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NOTE

This essay is one of three articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are “Inverting the Hierarchy: Greek and Latin in a sixteenth-century poetical encomium of Antwerp” by Adriaan Demuyne (pp. 29–57), and “Greek and “The Lady of Christ’s College”: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in John Milton’s *Proslusion VI*” by Tomos Evans (pp. 59–81).

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Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johan- nes Amos Comenius’ Correspondence*

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ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on Latin–Greek code-switching in the correspondence of the prominent Bohemian Humanist scholar Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670). It discusses the density of code-switches to Greek, analyses their forms and various functions and draws conclusions regarding the role of the recipient.

1 Introduction: Johannes Amos Comenius and the Hartlib Circle

The phrase “Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata” in the title of this paper is taken from a letter sent by Johannes Amos Comenius on 19 May 1638 to his friend and colleague Samuel Hartlib (ca. 1600–1662).¹ This friendship was one of the most important both in Comenius’ professional and personal life, since Hartlib, who

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¹ See Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Samuel Hartlib [London], 19 May 1638. In Comenius, *Opera omnia* 26/I, 205.

was once called “the great Intelligencer of Europe”, was the founder of a huge intellectual correspondence network.² Hartlib introduced members of the network to one another and encouraged them to share ideas on various scholarly matters. Johannes Amos Comenius himself (or in the vernacular, Jan Amos Komenský) is without doubt the most important early modern Bohemian scholar, although he spent the majority of his life abroad. He was born in eastern Moravia in 1592 to a family who were members of the Unity of Brethren, a Protestant church.³ As such, most of Comenius’ adult life was seriously affected by the violent re-Catholicisation that occurred in the Bohemian lands after 1620.⁴ Whatever knowledge of Greek Comenius had, he did not learn it at Prague University. Influenced probably by his family’s religious background, he attended instead the Protestant Herborn Academy and Heidelberg University.⁵ After 1620, as a minister of the Protestant Unity of Brethren, he went into hiding in Moravia for several years, finally being forced to leave his homeland in 1628 and take refuge in Polish Lezsko, at which point his correspondence begins.⁶

On joining the Hartlib circle in the 1630s, Comenius became acquainted with prominent intellectual and political figures all over Europe and thereafter travelled widely. His visits included Hungary, Transylvania, Sweden, and London. Finally, he moved to Amsterdam, where he died in 1670.⁷ The extant correspondence amounts to more than 560 letters both from and to him, constituting a unique source of information in several fields of research.⁸ Comenius was, above all, a pedagogue and educational theorist, but he was also deeply interested in pansophic studies and, as the last bishop of the dispersed Unity of Brethren, he frequently discussed various theological questions.⁹ Finally, there are many letters of a purely practical nature in which he asks for funding or other support for his exiled Unity of Brethren.

² For the phrase “the great Intelligencer of Europe”, see Turnbull, “Some Correspondence of John Winthrop,” 36–67, esp. 36. For Samuel Hartlib and the Hartlib circle, see Greengrass, Leslie and Raylor, *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*.

³ Moravia is a region in the east of the present Czech Republic.

⁴ For the Battle of White Mountain (1620) and its repercussions, see Thomas, *A House Divided*, 251–294.

⁵ Herborn is a historic town located in the state of Hesse in Germany. Comenius matriculated at the Academy of Herborn on 30 March 1611 as Joannes Amos Nivnizensis, the epithet pointing to the eastern Moravian town of Nivnice which is often mentioned as one of the towns where Comenius may have been born (see Zedler and Sommer, *Die Matrikel*, 56). He matriculated at the University of Heidelberg on 19 June 1613 as Joannes Amos, Nivanus Moravus, in which the term “Nivanus” once again refers to the eastern Moravian town of Nivnice (see Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 2, 265).

⁶ The earliest extant letter is dated 14 September 1628; see Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 27.

⁷ For more about Comenius, see Blekastad, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses*. See also Michel and Beer, *Johann Amos Comenius: Leben, Werk und Wirken*.

⁸ For the detailed overview of Comenius’ correspondents, see Urbánek, “Comenius, the Unity of Brethren, and Correspondence Networks,” 30–50.

⁹ On Comenius as a pedagogue and educational theorist, see Sadler, *J. A. Comenius and the concept of universal education*. See also Lukaš and Munjiza, *Education System of John Amos Comenius*, 32–44; Maviglia, “The Main Principles,” 57–67. On the concept of pansophia as a universal science, see Spinka, “Comenian Pansophic Principles,” 155–165. See also Čížek, “Comenius’ Pansophia,” 358–368; Ranalli, “Unity of Brethren Tradition,” 1–29; Hotson, “The Ramist Roots,” 227–252. For Comenius as a theologian, see Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*. See also Glenn, “The Intellectual-Theological Leadership,” 45–61.

Comenius’ correspondence, conducted in several languages, is also interesting from a linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view. The great majority of the letters are in Latin, with a substantial part in German and Czech, and some even in French, Polish, and English. The collection does not include any letters written entirely in Greek, but the Latin letters provide a variety of Latin–Greek code-switches, which constitute the focus of this paper. First, I will evaluate the density of Latin–Greek code-switches in Comenius’ correspondence, since this statistic will provide a basis for drawing subsequent conclusions about the role of the recipient. Then I will discuss the forms of these Latin–Greek code-switches and analyse their various functions. Finally, I will deal with the role of the recipient and examine whether the Latin–Greek code-switches, or the lack thereof, were motivated by the extent of the sender’s closeness to the addressee, or if there were other factors at play.

2 Comenius’ correspondence

The Department of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague has been working on the critical edition of Comenius’ correspondence for several years now. This new critical edition serves as the corpus for the present research into Latin–Greek code-switching. The first volume, published in 2018, contains 71 letters both from and to Comenius, covering the period from 1628 to 1638.¹⁰ This coincides with the first ten years of his exile, which, aside from some brief visits elsewhere, he spent in Polish Leszno. The second volume, published in 2024, includes 35 letters written between 1639 and 1641, that is, until Comenius went to meet Samuel Hartlib in London.¹¹ Further 150 letters are in various stages of completion and can be safely used as source basis for the present research.¹² Therefore, all in all, more than 255 letters have been examined for examples of Latin–Greek code-switching, representing approximately forty-six percent of Comenius’ extant correspondence.¹³

¹⁰ Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I.

¹¹ Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II.

¹² These letters will be part of the third and fourth volumes of Comenius’ correspondence (*Johannis Amos Comenii Opera Omnia* 26/III and 26/IV), publication dates yet to be determined. As far as these letters are concerned, I will therefore give references to their earlier editions or digital databases where the texts and transcriptions can be easily found. For earlier editions of Comenius’ correspondence, see Comenius, *Jana Amosa Komenského korrespondence*, edited by Adolf Patera; Comenius, *Korrespondence Jana Amosa Komenského*, edited by Ján Kvačala; Comenius, *Die Pädagogische Reform*, edited by Johannes Kvačala. For the digital databases, see Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Michael Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*; and “The Correspondence of Jan Amos Comenius [Komenský],” in *Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO)*.

¹³ Comenius’ correspondence must originally have been much larger, considering that Comenius’ library and personal papers were destroyed twice during his life due to war conflicts. For more about the state of preservation of Comenius’ correspondence, see Urbánek, “Comenius, the Unity of Brethren, and Correspondence Networks,” 31.

3 The density of Latin–Greek code-switches

The basic unit of measurement for the following numerical analysis is the single page, rather than individual letters, since the letters’ lengths can vary considerably: some letters, especially those written by Hartlib’s colleague Joachim Hübner (1611–1666),¹⁴ are exceedingly long, sometimes comprising sixteen manuscript pages, while the shortest are merely brief notes or extracts consisting of several lines. Thus, the body of the letters in the first volume (excluding the critical apparatus and annotations) occupies one hundred and 195 pages and in these, twenty-nine Latin–Greek code-switches can be found. The second volume includes 255 pages in which there are forty code-switches to Greek. In the rest of the corpus, Latin–Greek code-switches are somewhat scarcer, as only twenty-one can be found in more than 320 pages. This means that, on average, there is one code-switch to Greek approximately every eight-and-a-half pages. Importantly, all the switches to Greek are found in Latin letters. We find examples of vernacular–Latin code-switches in the letters written in German and (less often) in Czech, but vernacular–Greek code-switches do not appear.¹⁵

4 Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches

Comenius’ Latin correspondence contains several forms of code-switches to Greek.

4.1 Full quotations

The first form, although not the most frequent, are full quotations. These are usually taken from the Bible as in the following example, in which Comenius and his fellow Brethren, hoping that Theodor Zwinger the Younger (1597–1654), Professor of Theology at Basel University and head of the Reformed Church in Basel, will provide help to the dispersed Unity of Brethren, flatter Zwinger by incorporating a full quotation from St Paul’s *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (2 Cor. 8:16:1–2):

... tantum de pietate Tuâ erga miseros nos nobis promittimus, ut spectatâ velut per praevisionem interventione Tuâ de Te nunc audeamus usurpare, quod Paulus de Tito scripsit (Χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ δίδόντι τριαύτην σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου), nomenque Titi commutare apud nos cogitemus in nomen Zvingeri.¹⁶

¹⁴ For more about Joachim Hübner, see Slavíková, “Vir non vulgari eloquentia,” 49–64; see also Klosová, “Mercurius noster communis” (forthcoming).

¹⁵ A very similar observation was made by Janika Päll for the Estonian material, see Päll, “Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia,” 97. For the dominance of Latin–Greek combinations over vernacular–Greek, see also Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 58.

¹⁶ “... we expect so much from your compassion for our misery, that we can already foresee your intervention and dare say about you the words that Paul wrote about Titus (*But thanks be to God, who put into the heart of Titus the same earnest care he has for us*), although we plan to change the name Titus for Zwinger.” For the Latin original, see Brethren elders (Lezsno) to Theodor Zwinger [Basel], 5 May 1633, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia 26/I*, 117. All Latin and Latin–Greek transcriptions used in this paper have been taken from

The complete quotations of this kind rarely, however, retain the exact wording of the original text. This is either because Comenius was using a different version of the text from the usual modern reference edition, or because he was quoting from memory without having the text at hand—which he appears to have done often—and as a result adapted the quotation to some degree. Such is the case with his quotation from Euripides’ *Hippolytus* in which Comenius agrees with Euripides’ opinion that the final results are better when one thinks about a matter twice.¹⁷ Comenius may have even known the quotation in the form of a proverb from a source other than the original, but the missing article before the noun and the word order seem to suggest that he was quoting from memory:

Grammaticam meam ante biennium hic editam (et jam in Silesiae scholam Goldbergensem alibique receptam) puto Te non vidisse. En, mitto! Non quod magnopere in ea glorier! displicent adhuc nonnulla, quia φροντίδες δευτέραι σοφώτεραι ...¹⁸

4.2 Grammatically adapted paraphrases and allusions to sources

Another form of code-switch to Greek found in the corpus of Comenius’ letters are paraphrases and allusions to sources, which, however, tend to be inflected to suit the sentence. Such is the following example, excerpted once again from the letter to Theodor Zwinger the Younger, dated 5 May 1633, in which Comenius and other ministers recommend two colleagues who are to act as deputies of the Unity of Brethren in Basel:

Eosdemque Tibi, vir Excellentissime, sigillatim commendandos duximus, uti et totam hanc causam nostram, quam ex Illustrissimorum virorum testimoniis nobis porro tacentibus agnoscas esse non indignam, quae curae cordique sit illis, qui sunt συγκληρονόμοι, σύσσωμοι καὶ συμμετοχοὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας Θεοῦ τῆς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, utut regionibus alias inter se disjunctissimi existant.¹⁹

Johannis Amos Comenii Opera Omnia, vols. 26/I and 26/II, and as such follow the editorial rules employed in the series. If not indicated otherwise, all translations of Latin and Greek quotations are my own. The translations of Biblical quotations follow the English Standard Version (ESV) of 2016, although if needed, this version has been adapted to suit Comenius’ wording.

¹⁷ See Euripides, *Hippolytus* 436. See also Erasmus, *Chiliades* I, 3, 38. Both the original and Erasmus’ versions read αἱ δευτέραι πῶς φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.

¹⁸ “I do not believe you have seen my Grammar (which was published here two years ago and has since then been introduced in the school in Silesian Goldberg and elsewhere). Here you are, I send it to you. Not that I am too proud of it! There are still some aspects that I do not like, because *second thoughts are wiser* ...” For the Latin original, see Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Johann Docem [Hamburg], [January 1633], in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 100.

¹⁹ “Most excellent Sir, we would like to recommend these two to you and with them commend to your care our whole situation. Even if we said no more about it, the most illustrious men would testify that it is worth the concern and heartfelt sympathy of those who are *the fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise of God in Christ*, although they are otherwise far away from each other and live in different countries.” For the Latin original, see Brethren elders (Leszno) to Theodor Zwinger [Basel], 5 May 1633, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 117.

The Greek sentence is a paraphrase of Ephesians 3:6,²⁰ where the authors had to adapt the original grammatical gender to make the sentence suit the context.

A similar adaptation, but on a much larger scale than that just observed in Comenius' and his colleagues' text, can be found in Joachim Hübner's letter to Comenius, written in late March or April 1639, in which Hübner suggests a clever strategy for gaining more favour for their joint pansophic efforts and converting those who hate pansophia to their cause. According to Hübner, it would be wise to follow Saint Paul and pretend to be of the same stock as their opponents in the hope that, eventually, some of them may come round to the idea of pansophia:

Magnus ille gentium Doctor fatetur alicubi τοῖς ἀνόμοις se factum fuisse ἄνομον, imò omnibus omnia, ut aliquos saltem hinc inde lucraretur. Quid vetat, quominus necessitate exigente et nos μισοπανσόφοις fiamus tales, ut eorum aliquos tandem reddamus φιλοπανσόφους?²¹

This creative adaptation of 1 Corinthians 9 enabled Hübner to not only show his perfect knowledge of the Greek New Testament and his skills as a translator, but also provided him with a welcome opportunity to introduce a witty wordplay.

4.3 Phrases and idiomatic expressions

Besides full quotations and paraphrases of the sources, Greek code-switches in Comenius' correspondence also take the shape of Greek phrases and idioms. Such Greek phrases, usually no longer than two or three words, tend to be stronger or more expressive in the context than any Latin equivalent would probably have been. This is exemplified by the single Greek word Comenius inserted in a part of his polemic against the chiliast and visionary of Bohemian origin, Paul Felgenhauer (1593–1661): “Quid ad haec Felgenhauer? Ne γρῦ quidem.”²²

This single word speaks volumes about Comenius' opinion of Felgenhauer while also contributing to the marked concision of the passage and even helps evoke negative emotions towards the discussed person. It is hard to think of a Latin word that would have managed this so efficiently.

The emotive feature of code-switching to Greek is attested in another example where Comenius expresses his hope to meet the Amsterdam pastor Goddofred

²⁰ See Eph. 3:6: “τὰ ἔθνη συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα καὶ συμμετόχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.”

²¹ “The great teacher of the nations confesses somewhere that he became *unlawful* for those who were *unlawful*, and even that he was everything for everyone, so that he gained at least someone from amongst them. If necessity demands it, what will prevent us from becoming similar to *those who hate pansophia*, so that we make some of them *like pansophia* in the end?” For the Latin original, see Joachim Hübner [London] to Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno], [late March or April 1639], in Comenius, *Opera omnia* 26/III, 41. See 1 Cor. 9:19:1–9:22:3.

²² “And what does Felgenhauer say about this? Not even *one whit*.” Johannes Amos Comenius (Leszno) to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg [Riesenburg], 28 June 1640, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 148. For more about the doctrine of chiliasm (millennialism) and Paul Felgenhauer, see Penman, “A Seventeenth-Century Prophet,” 169–200. See also Evans, “Greek and “The Lady of Christ’s College,”” 66–67 in this volume.

Hotton (1595–1656) in the very friendly opening of his letter to him of 18 April 1642:

Festino hinc desiderioque amplexûs Tui per Vos meditor (certè meditabor) iter; proptereaue particulatim ad Tuas respondere distuli, quia commodius omnia inter nos compositum iri sperabam, si *στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλοῦμεν*.²³

The Greek phrase inserted in this overall emotional passage intensifies the effect, giving it an even more intimate air.²⁴

4.4 Single Greek words inserted in the Latin text and inflected in line with Greek morphology within the Latin sentence

Single Greek expressions inserted in the Latin text are the most frequent evidence of Greek code-switches in the letters both from and to Comenius. Three types of single-word code-switch can be found in the researched corpus:

4.4.1 Single Greek words written in the Greek alphabet

Single Greek words written in the Greek alphabet are the most frequent representation of Latin–Greek code-switching in Comenius’ correspondence. These isolated Greek words are inflected in line with Greek morphology but according to the syntax of the Latin matrix language, as in the following example taken from Comenius’ letter of 27 December 1646 to Caesar Calandrine (1596–1665) and Philip Op de Beeck (fl. 1637–1647), who were ministers of the Dutch Church in London:

Egi gratias Deo et Vobis atque ex eo tempore Vos inter *εὐεργέτας* meos numerare et tanquam exsertam erga me manum Dei osculari non destiti.²⁵

The single-word *εὐεργέτης* code-switch can be found in Cicero’s letter to Atticus 9.5.3.10, and since isolated Greek words are the most frequent example of Latin–Greek code-switching in Cicero’s correspondence, it can be concluded that this practice is a perfect imitation of this ancient Roman paragon of Latinity.²⁶

²³ “... I am leaving in haste and I am planning to travel via Amsterdam (or I will plan it) as I long to embrace you; this is why I postponed a detailed answer to your letter, because I was hoping that we could discuss all our matters more easily, if *we talk face-to-face*.” Johannes Amos Comenius, *XLI. Ad eundem*, in Comenius, *Jana Amosa Komenského korrespondence*, 211.

²⁴ For more about the emotive feature of code-switching to Greek, see below, Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching, section 5.4.

²⁵ “I gave thanks to God and you and since then I have not ceased to count you among my *benefactors* nor have I (so to speak) stopped kissing the hand of God which was extended to me.” Johannes Amos Comenius, *CVI. Ad Pastores Belg. ecclesiae Caladrinum et Optebekium*, in Comenius, *Jana Amosa Komenského korrespondence*, 285.

²⁶ See Swain, “Bilingualism in Cicero?”, 158.

4.4.2 Single Greek words transcribed into the Latin alphabet and treated either as a Latin word or as a Greek word

A number of words which are Greek by origin are transcribed into the Latin alphabet and either treated as Latin words, in which case they usually have a Latin ending and are inflected as such, or they preserve the Greek ending even in the transcribed version. The reason for this transcription is uncertain, since the very same word is found elsewhere written in the Greek alphabet.²⁷ The following example is excerpted from Comenius' letter to his patron Zbigniew Gorajski (1596–1655), dated 14 December 1645:

Illustrissime Evergeta, post nuperas meas ad Illuſtritateꝝ Vꝛeſtraꝝ datas redditae ſunt duae, ad quas nunc reſponſurus Deum ardentiffimis votis invoco, ut anni hujus decurſum felicem faciat ...²⁸

It is difficult to discuss the density of these code-switches since, as a homogenous part of the Latin text, they are not easy to locate and identify, and it is also debatable whether some of these Greek expressions should be regarded as code-switches at all. They may have been fully naturalised loanwords in Neo-Latin.²⁹ This is especially true of those words which have Latin endings instead of Greek. The example provided in this section (*Evergeta*) illustrates this ambiguity well, because it cannot be decided whether it is a Greek word preserving a Greek ending, but written in the Latin alphabet, or if it is a fully naturalised loanword in Neo-Latin which is inflected as a Latin word of the Latin first declension.

4.4.3 Single Greek words in the Greek alphabet with a Latin ending

The third type of single Greek expression code-switch are Greek words written in the original alphabet, with the exception of their Latinised ending, which is written in Roman script. These are consequently inflected as a Latin word, such as in the extract of Comenius' letter to the Goldberg pedagogue Martin Moser the Younger (d. 1636) in which Comenius expresses his joy at having won a new colleague in his didactic efforts:

Litterae Tuae humaniffime ſcriptae valde me recrearunt. Gaudeo enim adauctum mihi amicorum φιλοδιδακτικῶν catalogum.³⁰

²⁷ See section 4.4.1 above.

²⁸ “My most illustrious Benefactor, having recently sent a letter to your Grace, I have received two letters which I am about to answer now, offering fervent prayers to God that he may make this year prosperous ...” Johannes Amos Comenius, *XCV. Ad d. Zbygneum de Goray*, in Comenius, *Jana Amosa Komenského korrespondence*, 275

²⁹ For more about these loanwords, see Helander, “On Neologisms in Neo-Latin,” 37–54.

³⁰ “Your letter, written with such elegance and kindness, gave me new strength and I am happy that the collection of my *didactics-loving* friends has grown.” Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Martin Moser the Younger (Goldberg), 22 September 1632, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia 26/I*, 87.

Such hybrid code-switches are very rare in Comenius’ correspondence, however, even though they could add to a playful and friendly air of expression.³¹

4.5 Original sentences in Greek?

Evidence of what I would call an active use of the language, such as original sentences rather than the quotations and scattered words that I have discussed thus far, is rather scarce in Comenius’ correspondence. It points to the conclusion that his knowledge of Greek was primarily intended for reading, and that he limited the active use of the language to simple phrases and expressions that may have been fashionable in contemporary learned correspondence. Nevertheless, he does occasionally seem to have tried to use Greek actively and produce original Greek sentences, however rare these occasions appear to have been. Such is the excerpt from Comenius’ letter to his colleague and associate Cyprian Kinner (d. 1649), written on 11 September 1647:

Consultissimum videtur, ut Tu a me recedas et me cum labyrinthis meis Deo et mihi relinuas, quia res haec Tibi incommodabit nihil, mihi forte commodabit aliquid. Tibi non incommodabit. Primum quia habes aliàs, unde honestè vivas. Ars Tibi aurea in manu est, medicina, quam *πᾶσα γῆ πείθει*.³²

If this is not a quotation from an as-yet unidentified source, then it must constitute evidence of the rare active use of Greek on the sentence level preserved in Comenius’ correspondence. The letter in question is special as far as code-switching is concerned because in addition to this particular code-switch to Greek, there are also several from Latin to German. Considering that Comenius was firing his colleague from their project, he may have been striving to create as friendly and informal an atmosphere as possible.

5 Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching

In a world where Latin dominated as a *lingua franca* to facilitate exchange between scholars, the insertion of Greek code-switches could serve to introduce additional layers of meaning to instances of communication. On the basis of this study, the following reasons for a Humanist scholar to switch to Greek—when there was Latin ready at hand—can be deduced from Comenius’ correspondence.

³¹ It should be mentioned that the discussed hybrid code-switch can only be found in one of the two extant manuscript versions of the letter, while the other has the full Greek code-switch *τῶν φιλοδιδασκτικῶν*. For more about the manuscripts and variant readings, see Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 87–89.

³² “It appears that the wisest thing you can do is to go and leave me and my problems to myself and God. For it will cause you no inconvenience; and it may be a little convenient for me. It will not be inconvenient for you, especially because you have another respectable career to support yourself. A golden profession is in your hands: medicine, which *the whole world lavishes with money*.” For the digital copy and the Latin transcription of the letter, see Greengrass and Leslie and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, 1/35/2B.

5.1 Economy of expression (one Greek word as opposed to several Latin ones; *termini technici*)

Greek could be used instead of Latin for economy of expression: where Latin can be found lacking in suitable vocabulary, Greek can provide a perfect one-word term. In the following example extracted from Comenius' letter to Samuel Hartlib, dated 17 February 1641, Comenius employs a single Greek word simply because it was available, while in Latin he would have had to use a lengthy description:

Quaeso Vos, relegite libri ejus *De augmentis scientiarum* secundi prooemium, et obtestationes illae ad Jacobum Regem *πολύτεκνον* an non meliori jure ad Serenissimum Carolum *πολυτεκνότερον* transferri queant, videte ...³³

In the allusion to Francis Bacon, who elaborated on the idea that those who have many children (*qui sobole numerosa aucti sunt*) tend to think more about future, Comenius employed a single adjective in Greek.³⁴ This single adjective (*πολύτεκνον*, “having many children”) fits the sentence better than any Latin paraphrase would have, also because it allows Comenius to generate a comparative form (*πολυτεκνότερον*, “having even more children”).

Sometimes these Greek expressions may have a Latin equivalent but the Greek version turns out to be more poignant and consequently more suitable for the context, at the same time remaining perfectly comprehensible. Such is the single Greek adverb Comenius inserted in his letter to Samuel Hartlib, dated 19 May 1638, to describe the imperfect state of his *Didactica magna*:

Exemplar non est correctum satis, materia ipsa nondum satis *ἀκριβῶς* pertractata, tempus nondum vulgandis istis idoneum.³⁵

There are several Latin equivalents Comenius could have employed, such as “diligenter” or “accurate”, but the Greek expression is more telling through its connotation of meticulous precision.

The observation that Greek was used when no comparable Latin equivalent was available also applies to Comenius' correspondents. Here Joachim Hübner, Comenius' colleague and associate in didactic studies, warns Comenius against welcoming just anyone to their working group, in these very words:

³³ “Please, read again the preface to his (=Francis Bacon's) second book of *De augmentis scientiarum* and consider whether it would be more reasonable to transfer the entreaties addressed to King James, *blessed with many children*, to His Majesty Charles, who is *blessed with even more children*.” Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Samuel Hartlib [London], 17 February 1641, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 232.

³⁴ For the complete text of Bacon's preface, see Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 1, 415–420.

³⁵ “The book is not good enough, the subject itself is yet to be treated with satisfactory *precision*, this is not the right time to publish this.” Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Samuel Hartlib [London], 19 May 1638, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 205.

An in nostra potestate est cavere, quo minus januâ omnibus patente, coetui huic se immisceat morosus, inficetus et biliosus quispiam, verbulo irritabilis? aut sciolus quidam, audaculus et seu consuetudine imperii in pueros, seu insitâ animi vanitate ubique φιλοπρωτεύων?³⁶

There is hardly any better Latin word to describe a person who “strives to be the first”. The verb φιλοπρωτεύω is a rare word in Greek which served Hübner another important purpose, namely to show off his great knowledge and make an impression.³⁷ This example also provides a solid basis for comparing the way in which Comenius and Hübner used code-switches to Greek. While Comenius mostly appears to rely on witty Greek phrases, idioms and expressions that may have been more or less fashionable in contemporary learned correspondence, Hübner is able to create new code-switches thanks to his knowledge of Greek texts.

Many uses of the Greek words in Comenius’ correspondence are best understood as technical terms, *termini technici*, such as the pair of Greek words in the example extracted from Comenius’ letter to Cyprian Kinner, dated 18 November 1644:

Nihil enim tale cogitanti obvenerunt talia, quae ut παράργον tractare coepi, illa verò jam in ἔργον vitae exierunt.³⁸

Παράργον is a “by-work, a secondary work or business” which should not require too much time or attention, while ἔργον is the main task that is supposed to be the focus of one’s efforts. Comenius was by no means the first scholar who used the παράργον code-switch: Cicero employed it in a letter to Atticus to mean secondary business and it is also found in Vitruvius, who referred to the *parerga*, or “additional effects” produced by Ctesibius’s water clock.³⁹ Therefore, even in antiquity, this Greek word served as a technical term for which there was no better word of strictly Latin origin. Comenius uses it in the same way and the combination with ἔργον enables him to indulge in wordplay, which I will discuss further in the following section.

It is worth mentioning that Comenius himself makes an observation about code-switching from Latin to Greek. In a short treatise titled *Pro Latinitate Januae Lingvarum ... Apologia* he says that whenever there are no Latin words for things unknown by the ancients, one option—among several others—is to turn

³⁶ “Or is it within our power, if the door is open to everyone, to protect this group of ours from someone morose, unwitty and bilious who gets angry about one little word? Or from an arrogant smatterer who always *strives to be the first*, either because he is used to bossing children around or for his inborn vanity?” Joachim Hübner [London] to Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno], [July to August 1639], in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 82.

³⁷ For Hübner’s predilection for unusual and rare vocabulary, see Slavíková, “Vir non vulgari eloquentia,” 49–64.

³⁸ “Unintentionally I came across questions that I treated as *secondary* in the beginning, but which have already transformed into my life’s *work*.” For the digital copy and the Latin transcription of the letter, see Greengrass and Leslie and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, 1/33/80B.

³⁹ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 7.1.5.8. Vitruvius, *De architectura* 9.8.6.1.

to Greek.⁴⁰ The observation that Greek can provide vocabulary where Latin is lacking is in accordance with what have been deduced above from the corpus of his correspondence.

5.2 Wordplay

Another reason to use Greek instead of Latin appears to be for the sake of a particular wordplay where, once again, Latin is unable to ensure comparable success. Thus, the Sorø Academy Professor Johann Raue, for instance, switches to Greek to be able to use two words with the same derivation, which would not have been possible in Latin:

Et sanè in hac opera tantum operis laborisque invenio, quantum perscribere Tibi non possum. Ἔργαται desunt, non ἐργοδιώκτης. Sed ubi sumptus? caetera omnia inveniemus, absque hoc non fuerit.⁴¹

Quite an ingenious wordplay can be found in a letter from Joachim Hübner to Comenius, dated 28 January 1639, in which the sender admits his mistake in adding a fourth source of knowledge to Comenius' original three:

Fateor *παρόραμα* hoc grande fuit, sed ita mero saepè in meridie caecutimus.⁴²

Here the code-switch to Greek enabled Hübner to develop a metaphor of sight (by combining the words *παρόραμα* and “caecutimus”) which would not have been possible had he used Latin equivalents for *παρόραμα*, such as *error* or *omissio*. None of these are close to what Hübner wished to express.

Greek can also bring a welcome variety to Latin where there is a marked intention to play with words and meanings and compose a text in the refined style. This intention can be observed in Cyprian Kinner's letters to Comenius, of which especially the earliest are notable, because the writer clearly strove to impress the addressee with the refined style of his writing—for instance in a letter dated 14 July 1646:

Hac ipsâ methodo omnes propemodum incedunt mechanici et plerique milites, qui licet omnis saepè literaturae expertes, solidos tamen (ac stupendos interdum) artium suarum habitûs sibi acquirunt ex sola *αὐτοψία* et observatione sensuali citra ullius libri lectionem [...] Hoc saltem volo naturalem illum [...] librum, ipsius Dei sapientissimâ manu

⁴⁰ See Comenius, *Pro Latinitate Januae Lingvarum*, 4–5.

⁴¹ “And truly, in this work there is always so much to do that I cannot write it in full. We lack *workmen*, not a *workmaster*. But where will I get resources? Everything else can be arranged, but without money nothing will succeed.” For the digital copy and the Latin transcription of the letter, see Greengrass and Leslie and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, 18/25/2B.

⁴² “I admit it was a huge *oversight*, but this is how we are often blind in bright daylight.” See Joachim Hübner (London) to Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno], 28 January 1639, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 23.

descriptum, πρώτως ac primariò proponi ac disci à tyronibus debere; artificialia opera inde subjungi posse ...⁴³

The Greek components of synonymous word pairs “*ἀντοψία* et observatione” and “*πρώτως* ac primariò” could have been skipped without major loss, but the variety of expression gave Kinner an opportunity to prove himself a great scholar before the eyes of his esteemed colleague.

5.3 A way to make an impression (self-presentation⁴⁴)

As mentioned above, Greek could often serve as a means of self-presentation because however fashionable Greek may have seemed in the early modern intellectual community, it was never a common skill among Humanist scholars and only a minority of them acquired sufficient mastery of the language to be able to use Latin and Greek interchangeably. In this context, the Latin–Greek code-switching proves that even small efforts could have had the desired effect of impressing the recipient. This intention to impress was present in the aforementioned letter by Cyprian Kinner (‘Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching’, section 5.2), in which the author sought to augment his style through variety of expression. The desire to impress can also be found in the letter from the elders of the Unity of Brethren to Theodor Zwinger the Younger (‘Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches’, sections 4.1 and 4.2), in which the authors inserted seven code-switches to Greek, an unusual density for a letter in Comenius’ correspondence. Since this was their first letter to Zwinger the Younger and they were asking for financial support, it may be assumed that the Brethren wanted to make an impression upon the addressee to achieve their goal. Hardly anything could serve the purpose better than using a few quotations from the Greek New Testament (and others in Latin) and thus giving the letter an intellectual air.

A strong tendency to use Greek to impress the addressee can also be perceived in the letters from Joachim Hübner. As discussed above, he used Greek words for lack of a better expression in Latin or to introduce a wordplay, yet there are other occasions when he could have used a perfect Latin equivalent but instead chose to use the Greek, most probably because knowledge of Greek was regarded as an impressive skill. Thus, in a letter to Comenius of 28 January 1639 he uses the Greek word *σύνεργος*, although Latin offers the synonym “collaborator”:

⁴³ “This is how almost all workmen and most soldiers proceed: although they have nearly no knowledge of literature, they are still able to learn the solid (and sometimes admirable) skills of their craft *only by watching*, observing and using their senses, without reading any books [...] I only suggest that *first* and foremost the true book which was written by the wisest hand of God should be offered to beginners and learned by them; then fictional works can be added.” For the digital copy and the Latin transcription of the letter, see Greengrass and Leslie and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, 1/33/89B.

⁴⁴ For more about self-presentation, see Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

Id tantum profiteri hinc semel licebit, quando συνεργου honore me dignatus es, annexurum me omnibus viribus, ut si minus ingenio et eruditione, docilitate tamen et laboris promptitudine et constantia expectationi Tuae satisfaciam ...⁴⁵

In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between various motivations for Latin–Greek code-switching, and several factors may have been at play at the same time. Here, Hübner may have also striven for variety, because he had used the word “collaborator” several lines above and thus may not have wanted to repeat himself.

5.4 A way to evoke emotions (the Greek word is more expressive than its Latin equivalent)⁴⁶

In some cases, the use of a Greek expression may evoke various, mostly negative emotions, where the Latin equivalent is more neutral. Thus, in a letter dated 3 May 1639 addressed to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg, but aimed in fact at the chiliast Paul Felgenhauer, Comenius uses a Greek word to humiliate Felgenhauer for his opinions:

Protestor igitur, ut in conspectu Dei me non abreptum praejudicio aut affectu ista scripturum, sed quod post iterata saepius ad Deum suspiria et factam in timore Dei perpensationem eorum, quae nobis novus ἀποκαλύπτῆς consideranda offert [...], id solum scripturum.⁴⁷

The Greek word ἀποκαλύπτῆς, despite being rare in this form, is both perfectly comprehensible and somehow more pregnant and expressive than the Latin “propheta”. It is derived from the Biblical word ἀποκάλυψις, which has an important religious meaning and invites serious considerations that Felgenhauer clearly fails to grasp. A similar, but not entirely identical function of a Greek expression can be observed in a letter by Comenius to Samuel Hartlib, written between November 1638 and the beginning of January 1639. In this letter, Comenius complains how envy and slander can ruin the best endeavours:

[...] mirari coepi stultitiam humanam sibi et seculo profectus qualescunque invidentem; sed et invidiae ac τῆς διαβολῆς vim optimos etiam conatus retundere valentem.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ “I can only promise here, that since you deemed me worthy of the honour of being your *collaborator*, that I will do my very best to meet your expectations if not through my intelligence and erudition, then through docility and quick and constant work.” Joachim Hübner (London) to Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno], 28 January 1639, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 21–22.

⁴⁶ See also above, Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches, section 4.3.

⁴⁷ “Therefore, I declare that being in the sight of God I will write these lines without prejudice or emotion and that I will only write them after I have repeatedly sent prayers to God and in the fear of God made a careful consideration of whatever this new *Revealer* in proposing to us [...]” See Johannes Amos Comenius (Leszno) to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg [Gdańsk], 3 May 1639, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 50.

⁴⁸ “[...] it astonishes me how people in their stupidity are opposed to any progress that is good for them and for the world and how envy and *slander* have the power to ruin even the best endeavours.” See Johannes

Once again, Comenius could have used the Latin equivalent “calumnia” but the Greek word adds to the expressivity of the message due to its relation to the strongly negative term *διάβολος*, and as such, much better suits the context.

5.5 A way to express belonging to a group of like-minded or equally learned people, friendship or closeness (theological debates and interactions with fellow theologians and ministers of Protestant churches)

The most striking context in which Comenius tends to use Greek with relative regularity is in considering theological questions. Thus, in a letter to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg dated 3 May 1639, Comenius turns to the “original Greek text” (“authenticus textus Graecus”) to prove a theological point:

Detecta autem fallacia ex authentico textu Graeco, ubi sophismati illi (Divinâ id providente sapientiâ) nullus relinquitur locus [...] (expressè enim et distinctè dicitur *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*; non verò *τοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*.)⁴⁹

Often, Comenius uses single Greek words when addressing fellow theologians or ministers of Protestant churches, even in non-theological contexts. An example of this is the single-word code-switch *εὐεργέτας* in the letter to the ministers of the Dutch Church in London, Caesar Calandrine and Philip Op de Beeck, already discussed above.⁵⁰ In this letter, Comenius defends himself against the accusations of the two pastors who had promised support to finance the edition of Comenius’ *Pansophia* and were feeling misled because Comenius had yet to deliver anything substantial. Comenius’ two-and-a-half-page self-defence includes no Greek other than the single-word honorific address, *εὐεργέτας*.

Some Greek is to be found in the Unity of Brethren’s first letters to various Protestant churches around Europe, requesting financial support for exiled members and their families.⁵¹ By adding some Greek to these letters the Brethren may not only have wanted to impress their addressees with their knowledge and consequently gain their favour but may also have been motivated by an effort to identify themselves with a group who knew this important yet not widespread Biblical language. This applies to the following letter of thanks the Brethren sent to the leaders of the Basel Reformed Church, after they had received financial support from them:

Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Samuel Hartlib [London], [between November 1638 and the beginning of January 1639], in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 17.

⁴⁹ “His mistake is revealed by the original Greek text, where there is no place (thanks to divine wisdom) for this false conclusion [...] (for it explicitly and clearly says: ‘*the son of man, the son who is in heaven*’; it does not say: ‘*of [a man] who is in heaven.*’)” See Johannes Amos Comenius (Leszno) to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg [Gdańsk], 3 May 1639, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 54.

⁵⁰ For the excerpt see above, Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches, section 4.4.1.

⁵¹ See the letter to Theodor Zwinger the Younger above, Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches, sections 4.1 and 4.2. For a letter to Dutch Church in London, see *ibid.*, section 4.4.1.

[...] Quos nuper ad Vos [...] quaerendae Christianae stipis ergo emisimus, [...] eos Divina benignitas non sospites tantum nobis reddidit, sed et praecones esse fecit eximiae tum benevolentiae, qua excepti fuere a Vobis, tum *συμπαθείας* [...] ⁵²

The Brethren here embellished their letter of thanks with a Greek word, although it would not have been difficult to find a suitable Latin equivalent of the term, such as, to take but one example, “commiseratio”. By choosing Greek, they suggested that they were communicating with like-minded and equally learned people among whom they numbered themselves.

The use of Greek to express emotional closeness can be seen in the letter Comenius sent to the Lutheran pastor Abraham Mentzel, with whom he appears to have enjoyed a close friendship, judging from the intimate tone of the two extant letters which are clearly only a fragment of their epistolary exchange.⁵³ The letter, which includes two code-switches to Greek, was likely written at the beginning of 1630 and reads as follows:

Saluto itaque Te per Christum, servatorem nostrum, et Tibi, amantissime Frater, ab ejus numine felicissima quaeque apprecor. Sint Tibi felicia anni exordia, sit progressus felix, sit exitus felicissimus. At non Tibi soli: sed afflictæ ecclesiae toti. Sic opto, sic voveo, sic spero. Mihi equidem (cur enim apud Te non deponam confessionem? quem et congavisurum et collaudaturum Deum scio, et cui tamen mearum occupationum, ob easque irrepentis *μισανθρωπίας* rationes constare velim), mihi inquam non infeliciter se anni hujus primordia dederunt, quia appropinquantis *ἀπολυτρόσεως* spem firmarunt valide.⁵⁴

While the first code-switch was employed for economy of expression, there being no adequate single word in Latin to describe “hate towards people”, the second Greek word used in this letter could easily have been substituted by the exact Latin equivalent “redemptio”. That Comenius preferred Greek may imply an allusion to their similar educational experiences, which in their case would have been their studies at the Academy of Herborn and the University of Heidelberg. Although they were not exactly schoolmates—Mentzel matriculated a year after Comenius had left Heidelberg⁵⁵—they had the same schooling, and therefore

⁵² “Those whom we sent to you not long ago to ask for Christian alms have returned safe, thanks to your godlike kindness: they are now heralds of the extraordinary benevolence with which you received them and of your *compassion*.” See Brethren elders (Leszno) to the leaders of the Basel Reformed Church (Basel), [probably 5 January 1634], in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 144.

⁵³ One of these two extant letters deals exclusively with Comenius’ insomnia. See Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Abraham Mentzel [Zittau?], 27 June 1630. In Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 61–62.

⁵⁴ “My beloved brother, I greet you through our saviour Christ and wish you all happiness from his divine power. May you have a happy start to the year, a happy course of it and the happiest end. And not only you, but all our suffering church. This is my wish, this is my prayer, this is my hope. As for me (why could I not confide to you? I know that you will be happy and praise God and at the same time I would like to give you an account of my activities and how I am slowly starting to *hate people* because of them), I must say that this year has not started too unhappily for me, because my hope that *redemption* is coming has been considerably strengthened.” See Johannes Amos Comenius [Leszno] to Abraham Mentzel [Zittau?], [the beginning of 1630]. In Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/I, 56.

⁵⁵ For Comenius’ and Mentzel’s matriculation at the University of Heidelberg, see Toepke, “Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg,” 265 and 272, respectively.

belonged to the same social group, which was only strengthened by the proximity of their religious beliefs. It is also true, however, that the Greek ἀπολύτρωσις combined with the preceding “appropinquantis” creates an alliteration, so the preference of the Greek expression to the Latin may also have been prompted by a stylistic choice. Even if that had been so, it would not necessarily mean that the aspect of expressing emotional intimacy could not have been present as well. As I have observed, at times there may have been several simultaneous aims prompting a Latin–Greek code-switch.

However, these Latin–Greek code-switches, which tend to be found in letters addressed to fellow Protestant pastors, appear to point to valid conclusions regarding the role of the recipient in terms of the density of Latin–Greek code-switches, to which I will turn later in the present paper.

5.6 Using Greek as a source for explaining Latin terminology and discussing Latin–Greek language facts

Greek is often used in various linguistic matters, such as to explain Latin terminology based on the comparison with Greek. The following example is excerpted from Johann Raue’s (1610–1679) letter to Comenius dated 18 September 1642, when Raue was a professor at the Academy of Sorø:

Auctores autem eos voco, quos λογιστοὺς sive λογογράφους Graeci appellant; quibus in animo fuit rerum veritatem non nuda, sed ornata et eo magis in animos hominum manante oratione tradere.⁵⁶

However, while these switches follow the typology described above (see Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches, section 4.4.1), they appear to add little to this research since they hardly testify to anything other than their obvious purpose, that is, to establish the terminology. It is therefore debatable whether they should be considered code-switches at all.

The same can be said about those switches to Greek which necessarily occur when special features of Greek grammar are explained in which Greek differs from Latin. In these, Greek grammar is compared to the Latin and quotes from Greek are presented to demonstrate the point. One example is the discussion about the Greek prepositions ἐν and εἰς in the postscript to Comenius’ letter to the Bohemian physician and alchemist Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg (c. 1599–1660):

Praepositio (ἐν) saepè apud Graecos pro altera (εἰς) usurpatur, ut Latinè quidem utraque per in transferatur, sed illa cum ablativo, haec cum accusativo. Inspice *Thesaurum Graecae linguae Stephani*, videbis exempla, vel *Scapulam*, qui idem monet exemplumque ex Homero

⁵⁶ “I call authors those whom Greeks call *prose-writers* or *speechwriters*; these have always striven to describe true things not in simple but in embellished speech which more readily flows into the minds of people.” For the digital copy and the Latin transcription of the letter, see Greengrass and Leslie and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, 18/25/1B.

adducit ἐν χερσὶ πεισεῖν pro εἰς χεῖρας, *in manus incidere* (cogita enim ipse, quàm ineptè reddideris *in manibus alicujus incidere*), similia exempla occurrunt in N<ovo> Testamento.⁵⁷

Comenius continues at length in this drawn-out lecture on the different uses of prepositions and he ends his postscript by making a comparison with German and Czech. Once again, while this may seem like code-switching, it does not serve any purpose than the one at hand, namely explaining Greek grammar and offering better translations into Latin. To explain the matter with sufficient clarity, Comenius could hardly have avoided using some Greek quotations in this context. Therefore, as in the preceding example, the use of Greek does not appear to have been motivated by any sociolinguistic factors.

6 The recipient's role in the density of code-switches

The role of the recipient in the density of code-switches to Greek has turned out to be vital, since for Comenius it clearly made sense to communicate in Greek only with those whom he was certain had some knowledge of the language. Consequently, some letters are rich in Latin–Greek code-switches, while others contain no Greek at all. Comenius and his Brethren show a strong tendency to use more Greek when they address fellow ministers of various Protestant churches, all people who must have had at least some knowledge of Greek as a scriptural language. This also applies to the very first letters of their exchange. A particularly remarkable example is the letter which Comenius and his fellow ministers of the Unity of Brethren sent to Theodor Zwinger the Younger (1597–1654) on 5 May 1633.⁵⁸ This letter is two-and-a-half pages long and includes seven code-switches to Greek, of which two are full quotations from the Greek New Testament and one is a paraphrase, while the rest are single Greek words in the Greek alphabet. This is a large number compared to the average of one code-switch on every eight-and-a-half page, and since this was also the first letter the Brethren sent to Zwinger they appear to have been confident from the outset that they could afford the luxury of using Greek in such an unusual density.

Besides the fellow pastors of various European Protestant churches, there are several other recipients with whom Comenius had a marked tendency to code-switch to Greek. These included the Bohemian physician and alchemist Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg, to whom Comenius addressed his learned polemic aimed at the chiliast Paul Felgenhauer. Two lengthy letters by Comenius to Stolz have survived which include a larger number of Greek code-switches and thus show that Comenius was sure that the addressee of his polemic about the human nature

⁵⁷ “This preposition (ἐν) is often used in Greek instead of the other (εἰς): both of them are to be translated into Latin as ‘in’, but the first takes the ablative case, while the second the accusative. Consult the *Thesaurus of the Greek Language* by Stephanus for examples, or Scapula, who says the same and gives an example from Homer: ἐν χερσὶ πεισεῖν instead of εἰς χεῖρας, i.e. to fall into one’s arms (you can imagine yourself how unsuitable it would be to translate this as ‘to fall inside one’s arms’); similar examples can be found in the New Testament.” See Johannes Amos Comenius (Leszno) to Daniel Stolz von Stolzenberg [Riesenburg], 28 June 1640, in Comenius, *Opera Omnia* 26/II, 166.

⁵⁸ This letter has been mentioned above, *Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches*, sections 4.1 and 4.2.

of Christ would understand his reasoning in this very important theological question.⁵⁹ Considering that Stolz was probably only an intermediary between Comenius and Felgenhauer, the Greek code-switches here are once again intended for a pastor and theologian and relate to a theological matter. Nevertheless, recipients other than pastors and theologians were also addressed with an interesting number of Greek code-switches. These were Comenius’ colleague and associate in didactic studies Cyprian Kinner and his close friend Samuel Hartlib.⁶⁰ Joachim Hübner’s Latin letters to Comenius also provide a substantial number of Greek code-switches, although, unfortunately, none of Comenius’ Latin letters have been preserved from their exchange. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that, to a degree, Comenius would have probably adopted a similar rhetorical style as that of his correspondent, Hübner – the same approach can be observed in his correspondence with Kinner – and thus that the Greek code-switches mirror the friendship or closeness between the sender and the addressee.

7 Conclusion

Johann Amos Comenius, educational theorist, pedagogue, theologian, and the last bishop of the dispersed Bohemian Unity of Brethren, was an esteemed member of the intellectual circle of Samuel Hartlib. More than five hundred and sixty letters, written in various languages, by both Comenius and his correspondents, have survived, of which the Latin letters include code-switches to Greek, while vernaculars are only combined with Latin. On average, there is one Latin–Greek code-switch every eight-and-a-half pages, but some letters are richer in Latin–Greek code-switches than others.

As we have seen, several forms of code-switching can be found in Comenius’ correspondence. The most frequent are single Greek words inserted into the Latin text, written in the Greek alphabet and inflected according to Greek morphology. The single-word code-switches can sometimes take the shape of a Greek word transcribed into the Latin alphabet and inflected either as a Greek or as a Latin word. In a rare case, a Greek word written in the original alphabet is curiously combined with a Latin ending, and subsequently inflected as a Latin word. Full quotations and paraphrases also form a substantial part of Comenius’ Latin–Greek code-switching, whereas original Greek statements on a sentence level are extremely rare. Comenius himself prefers Greek phrases and single-word expressions, some of which he uses repeatedly, and quotations from and paraphrases of Biblical texts, while Joachim Hübner (1611–1666), his colleague and associate in didactic and pansophic efforts, appears to have been more creative.

The use of Latin–Greek code-switches depends to a great degree on the recipient. Thus, in Comenius’ case, letters which tend to include code-switches are

⁵⁹ Both letters to Stolz are mentioned above, see Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching, sections 5.4–5.6.

⁶⁰ For Kinner see above, Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches, section 4.5, and Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching, sections 5.1 and 5.2. For more about Kinner’s correspondence with Comenius, see Hitchens and Konior and Matuszewski and Young, *Jan Amos Komeňski i jego korespondencj*. For Samuel Hartlib see the Introduction: Johann Amos Comenius and the Hartlib Circle above.

mostly addressed to Protestant pastors and theologians, who needed to know Greek to understand *Scripture*. Two of Comenius' associates display a more substantial knowledge of Greek, although they were not theologians: Joachim Hübner and Cyprian Kinner, both of whom helped Comenius with developing a functional system of Latin didactics and can be regarded as exceptional Latin scholars.

The code-switches to Greek have turned out to have had various functions. First, they served as *termini technici* where Latin could not offer an adequate equivalent. As such, they provided economy of expression, because in Latin several words or a lengthy description would have been needed. Second, the use of Greek instead of Latin enabled the author to introduce wordplay, often thanks to a pair of words with the same root word which Latin lacked. These two functions of Latin–Greek code-switching were then frequently combined with more sophisticated purposes behind introducing Greek, such as self-presentation by making an impression through one's knowledge and expressing one's belonging to a group of like-minded people. Third, some Greek expressions were used to evoke various, mostly negative emotions through being related to strong and potentially emotive Biblical vocabulary whose Latin equivalents are either weaker or lacking entirely. Finally, some Greek is also attested in linguistic questions when Greek is used either as a source language for Latin terminology or when Greek grammar is opposed to the Latin, but these occurrences should not be regarded as code-switching, considering that they do not appear to have been motivated by any sociolinguistic factors.

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