for example, Valencian legal expert Francisco Jerónimo de León y Guimerá (died 1632) and, of course, to his primary employer during his first years in Madrid Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas.¹⁰

By 1620, Mariner already had his eye on a position in the library of El Escorial under Philip IV. He was eventually awarded a post as librarian of manuscripts by the Consejo de la Cámara in 1633. Mariner also applied for the job of the Spanish crown’s official chronicler at around the same time, but this was not to be. In preparation for his next application for the same role in 1639, our author had composed his *Historia de rebus gestis Ferdinandi et Isabellae regum Catholicorum*, a poem of over 24,000 hexameter lines (BNE Madrid MS 9800), but he was once

⁴ See De la Fuente Santo and Serrano Cueto, *Vicente Mariner: Batracomiomaquia e Himnos homéricos*, xviii.

⁵ Gil Fernández, “La enseñanza universitaria,” 33–34.

⁶ Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 3.21.

⁷ Mariner de Alagón, *Opera omnia*, 527–28.

⁸ De la Fuente Santo, “Vicente Mariner,” accessed June 1, 2023, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/59501/vicente-mariner-de-alagon>.

⁹ On the owner of this grand house and the building’s history see Sánchez González, *La Casa de Pilatos*.

¹⁰ These epigrams are presented first in Greek with a Latin “interpretatio” (“version”) afterwards in Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9813 fols. 579r; 562r; 443r respectively.

again unsuccessful.¹¹ Mariner died in 1642 and was buried in El Convento de Trinitarios Descalzos in Madrid on 1st May 1642.¹²

Aside from the nearly nine-hundred-page *Opera omnia, poetica et oratoria* published in 1633,¹³ and a scattered handful of other works,¹⁴ the majority of Vicente Mariner's immense oeuvre has survived in manuscript form since its composition. That his failed efforts to have his works published caused considerable disquiet to Mariner is obvious from his correspondence with a wide range of fellow humanists both within and outside of the peninsula.¹⁵ In a letter of 1627 to Dutch humanist and hellenist Johannes Meursius (1579–1639), a figure relevant for the context of the letter to Andreas Schott that follows, Mariner complained explicitly, for example, about the lack of publishing opportunities for his work in Spain. He included a list of no less than sixteen manuscripts of late-antique, patristic and Byzantine Greek texts on which he was keen to begin translation work, but for which he feared there was little hope for publication, especially in Spain. Mariner remarked to Meursius on the very varied opportunities for bringing this type of work to the press depending on one's geographical location in the following words: "His annis praeteritis delectatus fui in interpretandis quibusdam auctoribus graecis, sed quia in Hispania typographiae maxima inopia est excudi non potuerunt. Tu felix, qui in Batavicis degis campis, qui te immortalem tanta typorum segete reddiderunt."¹⁶

Further pointed evidence of Mariner's frustration over the lack of uptake of his work among publishers can be found in one of the author's summaries of his extensive written production. Towards the end of his life, Mariner included the following overview in a letter to Francisco de Daza, secretary of the Duke of Lerma in 1636. He wrote:

[...] que puedo mostrar que he compuesto más de trescientos y cincuenta mil versos latinos y griegos y que tengo escritos 42 panegyricos en verso latino, que el menor tiene más de 1.500 versos, y que he compuesto treinta y ocho himnos a varios pensamientos divinos en verso hexámetro latino, que el que tiene menos viene a tener más de 500 versos latinos, porque los que tengo escritos en versos lyricos, sáphicos, jámbicos, asclepiadeos y en otras

¹¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9800.

¹² The date (1636) given by Mariner's first bio- and bibliographer, Ximeno, (*Escritores del Reyno de Valencia* 1747, 1.334) has long been recognised as incorrect. For the irrefutable evidence for 1642, see De la Fuente Santo, "Vicente Mariner," accessed June 1, 2023, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/59501/vicente-mariner-de-alagon>.

¹³ Mariner de Alagón, *Opera omnia*.

¹⁴ Serrano Caldero, "Las obras del humanista," 505.

¹⁵ On the international scene, Mariner exchanged letters with Andreas Schott, Daniel Heinsius, Denis Pétau and Scipione Cobelluzzi, chief archivist of the Vatican Secret Archives, to name but four: De la Fuente Santo, "Vicente Mariner," accessed June 1, 2023, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/59501/vicente-mariner-de-alagon>. For an overview of Mariner's connections to these scholars see García de Paso Carrasco and Rodríguez Herrera, *Vicente Mariner y sus traducciones*.

¹⁶ "In these past years, I had enjoyed translating certain Greek authors, but as there is a great scarcity of printing opportunity in Spain, they could not be printed. You are fortunate to live in the Dutch provinces, which have rendered you immortal with their immense crop of print fonts." Meursius, *Opera omnia*, 11.474 (Mariner–Meursius 27.06.1627).

especies no tienen número. También tengo compuestos más de 8.000 epigramas, latinos y griegos y trece disertaciones latinas a varias sentencias de filósofos, oraciones, 17 prela-ciones, 17 declamaciones, 9 églogas militares, 15 diálogos y epístolas muchas y obras sueltas muchas, que todo esto junto viene a ser más de 350 manos de papel con letra muy menuda y apretada, como puedo mostrallas todas luego.¹⁷

Mariner emphasises the extent of his written production through his insistence on the formal, thematic and linguistic variety of his oeuvre. He carefully lists the genres to which his compositions contribute and is sure to mention concrete figures—lest there be any doubt over his productivity—wherever he can. The fact that his work remained in handwritten form is, moreover, highlighted in the final clauses of Mariner's frustrated litany, where the authenticity of his claims is once more underlined in his offer to show the manuscripts to anyone interested.

For later scholars, Mariner's extensive output and the fact that the larger part remained in manuscript has meant that the task of cataloguing his work has represented a work in its own right. Lists of Mariner's manuscript compositions, translations and surviving correspondence have been compiled since the century after his death. The latest were still being published in the late 1990s.¹⁸ A rise in interest in the fields of Neo-Latin studies and Translation Studies within the context of early modern philology more generally has brought increasing interest to Mariner's works over the last decades: his tireless work as a translator of classical, late-antique and mediaeval authors (especially of Greek into Latin), of vernacular literature (Castilian and Catalan into Latin), and his relationship with the ruling elites and literary figures of his time have been areas of particular interest.¹⁹

¹⁷ "[...] I can show that I have composed more than three hundred and fifty thousand Latin and Greek verses, and that I have written 42 panegyrics in Latin verse, the least of which has more than 1,500 verses, and that I have composed thirty-eight hymns on various divine thoughts in Latin hexameter verse, the smallest of which comes to more than 500 Latin verses, because those I have written in lyrical, sapphic, iambic, asclepiadic, and other forms have no number. I have also composed more than 8,000 epigrams, Latin and Greek, and thirteen Latin dissertations to various sentences of the philosophers, prayers, 17 prelations, 17 declamations, 9 military eclogues, 15 dialogues and many epistles and many loose works, which all together amount to more than 350 quires of paper with very small and tight handwriting, as I can show you all anon." This text is recorded under the title *Declamatio hispano sermone confecta, qua linguarum peritia excutitur, et mirabiles in latino eloquio operationes, quas ex tempore, et in Graeca facundia et difficultate absolvere et promptissimo exequi polliceor exponuntur* in Iriarte y Cisneros, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis*, 526 and cited at length in Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 3.29–34. The orthography and punctuation used here reproduce that of Menéndez Pelayo's quotation. An account of the work in the context of Catalan Baroque poetical theory was given recently in Solervicens, *La poètica del Barroc*, 80–81.

¹⁸ The first lists of his works were made by Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia* and De Iriarte, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis* as we have seen. After Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores* inventories of various sorts have been made by Serrano Caldero, "Las obras del humanista;" De Andrés, "Cronología de las obras" and Rodríguez Herrera, "Notas para un catálogo."

¹⁹ For the sake of space, I mention here only recent examples of studies in these areas. An extensive and up-to-date bibliography is available in De la Fuente Santo, "Vicente Mariner," accessed June 1, 2023 <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/59501/vicente-mariner-de-alagon>. For Mariner's translations of Greek into Latin see, for example, García de Paso Carrasco y Rodríguez Herrera, *Vicente Mariner y sus traducciones* and De la Fuente Santo and Serrano Cueto, *Vicente Mariner: Batracomiomaquia*. For vernacular literature (of Castilian and Catalan into Latin), see Serrano Cueto, "La Fábula de Faetón" and Coronel Ramos, *L'Ausiàs March llatí*. For Mariner's relationship with the ruling elites of his day see, e.g., Bravo de

Alongside these translations into Latin or Spanish of everything from Homer and Hesiod, through Philostratus, Arrian and Nonnus to Johannes Tzetzes, Eustathius of Thessalonica and later Ausiàs March and Juan de Tassis, conde de Villamediana,²⁰ Mariner, described as “el helenista más fecundo que España ha producido”,²¹ wrote an extensive amount of original material in Latin, Ancient Greek and Castilian. This original material, however, preserved in 37 heavy, autograph manuscripts at the BNE, still remains largely unstudied.²² It includes compositions in a variety of forms from epigrams to epic poetry, scholarly notes to interpretative tracts and letters of all shapes and sizes. I will pass over his purely Neo-Latin and Spanish works—mentioning here only an epyllion on bullfighting, the *Boumachopaegnion*²³—to come directly to the more specific context of Mariner’s Greek and bilingual material of interest for this study.

Mariner’s use of Ancient Greek is primarily to be observed in his poetry and letters. Only a handful of Mariner’s original Greek verse compositions have been studied to date, either as part of his epigrammatic production more generally,²⁴ as exemplary of the type of Ancient Greek verse being produced on the Iberian Peninsula in this period,²⁵ or as part of an anthology of Mariner’s œuvre as a whole.²⁶ Mariner’s poetry in Greek is almost always accompanied by Latin (and/or Spanish) poetic translation—*interpretationes* or *versiones* as he calls them—and his multilingual method of composition was the topic of a recent case-study.²⁷ The Valencian’s predominantly Latin epistolary output has also received a modicum of attention for its historical or literary information,²⁸ and as part of the anthology of his immense written corpus mentioned above.²⁹ But Mariner’s linguistic choices in his letters has not yet been the subject of detailed attention to date. By means of a case-study based on Mariner’s Greek and Latin letter to the Flemish Jesuit Andreas Schott (1552–1629) written on the 25th April 1617, this article aims to take a step towards filling this gap.

Laguna Romeros, *Gusmaneydos libri quinque* and on his contact with the literary stars of his time García de Paso Carrasco and Rodríguez Herrera, “Vicente Mariner y una polémica.”

²⁰ These translations are preserved in Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MSS 11415, 9867, 9811, 9794, 9859–62, 9801 and 9802 respectively.

²¹ “Spain’s most productive hellenist”, Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 2.207.

²² A recent example of a study that does indeed pay significant attention to Mariner’s own manuscript works, albeit only in translation, is Rodríguez Herrera y García de Paso Carrasco, *Vicente Mariner. Breve antología*.

²³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MSS 9803 and 9972. For a helpful list of works ordered by language, translations and originals see Serrano Caldero, “Las obras del humanista.” Note that additions have been made to this list since its publication.

²⁴ Baraguán Tinxeront, *Vicente Mariner epigramas*.

²⁵ Pontani, “Iberia.”

²⁶ García de Paso Carrasco y Rodríguez Herrera, *Vicente Mariner. Breve antología*.

²⁷ Barton “Un epigrama trilingüe.”

²⁸ Quantin, “European Geography of Patristic Scholarship,” 315–18; Solervicens, *La poètica del Barroc*, 80–81.

²⁹ García de Paso Carrasco y Rodríguez Herrera, *Vicente Mariner. Breve antología*.

3 BNE Madrid MS 9813 657r–662r: a bilingual letter to Andreas Schott

A corpus of Mariner's surviving letters was outlined in an article by Rodríguez Herrera for the *Cuadernos de filología clásica* in 1995.³⁰ It contains only letters written by Mariner himself. (Mariner's manuscript legacy preserves only one piece of correspondence to rather than by him, a letter from his former teacher, Juan Míngues.)³¹ At the end of this preliminary catalogue, Rodríguez Herrera was able to draw a series of initial conclusions about the Valencian's correspondence.³² A brief summary of these conclusions offers a useful introduction to Mariner's epistolary practice: Mariner's preferred language for letter-writing was predominantly Latin with 75% of his surviving letters written exclusively in the language. The remaining 25% is made up of 8 bilingual (Greek and Latin) letters, 7 purely Greek letters, 2 Greek letters accompanied by a Latin translation, 1 Greek letter with a translation into both Latin and Castilian, and finally a single, solely Castilian letter. Taking the Greek production as a whole, then, it makes up almost entirely the remaining 25% of the epistolary corpus. The Greek letters (or letters including some Greek) are addressed predominantly to fellow scholars who also deal with Greek authors in their work. As we will see in the context of the case-study letter below, these scholars worked primarily with patristic Greek authors. Mariner wrote the vast majority of his letters in prose, but 8 surviving examples include sections of poetry, and a further 9 are written entirely in verse. Of the list of Mariner's 18 known correspondents, the humanist Andreas Schott was the addressee of almost precisely a third of the surviving epistles. 17 letters addressed to anonymous recipients have also been preserved.

Addressed to Schott, composed in a mixture of Greek and Latin, and predominantly in prose with two short sections of verse, BNE Madrid MS 9813 657r–662r (henceforth Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617) represents, in a single letter, many of the salient features of Mariner's epistolary corpus. Of the letters from Mariner to Schott for which the date is established, Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 belongs to the earlier phase of the two men's correspondence. Mariner first wrote to Schott (in Latin) in August 1615.³³ This was followed by three letters in 1617, of which Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 is the second. The first of this year's triad was a principally Latin letter with one Greek phrase in its closing salutation, sent on 23rd January.³⁴ The third, sent on 23rd November, was in a mixture of Latin and Greek.³⁵ At this early stage of Mariner and Schott's extended correspondence

³⁰ Rodríguez Herrera, "Notas para un catálogo." The online database of Lazure and Murgu with Johnson, *Spanish Republic of Letters* (SRL), maintained at the University of Windsor, CA, accessed October 10, 2023, <https://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/srl/letters> lists 14 letters by Mariner. The present letter (BNE Madrid MS 9813 657r–662r) is not among them.

³¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, 1009–10. (This manuscript is numbered by page in the author's hand. In references to Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, pages are therefore given in place of folia.)

³² Rodríguez Herrera, "Notas para un catálogo," 204.

³³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, 158–59 (Mariner–Schott 04.08.1615).

³⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9806, fols. 848r–51r (Mariner–Schott 10.02.1617).

³⁵ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9813, fols. 673r–74v (Mariner–Schott 23.11.1617).

spanning nearly a decade,³⁶ the Valencian’s primary aim was ostensibly to advertise his skills in the classical languages, and particularly in Greek, to the older and more experienced Schott. In concrete terms, Mariner is keen to find opportunities to publish his work as a translator of late antique and Byzantine Greek texts. In his first letter to Schott (04.08.1615),³⁷ Mariner addresses the possibility of bringing his work to the attention of Balthasar I Moretus (1574–1641), head of the *Officina Plantiniana* from 1610. Mariner leaves the ultimate judgement over the quality of his work to his correspondent, but his words nonetheless make emphatically clear the importance of publication for the Valencian’s scholarly ambitions: “Tamen si indignum potius tanto hunc judicas, non typis sed igni trade eas – est enim mea fortuna, hoc est meum fatum!”³⁸ The letters that Mariner also wrote to Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), Erycius Putaneus (1574–1646) and Johannes Meursius (1579–1639), for example, in these years all form part of the same effort undertaken by Mariner to gain a standing in the international philological scene through publication. In particular, Mariner’s contact with this last figure, Johannes Meursius, which began with a Greek letter in 1617,³⁹ is significant for the context of Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617.⁴⁰ Meursius was also a friend and correspondent of Schott. In the letters between these two scholars from the Low Countries, Mariner’s name crops up not infrequently in the period 1617 to ca. 1625.⁴¹ As becomes clear in the following discussion of Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617, this triangle of epistolary exchange allows us useful insight into the context and interpretation of the Latin–Greek letter at the heart of this paper.

Already in his opening letters to Schott and Meursius,⁴² Mariner was canvassing for texts and opportunities to put his skills as a translator from Greek on display and to have the results of his work published. He began sending samples of his work to the two men in the hope of gaining their approval for his translations. This was no easy task: as Mariner’s exchange with Schott and Meursius continued, it became increasingly clear that the Valencian’s humility in his dealings with these authoritative philologists was not merely the product of a feigned modesty in his letters. As one of Mariner’s confessions about his apprehension over the opinions of Schott and Meursius on his translations makes explicit, the two men were difficult to please: “Ad doctissimum Andream Schottum

³⁶ Rodríguez Herrera, “Notas para un catálogo,” 204.

³⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, 158–59 (Mariner–Schott 04.08.1615).

³⁸ “However, if you rather judge this [book] so unworthy, do not print but consign to the fire – for that is my fortune, this is my destiny!” Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, 158 (Mariner–Schott 04.08.1615).

³⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9813 fols. 667r–68v (Mariner–Meursius 08.10.1617).

⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9813 fols. 667r–68v (Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617)

⁴¹ Lazure’s and Murgu’s *SLR* database, accessed October 10, 2023, <https://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/srl/letters> contains six letters between Schott and Meursius which make mention of Mariner and his work: They are preserved in Meursius, *Opera omnia*, as follows: 11.302–303 (Schott–Meursius 06.01.1618); 11.310–311 (Schott–Meursius 15.04.1618); 11.317 (Schott–Meursius 07/08.1618); 11.317–318 (Schott–Meursius 07/08.1618 [2]); 11.361–362 (Schott–Meursius 24.08.1620); 11.366 Schott–Meursius 09/12.1621).

⁴² Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, 158–19 and Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9813, fols. 667r–668v (Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617); (Mariner–Meursius 08.10.1617).

exemplaria misi, illius rigidam timeo censuram, tuum pertimesco iudicium; meos irritos fere iam despicio conatus, et orsus meos nihili facio si tantis viris haec proba videri nequeunt."⁴³

By the beginning of 1617, Mariner mentioned in a letter to Schott that he had got hold of the *Synopsis of Histories* of Johannes Skylitzes 'Κουροπαλάτης' (Curopalates), which he was considering translating into Latin.⁴⁴ As we learn in Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617, Schott advised him not to undertake this work. A translation had been made by Johannes Baptista Gabius (died 1590) already in 1570.⁴⁵ Indeed, Schott also reports in a short letter to Meursius that he had made Mariner aware of the translation in an attempt to dissuade the Valencian from wasting his time, "[Docui] ... non necesse ergo esse in vertendo operam ponere."⁴⁶ By 1617 Mariner had instead decided to translate into Latin the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid, which had been edited by Meursius in 1617.⁴⁷ Two years later, in 1619, Mariner's translation was finished and he sent the piece to Schott.⁴⁸ We learn from the correspondence between Schott and Meursius that Schott in particular did not make much of Mariner's work:

Respondit tuis literis ex Hiberia Vincentius Marinerius misitque Latine redditas utcumque Epistolas Theophylacti Bulgarorum Episcopi. Sed ego neque istic evulgandas Latine censeo non sine magno utriusque periculo existimationis neque in sacris locis vertendis (ut est Ecclesiasticus ille Scriptor qui et in Prophetas et Evangelia conscripserit) satis exercitatum, ut tironem deprehendi: ἀλλὰ συγγνώμη πρωτοπέριωρ debeat.⁴⁹

To Schott's taste, the Valencian's translated passages of Scripture were not adequate for the style required when dealing with patristic texts.⁵⁰ By 1622, however, probably because he had received nothing better, Schott published Mariner's translation in Bigne's *Magna Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*.⁵¹ Here, Schott included his own name in the title of Mariner's translation, which ran *Theophylacti*

⁴³ "I have sent samples to the learned Andreas Schott, whose rigid criticism I fear, and I am very frightened of your judgement; I now almost despise my futile attempts, and I make my undertakings worthless if these honest efforts cannot be judged good by such men." Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9806, fol. 851 (Mariner–Meursius 08.02.1619).

⁴⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9806, fols. 848r–851r (Mariner–Schott 10.02.1617).

⁴⁵ Skylitzes [Curopalates], *Synopsis*, 1570.

⁴⁶ "[I told him] ... it was thus not necessary to put any effort into translating." Meursius, *Opera omnia*, 11.317 (Schott–Meursius *s.d.*)

⁴⁷ Theophylact of Ohrid, *Epistles*, 1617.

⁴⁸ Meursius, *Opera omnia*, 11.331–32 (Mariner–Meursius 08.02.1619). A copy of Mariner's translation survives in Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9971, fols. 400r–69r.

⁴⁹ "Vicente Mariner has answered your letters from Iberia, and has sent the Letters of Theophylact, Bishop of the Bulgars, rendered into Latin. But I do not think that the letters should be published in Latin like this without great danger to the reputation of both of you, nor do I think that he [Mariner] is sufficiently trained in the sacred passages that should be translated (as [Theophylact] was a churchman, who wrote on both in the prophets and the Gospels) so I have revealed him [Mariner] as a beginner—but he is owed the novice's pardon." Meursius, *Opera omnia*, 11.336–37 (Schott–Meursius 28.5.1619).

⁵⁰ For a good discussion of this issue and an overview of discussion over Mariner's style (including the Valencian's own reflections) see Quantin, "European Geography of Patristic Scholarship," 317–18, particularly n. 85.

⁵¹ Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, 15.245–74.

Archiepiscopi Bulgariae Epistolae, Vincentio Marinerio Valentino interprete, nunc primum a P. Andrea Schotto S. I. editae. On the basis of this title, one might expect that Schott had revised the problematic scriptural passages in Mariner’s translation mentioned in the letter to Meursius quoted above.⁵² Preliminary comparison of the printed text with the manuscript of Mariner’s translation in Madrid does not, however, reveal any such intervention on the part of Schott.⁵³ As we now turn to Mariner’s use of Latin and Greek in his letter to Schott, these details of the two scholar’s personal and professional relationship will serve as a useful context in which to assess Mariner’s linguistic choices.

4 An overview of Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617[†]

After the bilingual line of salutation “Doctissimo Andrea Schotto. Χαίρειν” (“To the most learned Andreas Schott. Greetings”), Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 begins with a paragraph in Greek expressing Mariner’s ardent praise for Schott and his learning. The Valencian begins emphatically: Φείδομαι τῶν ρημάτων, σοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ μέγεθος ἐμὲ ἔχει.⁵⁴ This opening Greek paragraph is followed by a section in Latin, in which Mariner’s use of formal stylistic features continues to underline his eulogistic tone. He addresses, for example, his position as a mere student to Schott’s authority in a sentence which makes use of mirrored word order (“amore in te ... in te ingenio”) and the contrasting verbal prefixes of de- and ef-ficere: “Quare ut quantum amore in te possum, sic etiam ne in te ingenio deficiam, efficiam.”⁵⁵ Mariner next turns to work matters, for which he continues first in Latin. Here, Mariner admits that he did not know about Gabius’ translation of Skylitzes (Curopalates) but says he does not regret having started his translation despite having got through half of the work already quite quickly (“Nondum enim erat mihi id notum, et fere iam tanti dimidium voluminis, haud longo temporis spatio, libero pede decurreram.”)⁵⁶

Having admitted his oversight on the issue of the Skylitzes translation, Mariner now switches his focus to better news about his new employment: we learn, still principally in Latin, that Mariner has been offered a job as an instructor and library

⁵² For this suggestion see Quantin “European Geography of Patristic Scholarship,” 317–18, n. 86.

⁵³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9971 fols. 400r–69r.

[†] An edition of the full text of the letter, with an English translation and brief explanatory notes is available in Barton, “On Translations of Byzantine Greek.”

⁵⁴ “I shrink from my words, since your greatness in wisdom holds me back.” In what follows, transcriptions of Mariner’s Ancient Greek and Latin have been made diplomatically, except for the expansion of ligatures and abbreviations and the capitalisation of the first word in the sentence. The English translations are the present author’s own. Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Matritensis*, MS 9807, fol. 657r (Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617). For further references to Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 in the discussion below only the folio number will be given for the sake of economy.

⁵⁵ “For that reason, whatever I can do in my love for you, you will also do to ensure that I do not fail you in my talent.”

⁵⁶ “That [the work of Gabius] was not yet known to me and I had hastened—quick march—through almost half of the sizeable volume already in a short period of time,” fol. 658r.

curator for Fernando de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá.⁵⁷ Mariner goes on to paint for Schott a striking verbal image of the beautiful physical character of library and its wealth of books. As part of his description Mariner switches once again briefly from Latin to Greek: "Viginti fere voluminum millia continent. Μέγιστον μέντοι τοῦτο στράτευμα καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐπιτήδειον."⁵⁸

In the next section of the letter, again predominantly in Latin, Mariner returns to the eulogistic tone of his opening paragraph. He promises Schott, in an intimate guarantee of his intentions supported by a switch into Greek, that he will fill the shelves with all of the Schott's publications: "Tuos, mi Schotte libros, [...] ad ipsum Apollinis latus, πίστευε ἔμοιγε, collocabo."⁵⁹ And on reporting to Schott the immense amount of work and responsibility the new job will bring him, Mariner imagines having a portrait of Schott mounted in the library so that the Valencian is never alone in his "battle" against the hordes of unstudied texts before him:

At si ita facile os tuum istud Hieronymum, tuamque serenam Musis coctam canitiem, mihi aliquis Apelles depingeret, medium inter chorum, te quasi istam tuo aspectu moderantem orchestram constituerem.⁶⁰

This leads Mariner to cite four hexameter lines from Homer's *Iliad* 19 in which Achilles announces his return to battle after being consoled by his mother Thetis.⁶¹ In the context of the letter, these Homeric lines serve to underline the importance of Schott for Mariner as a model and inspiration in his scholarly work and the 'battle against ignorance'.

Having introduced a poetic strain to his letter in the citation of Homer, Mariner now turns to poetry himself in his continued praise of his addressee. There comes first a two-line riff on Homer, *Iliad* 2.248–249, in Greek, in which Mariner turns Odysseus' angry words to Thersites into a eulogy of Schott's philological skills:

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σέο φημὶ τελειότερον βροτὸν ἄλλον
ἔμμεναι, ὅσοι ἄμ' εἰς Μούσας ἐπὶ γράμμασιν ἦλθον.⁶²

⁵⁷ Fol. 658r. For information on this figure and his library, see the note 6 above in the section on Mariner's life and work above.

⁵⁸ "They [the shelves of the library] contain nearly twenty thousand volumes. That is a very large army [of books] and necessary against the barbarians [...]", fol. 658v.

⁵⁹ "I will place your books, dear Schott, [...] right next to Apollo, believe me," fol. 659r.

⁶⁰ "But if someone like Apelles were to effortlessly paint your face, so Jerome-like, and your serene, Muse-tinged grey hair, I would position you in the midst of the choir as if you were directing that orchestra [of books] with your very presence," fol. 659r–v.

⁶¹ Homer, *Iliad*, 19.67–70.

⁶² "For I do not declare that there is any other mortal / more perfect than you, among those who have come to the Muses for the sake of letters." The lines of the *Iliad* which Mariner adapts here appear as follows in modern editions: Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σέο φημὶ χερειότερον βροτὸν ἄλλον / ἔμμεναι, ὅσοι ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδης ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον, "For I think that there is no mortal lower in rank than you amongst those who came beneath Ilion with the Atreides," fol. 660v.

The stark change in tone from Odysseus’ originally harsh verdict on Thersites to Mariner’s shining opinion of Schott is striking. It is not at first-sight clear that the Valencian’s addressee would particularly appreciate such an obvious comparison to a lame and vulgar Greek soldier of Homeric epic. But Mariner’s reference to and variation on Homer’s lines perhaps gained some of its force from precisely the diametric opposition of Odysseus’ hate and his own admiration. As if this was not enough, Mariner next introduces—by means of the intervention of the Muse Calliope—a twelve-line Latin epigram which compares Schott’s service to literature to that of glasses to the eyes. The epigram begins by making its central conceit explicit:

Ut vitrum qui oculis, ut cernat verius, aptat
Sic Schottum doctis magnus Apollo dedit.⁶³

After these poetic *intermezzi* and a few lines of explanatory prose after each poem, Mariner now turns to closing his letter. The tone of praise—dominant throughout the letter—is now directed at concrete examples of Schott’s work as a translator. Here Mariner switches repeatedly between Latin and Greek inspired by the language and titles of the works in question. For example, Mariner addresses Schott’s work on Basil of Caesarea as follows: “D. Basiliūm tuum, atque ideo verius Βασίλειον, καὶ πάσης βασιλεύοντα σοφίας, iam habeo, qui ut dicam quod sentio, tua iam accessione solum magnum dici debet.”⁶⁴ For the final paragraph of his letter, Mariner switches back to Greek entirely for an elaborate expansion on an image of the two scholars’ imagined intimacy:

Ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦτο εἶναι προστίθημι ἵνα σφόδρα ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ κατεχώμεθα, ὡς δῆθεν μὴ ἐν σαρκί,
ἢ μὲν τάχα καταφθέρεται, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, αὐτὴ δ’ ἀφθίτος, καὶ ἀκλήρατος [...] ⁶⁵

5 The functions of Latin-Greek code-switching in Mariner-Schott 25.4.1617

The moments of code-switching in Mariner-Schott 25.4.1617 reveal a variety of functions, contextual meanings and cultural references communicated by combination of the two classical languages, many of which align with the general list of uses proposed by Van Rooy in 2023.⁶⁶ Beginning with the first and most straightforward, Mariner’s bilingual salutation to Schott fits with the practice observable

⁶³ “Just as one adjusts a glass to his eyes so that he can see more clearly, so did great Apollo grant Schott to the learned”, fol. 660v.

⁶⁴ “I now have your Basil as well, which is indeed rather *royal* and which *rules* over all knowledge. If I say what I feel, in fact, he should only be called ‘the Great’ because you have treated him,” fol. 661v.

⁶⁵ “I add only this: that we should remain closely bound in the yoke, not, in fact, in the flesh, for the flesh is perishable, but in the soul, which is immortal and imperishable [...]”, fol. 662r.

⁶⁶ Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 92.

more widely in correspondence between hellenists in the period. In the letters addressed to Meursius and published in his *Opera omnia*, for example, the use of Greek alternatives (*χαίρειν, εὖ πράττειν* etc.) to the standard Latin *S. P. D.* or *S. D.* are frequently found, especially when the two correspondents share an interest in Greek literature. Indeed, an instance of code-switching in the greeting seems to be a good indication of a bilingual main text. Mariner's bilingual salutation can thus be read as a verbal signal of belonging (for both the author and his recipient) to a privileged group of Greek scholars, whose philological work was becoming fashionable in the early seventeenth-century.

Mariner's choice to begin the main text of his letter with a paragraph of praise for Schott's work and learning in Greek can be read in a similar light. Mariner's decision to begin in Greek is an obvious choice, given that the two men were corresponding primarily about patristic and Byzantine scholarship in the late 1610s. This is especially true when the power dynamics between the correspondents are brought into consideration: Schott was the more senior, more experienced, and far more widely published of the two. Among Mariner's primary aims in addressing Schott, Meursius, Heinsius and Dionysius Petavius in this period, for example, was to make himself known to an intellectual elite whose ranks he wanted to enter. Mariner even makes the perceived hierarchical structure of their relationship explicit in the first Latin sentence of the letter, discussed in greater detail below.⁶⁷ Prioritising Greek in Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617—with extensive praise of his addressee and rhetorical flourish to boot!—thus meant that the core skills that Mariner wished to advertise to his superior were instantly recognisable: *Καὶ μέντοι ῥάδιον ἐστὶ ἀριθμίον ψάμμων, καὶ θαλάττης μέτρα εἶδέναι, ἢ σοῦ ἔπαινον τῷ λόγῳ περιλαμβάνειν!*⁶⁸ If the start of the letter was the first emphatic opportunity to display his Greek competence to Schott, the end of the letter was an obvious second. Finishing the text with a similarly eulogistic paragraph in Greek would mean that there was no risk of Mariner's core message being forgotten: *Αὐτῷ μὲν τριγέροντος Νέστορος, οὗ τὴν εὐπειάν ἔχεις, καὶ χρόνον θεοὶ δοῖεν.*⁶⁹

As the last example of Mariner's Greek praise for Schott makes obvious, the use of Greek in the letter also gave him direct access to the Hellenic mythological and literary words. Here, Schott is given the longevity of Nestor, but similar moments of Greek-specific cultural orientation are to be found throughout the letter. Already in its opening Greek section, Mariner calls on another mythological figure to illustrate his high opinion of Schott, for example, when he writes, *[λέξω] αὐτὸν δηλαδὴ τὴν τῆς Παλλάδος ἀσπίδα, καὶ ὄβριμον ἔγχος, τουτέστι πᾶσαν σοφίαν δέξασθαι*, "that he received the shield of Pallas and the mighty spear; that is to say wisdom in its entirety." Mariner profits from the same unfiltered contact with the Greek cultural sphere in his citation of Homer, as well as in his adaptation of *Iliad* 2.248–249 for further praise of Schott. (What exactly Schott would have made of

⁶⁷ "Sed iam doctissime Schotte mei amoris et mediocri ingenii signia simul exposui" ("But now, most learned Schott, I have put at once the symbols of my love and of my middling talent on display"), fol. 657v.

⁶⁸ "Indeed, it is easier to know the quantity of sand and the size of the sea than to capture your praise in words!" fol. 657r.

⁶⁹ "May the gods give you the age of the triply-ancient Nestor, whose gift of words you also have," fol. 662r.

hearing the unmistakable echo of Odysseus’ insults against Thersites in these lines is sadly not known to us today).

If his Greek sections gave Mariner space to put his skills and knowledge on display, to reaffirm his adherence to a group of Greek scholars and make ‘creative’ use of particularly Greek cultural references he found fitting, the Latin sections of his letter have a different character. The first words of the Latin sentence following Mariner’s opening gambit in Greek clearly marks a shift in tone: “Sed iam doctissime Schotte mei amoris et mediocri ingenii signia simul exposui.”⁷⁰ This use of the combined conjunctions *sed iam*, leading into a self-reflective comment on his own skills in letter-writing seems to mark for the reader a step down from the heights of metaphorical eulogy to more practical and hands-on matters. These Latin sections certainly do not forego, however, the use of rhetorical features. Mariner first acknowledges Schott’s information about Gabius’ earlier translation of Skylitzes Curopalates, before turning to a description of his new employment at Fernando de Ribera’s library. Within this longer, predominantly Latin section on the realities of his working life, a first switch into Greek serves to embellish the account of his new place of work:

Excellentissimus Princeps D. Fernandus de Ribera [...] me, immeritum quidem, sibi Magistrum et suae Bibliothecae, vel ut dicam melius τῆς ἀμαλθείας curatorem praefecit.⁷¹

The reference here to the nymph or semi-deity Amalthea, who cared for the infant Zeus on Crete, and the later tradition of the κέρασ Ἀμαλθείας (“cornucopia”), allows Mariner to bring in an educated, qualitative description of his upcoming post. Mariner similarly uses the second switch to Greek, cited already above,⁷² to create an opportunity to communicate to Schott metaphorically the weight of responsibility and philological work that his new job will give him. The figurative expression of scholarly work as a ‘war against barbarism’ is picked up again in the letter in Mariner’s citation from Homer’s *Iliad*, 19.67–70.⁷³ That Greek frequently serves in the letter as the language of choice for learned or particularly imaginative moments of expression matches the conclusions of earlier work on Mariner’s linguistic choices in poetry. The final section of this article will compare the functions of code-switching between Latin and Greek in Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 with the two languages place in the Valencian’s poetry in more detail.

The final two moments of Latin–Greek code-switching in the letter bring another two aspects of Mariner’s linguistic practice to the fore: firstly, as the Valencian’s thoughts turn to how he will continue to populate the library with important titles, the books of his addressee naturally come immediately to mind. In

⁷⁰ See n. 67 above.

⁷¹ “The most noble Prince Fernando de Ribera has appointed me, a man certainly unworthy, to be the master of his library, or so that I might say it better, the steward of his abundance”, fol. 658r.

⁷² See n. 58 above: “Viginti fere voluminum millia continent. Μέγιστον μόντοι τοῦτο σπράτευμα καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐπιτήδειον [...]” (“They [the shelves] contain nearly 20 thousand volumes. That is a very large army [of books] and necessary against the barbarians [...].”)

⁷³ See n. 61 above.

his assurance to Schott that anything he writes will feature on the Duke of Alcalá's shelves, Mariner makes the following promise:

Auro chartae fulgent, et quae pellibus, quas iuveni enutrierant, obvolvuntur, mirifice exornatae nitescunt. Tuos, mi Schotte libros, omnesque illos, in quibus nomen erit tuum, posthac ἄμοσα καρτερόν ὄρκον, ad ipsum Apollinis latus, πίστευε ἔμοιγε, collocabo.⁷⁴

By thus switching to Greek for his statement of the promise and his plea for Schott to believe him, Mariner calls here on the classical tradition of Latin–Greek code-switches for the purposes of intimacy.⁷⁵ The employment of a language that both men feel privileged to understand adds to their shared confidence, Mariner hopes, on this matter. That the first switch into Greek, ἄμοσα καρτερόν ὄρκον, ("I swear a forceful oath") is Homeric, further emphasises the two scholars' shared intimacy on the theme of Greek literature in particular.⁷⁶ Secondly, when Mariner finds himself once again referring to Schott's publications in the penultimate section of the letter, code-switches to Greek allow for further praise of his Flemish correspondent in the form of word games. We have already considered above the example of Mariner's reference to Schott's work on Basil the Great.⁷⁷ For Schott's work on Cyril of Alexandria's commentaries on the Pentateuch the Valencian makes a similar pun, relying on the Greek title for the work in question: "Cyrilli τὰ Γλαφυρά in Pentateuchum, quae, quia a te recensita sunt γλαφυρώτατα voco, omnibus adhuc votis desidero."⁷⁸

6 A comparison with Mariner's poetic use of Latin and Greek

This overview of Mariner's Latin–Greek code-switching in Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 has attempted to shed light on the multifaceted significance of the combined use of the two languages for our Valencian author. The results of this article's close reading of the letter suggest that code-switching allowed Mariner, on a basic level (and occasionally in a rather desperate manner!), to identify himself to the community of hellenists across Europe as a worthy member of their ranks. It also served to create a distinctive verbal space for imaginative eulogy of his colleague Schott, and allowed him direct access to a shared (and privileged) Greek literary-cultural background. Mariner's use of Greek in the letter also expanded his choice of vocabulary and offered him a tool with which to make punchy, 'epigrammatic' summaries of his thought or opinion, which are distinguished from more prosaic Latin formulations elsewhere in the text. Furthermore, Mariner also

⁷⁴ "Some pages glitter with gold, and those bound in leather which young bulls have supplied, shine out wonderfully decorated. I will place your books in the future, dear Schott, and any others on which your name appears, I swear by a forceful oath, right next to Apollo, believe me," fol. 659r.

⁷⁵ On the practice to this end in classical Latin literature see Wenskus, *Emblematischer Codewechsel* for example.

⁷⁶ Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.253.

⁷⁷ See n. 64 above.

⁷⁸ "I still want with all my prayers Cyril's *Elegant Comments* on the Pentateuch, which I call *The Most Eloquent*, because they have been edited by you," fol. 661v.

used his switches into Greek to establish an air of confidence with his addressee and make a series of specifically Greek-language puns that add to his praise of Schott, as well as to the evidence of his learning in the epistle.

Building on these preliminary results, and by way of conclusion, the function of the two classical languages in Mariner’s letter to Schott can be profitably compared with the evidence available about the author’s linguistic choices in his poetic composition in order to arrive at a fuller picture of the author’s ideas about Latin and Greek and their respective literary traditions more generally. For evidence about Mariner’s poetic register, researchers refer primarily to Mariner’s most complete surviving theoretical reflection on the theme: the *Declamatio hispano sermone confecta*, written in 1636. In this text, originally part of a letter written to the secretary of Mariner’s long-time Maecenas, the Duke of Lerma, towards the end of his life in 1636, the Valencian helpfully set out a general programme for his verse production in the form of an answer to imagined challenges which are made to his talents as a poet. The text, already referenced in the overview of Mariner’s life and work above,⁷⁹ is a proud and fierce declaration of his abilities. It begins as follows:

Y para que se vea claramente lo mucho que Dios da y quita a quien quiere, ruego a todos los que dicen que saben las tres lenguas, me den licencia para que me vea con ellos, y si ellos hazen lo que yo haré, con mejor modo y con más exceso, sabrán más, y si no, es cierto que sabrán menos.⁸⁰

Of special interest for the place of Greek in the trilingual author’s work are the following paragraphs in which Mariner privileges the language as the most challenging and beautiful:

En la lengua griega que es dificultosísima y elegantísima emprenderé cualquiera certamen literario para prueba y execución de mi estadio y porque quede manifiesto en mí lo que he podido alcanzar y en otros lo que en tanta dificultad puede la industria y el talento libre que Dios da a quien quiere.⁸¹

In line with these forceful statements of the value that Mariner placed on Greek—in his hierarchy above Latin and Castilian—the Greek versions of his poetry always appear first in the author’s autograph presentation of his oeuvre. Wherever a Latin *interpretatio* of a Greek piece is included (or much more rarely, a Castilian

⁷⁹ See n. 17 above.

⁸⁰ “And so that it can be seen clearly how much God gives and takes away from whoever He wants, I ask all those who say they know the three languages, that give me permission to see them, and if they can do what I do, with better style and more flair, [its is clear] they know more, and if not, it is certain that they know less [than me].” As above, I cite here from Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 3.29–34.

⁸¹ “In the Greek language, which is very difficult and very elegant, I will undertake any literary contest for the proof and execution of my stadium and so that what I have been able to achieve is clear in me and in others what, in the face of so much difficulty, the industry and the free talent that God gives to whoever he wants can achieve.”

versión) these follow the Greek strictly in the order Greek, Latin, Spanish. The hierarchy of tongues for Mariner is thus, on this superficial level, made very clear.

A recent case-study of an epigram with versions in all three languages, however, suggests that Mariner's proclaimed hierarchy of languages might not reflect his compositional practice. In the case of his *Εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν* ("On Hypocrisy"), a fourteen-line hexameter poem on the common Baroque theme of the *vanitas mundi*, the "versión castellana" ("Castilian translation") seems probably to have been the first version composed, only then followed by translations into Greek and Latin.⁸² In line with the author's hierarchy for multilingual composition throughout his autograph oeuvre, however, the Greek version is presented first (as if it were the primary piece) only to be followed by an "interpretatio Latina" ("a Latin translation") second and a "versión castellana" ("a Castilian translation") third. In his presentation of the triplet, then, Mariner inverts entirely the compositional order of the pieces to fit his system of linguistic privilege outlined above. Indeed, Mariner comments on his skills of translation *from* the vernacular *into* the classical languages in the continuation of his theoretical reflections in the *Declamatio hispanica*:

Que traduciré de repente cualquiera soneto o cualquiera otra cosa de romance, en verso latino o griego de tres y de cuatro maneras, y si se da algún tiempo, lo vertiré de treinta y más maneras, en varias especies de versos, como mostraré algunos que tengo hechos deste modo.⁸³

Mariner's emphasis on the hierarchy of the languages he used is thus clear: Greek was the most elegant and difficult, Latin the most common and a vehicle for comprehension, and the vernaculars a good source of material to be transformed, by a virtuoso, into the more difficult poetic forms of the former. The fact that the author prioritised Greek both in the presentation of his poetry (despite their apparent order of production) as well as in the letter to Schott, thus aligns well with his position outlined in the *Declamatio hispano sermone confecta*. Further, the value attributed to Greek in Mariner's written corpus also explains the privileged place of the language in Mariner-Schott 25.4.1617. For Mariner, Greek became a superior tool for meaningful eulogy; access to the Hellenic literary-cultural space was a marker of an intellectual elite; and word-games based on Greek vocabulary was proof of Mariner's learning and elegance. Further, the use of Latin with an augmented Greek lexis made for polished style, and the intimacy offered by Greek expressions or jokes was for a selected few.

As Mariner's expressions of his frustration over his efforts to have his work published to the degree that he desired makes clear—and even more explicitly, perhaps, the case of Schott's and Meursius' responses to his translation of the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid—Mariner's earnest attempts to bring his scholarship to the attention of those whose approbation he sought brought him little

⁸² For evidence supporting this probable order of composition, see Barton, "Un epigrama trilingüe."

⁸³ "I will translate immediately any sonnet or any other thing in romance into Latin or Greek verse in three and four ways, and if there is some time, I will translate it in thirty and more ways, in various forms of verse, as I will show that I have already done with some in this way."

fruit. Perhaps precisely because of these hindrances and the frustrations he subsequently felt, the Valencian’s very wilful efforts to communicate in Latin and Greek with Schott (and others within the early seventeenth-century scholarly world) make for a particularly telling case-study: Mariner’s special interest in the translation of the Church Fathers and Greek texts of the Byzantine period more generally made his exchange with Schott, Meursius and their circle of humanists from the Low Countries (who were in turn connected to the influential *Officina Plantiniana*) of particular significance for the Valencian scholar. In this letter to Schott, representative of his correspondence with his contacts in the Low Countries at this time, Mariner knew what he wanted to achieve and, as this study hopes to have demonstrated, he was prepared to use the full breadth of the linguistic tools at his disposal to reach these goals. The moments of Latin–Greek code-switching in Mariner–Schott 25.4.1617 set the extent and function of these tools into clear relief.

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