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THEME

LATIN-GREEK CODE-SWITCHING IN EARLY MODERNITY

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Cover image: A detail from a fresco showing Chalcondylas and Italian humanists (Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Agnolo (Angelo) and Poliziano) in conversation. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella church, Florence, Italy. Licensed under Creative Commons Zero (CC0). © 2024

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NOTE

This introductory essay is the first in a set of five articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are "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), "Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Vicente Mariner's (ca. 1570–1642) Correspondence with Andreas Schott (1552–1629): A Case-Study" by William M. Barton (pp. 75–94) 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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Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity

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Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.5.69–70 (158–159) – first century

Sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit: nec id fieri natura puto, sed alienis favemus, ideoque cum *κυρταύχενα*[1] mirati simus, 'incurvicervicum' vix a risu defendimus.

But all this [word derivation and composition] suits the Greeks better. It is not very successful with us—not I think because of any innate weakness, but we favour foreign imports, and so admire *kurtauchen* ['with arching neck'], but can hardly protect *incurvicervicum* from ridicule. (Translation Loeb)

Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, *De epistolis*, 106 – fourth century

Graece aliquid addere litteris suave est, si id neque intempestive neque crebro facias: et proverbio uti non ignoto percommodum est, et versiculo aut parte versus.

Adding something in Greek to one's letter is pleasant, if one would do it neither untimely nor too often. And using a proverb that is not unknown is very well-suited, just like a little verse or verse part. (Translation ours)

[1] The manuscripts in fact read *συραύχενα* ('with trailing neck') but the emendation is according to the Loeb editor "generally accepted," and dates back to early modernity.

Guarino Veronese, *Epistolario*, 2 – fifteenth century

> Vix enim esse poterit ut aliqua ex parte proprium patriae non sapiat eloquium; immoque eiusdem nobis insueta graeca nonnunquam inter narrandum verba miscui, quae uti nimia non sunt, sic gratioris aliquid varietatis aspergunt. Praeterea cur, si 'pro parte virili' 'patrium ditare sermonem' et aliunde aliqua simul ferre si possim 'invidear?' praesertim cum id ex ipso Quintiliano in oratoriae artis institutione licere compererim, qui 'et concessis quoque graecis, inquit, utimur verbis, ubi nostra desint.[2]
>
> It is hardly possible that his speech [Isocrates' in Guarino's Latin translation] will not, every now and then, keep some of its native flavour. I actually mixed some of his Greek words into the narrative. We are not used to them, but if they are not too many they bestow an attractive variety. So why do people look askance at me if I, for my individual share, should succeed in enriching our paternal language [Hor. ars 57] by bringing something from elsewhere? Especially when I found out from Quintilian himself, in *The Orator's Education*, that "we admittedly use Greek words where no Latin terms are available [*Inst*. 1.5.8]."

Erasmus, *Moriae encomium*, 76 – sixteenth century

> Visum est enim hac quoque parte nostri temporis rhetores imitari, qui plane deos esse sese credunt, si hirudinum ritu bilingues appareant, ac praeclarum facinus esse ducunt latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot voculas velut emblemata intertexere, etiam si nunc non erat his locus.
>
> For at this point too I think I should copy the rhetoricians of today who fancy themselves practically gods on earth if they can show themselves twin-tongued, like horse leeches, and think it a splendid feat if they can work a few silly little Greek words, like pieces of mosaic, into their Latin speeches, however out of place these are. (Erasmus, "Praise of Folly," 88)

Latin, as the four quotes above abundantly illustrate, was under constant pressure from Ancient Greek, the prestige language of antiquity. Ever since Petrarch and Boccaccio tried in vain to study the language and read its literature, the humanists had developed a growing fascination with Greek, which they considered crucial for an accurate understanding of Roman literature and the Latin language. Greek provided, in many cases, the literary models to interpret Latin classics, which were furthermore imbued with Greek words and references. This constant pressure led to the borrowing of many Greek words into Latin but also the insertion of numerous Greek words and phrases in Latin literary works.

In his *Institutes of Oratory*, Quintilian (ca. 35–100 CE) praised Greek mechanisms of composition and derivation, leading to a rich vocabulary with words like *κυρταύχην* ('with a bulging neck') or *σύραυχην*, which in Latin would sound ridiculous when translated (he gives the example of *incurvicervicus*, 'having a crooked neck'). Latin should keep such formations to a minimum, and use where possible

[2] Latin text and English translation cited from Pade, ""Conquering Greece"," 62–63.

Greek compound words rather than their Latin equivalents. Word-importing, in short, ensures that one's style is in keeping with the decorum of the Latin language while still allowing it to range beyond the boundaries of the language. Julius Victor (fourth century) encouraged Latin authors to add Greek to their writings even more proactively than Quintilian; this was especially the case in letters, where Cicero's *Ad familiares* offered an obvious model (see Section 2 below). Moderate insertion of Greek, whether in the form of a proverb or a verse, contributed to overall enjoyment, Julius Victor maintained in his *Art of Rhetoric*.

In a similar fashion to Julius Victor, pioneering Hellenist and student of Byzantine diplomat Manuel Chrysoloras Guarino Veronese (1374–1460) explained in one of his letters that the use of Greek can "sprinkle" ("aspergunt") "welcome variation." Notably, Guarino did not discuss the genre of epistolography in his letter but rather a Latin translation he made of a Greek political treatise by the Athenian orator Isocrates, into which he chose to insert occasional Greek words. These he would typically transcribe into the Latin alphabet, paving the way for their borrowing into Latin. Alluding to both Horace and Quintilian—two luminaries of classical poetics—Guarino argued in favor of mixing Greek words into one's Latin, as such an import equaled a richer expression than would have been possible with Latin alone. In sum, importing and mixing words for Guarino served to sprinkle grace onto one's Latin style, as it had done for Julius Victor. It furthermore enabled translators to retain some of the "native flavour" of the original—to use Guarino's own expression—and, following Quintilian, supplement Greek words where the Latin lexicon was defective and hence bring more nuance than Latin allowed. Guarino proposed expanding this methodology from epistolography (the focus of Julius Victor) to translation: in his case the translation of a political treatise that he mad—significantly—while studying in Constantinople and hence in an entirely Greek atmosphere.[3] Finally, Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1469–1536), himself an eager user of Greek in his Latin letters, had his Folly proclaim a declamation larded with Greek expressions—or in her own metaphor: orators of her day placed Greek words like inlaid work or pieces of mosaic (*emblemata*) in their Latin, interweaving everything to a deformed whole, a practice she criticised by reference to Horace and by mock-using it throughout her declamation.[4] Erasmus' Folly imagined, in short, the use of Greek in Latin as a form of word-weaving or stitching.

To sum up, uses of Greek in Latin texts have been described with quite disparate imagery. In this set of special issues, we propose to look at this phenomenon of weaving Greek into Latin using a concept from modern linguistics: code-switching, just as much a metaphor as the ancient and humanist descriptions. Indeed, code-switching "is not an entity which exists out there in the objective world, but a construct which linguists have developed to help them describe their data."[5] The term, in fact, stems from communication technology and theory as

[3] Pade, ""Conquering Greece"," 62.

[4] *Art of Poetry* 19: "sed nunc non erat his locus [...]." On Greek in Erasmus' letters, see Rummel, "The Use of Greek."

[5] Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 10. This book, especially its Chapter 1, will guide our discussion of code-switching in Section 1.

formulated by Roman Jakobson in his well-known scheme, featuring agents like "sender," "receiver," and—most notably—"code," referring to the language form(s) shared by speakers.[6] "Switching," on the other hand, evokes the act of flicking an electric switch, as if using another language requires one to make a similar switch in one's brain. Contrary to the diverse imagery of the ancients and the early moderns, modern scholarship has developed a highly specialised concept, which has proven useful for the analysis of linguistic interactions, both past and present.[7] It is the aim of this introduction, and the special issues that follow, to explore and highlight the benefits of the concept of code-switching for understanding early modern uses of Latin and Greek. Such a study is needed as the phenomenon of early modern Latin–Greek code-switching has been largely neglected, despite the long-standing tradition of Neo-Latin studies and the upcoming field of New Ancient Greek studies.[8]

1 Code-Switching as a Linguistic and Humanist Phenomenon

A Definition

Code-switching can be defined as alternating between language varieties within a single communicative act.[9] Typically, this code-switching occurs from a matrix language (in our case Latin) to another (Greek), where the matrix language forms the variety into which other language elements are embedded. Various definitions are in circulation for the metalinguistic concept of code-switching. We adopt a broad one here to allow for a view of classical bilingualism in early modernity that does justice to the linguistic diversity we encounter in the sources, in terms of the forms, functions, and contents of code-switches.

Forms

First of all, on the formal level, one can alternate from one language to another within the boundaries of a word, for instance by giving a word root in one language an ending in another (e.g. "φιλοδιδακτicorum"). This phenomenon might be dubbed an example not of code-switching, but of code-mixing, a phenomenon associated with children and language learners and referring to the use of elements of different languages, especially within sentences and words. The distinction between code-mixing and code-switching is, however, not a clear one in linguistics, with many scholars using them interchangeably or at least with some overlap.[10] Since we are typically dealing with sources by scholars, often advanced bilinguals beyond the stage of learners, we will stick to the term code-switching rather than

6 E.g., Hébert, "The Functions of Language."

7 E.g., Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*.

8 See Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, for more details.

9 We will use the term "language" as a shorthand to refer broadly to "language variety," as it has proved difficult to find linguistic criteria to determine the language or dialecthood of individual varieties. See Van Rooy, *Language or Dialect?*

10 See e.g., Ezeh et al., "Code Switching and Code Mixing," and the literature review there.

code-mixing, associated in the first place with language learning. From the level of the word, one can go up to that of the sentence: intrasentential code-switching concerns alternating languages between words or phrases. A further level up is intersentential code-switching, referring to language alternation between sentences. Given early modern praxis, we also consider code-switching on higher levels, for instance between paragraphs, chapters, poems, and other larger textual units.

In relation to the continuum of mixing languages within words through intrasentential and intersentential language alternations to code-switching between larger text units, one can quantify certain formal features of code-switching, like the average code-switching length (how many words does a Latin–Greek code-switch typically encompass?) and code-switching density (how many code-switches occur per thousand words?).[11] Other questions to take into account relate to the compatibility of the grammatical structures of the two languages: each language has a set of rules of its own, but the way they are combined also follows a set of rules. Most syntactic functions of the Latin ablative (e.g. after prepositions), for instance, are fulfilled by the Greek dative in cases of code-switching, even though one would expect the genitive to be an equally suitable candidate in many cases.[12]

Functions

Secondly, code-switching serves various functions, depending on the contents and contexts in which the phenomenon occurs. Modern linguistic research has put forward several functions, most of which seem to have had their place in early modern Latin–Greek code-switching as well, judging by the papers in the two issues:

(1) Code-switchers aim to fit in by using a language typically associated with a dominant culture.
(2) Code-switchers intend to convey sensitive information and switch to a less accessible language to communicate in secret.
(3) Code-switchers accommodate to their addressees as they want to create an atmosphere of intimacy, to gain their favor, or to obtain something in their advantage.
(4) Code-switchers make full use of their linguistic gamma to better convey a thought, express a concept, or make a pun.
(5) Code-switchers slip into another language as emotion takes over, generating a feeling of authenticity.[13]

[11] See Van Rooy and Mercelis, "The Art of Code-Switching."

[12] Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 65–67. See also the discussion of this phenomenon in the overview of ancient code-switching below.

[13] For these functions, see Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching* and the literature cited there; as well as the accessible article by Thompson, "Five Reasons Why People Code-Switch." Our list of functions is inspired by Thompson's list, but we have expanded and nuanced it using Gardner-Chloros' observations.

In sum, "bilinguals often switch varieties in order to communicate something beyond the superficial meaning of their words," as Penelope Gardner-Chloros has put it.[14]

Being only one concrete manifestation of language contact, in our case a consequence of Byzantine Greek migration to Italy and Western Europe, code-switching is related to phenomena like borrowing. For instance, the more often a humanist scholar code-switched to a Greek word in his Neo-Latin utterances—both oral and written—the more likely it was for the word to be borrowed into Latin. This happened with the Greek word διάλεκτος (*diálektos*), which is barely attested in pre-1500 Latin but was soon borrowed into Neo-Latin as *dialectus* as scholars developed an interest in Greek literature and the great linguistic variation it shows.[15] This gradual process of borrowing occasionally makes it difficult to decide whether a user is code-switching or using a borrowed word. Next to borrowing, other linguistic phenomena relevant to Latin–Greek language contact in early modernity are convergence and transfer. Latin converged in the direction of Greek as it adopted various borrowings and expressions from Greek in this period, not least under the influence of Erasmus' popular *Adagia* collection. Latin, being the more familiar language, also imposed itself on Greek, as language users transferred Latin features to their Greek, which in this sense felt the pressure of Latin.[16] Because of these features, Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity offers an exceptional case of entirely nonnative bilingualism that offers new opportunities for linguistic research. Studying early modern Latin–Greek code-switching will allow linguists to test whether the conclusions drawn from situations of (partly) native bilingualism also hold for nonnative bilingualism.

Owing to the nature of our early modern sources, our focus remains on written uses of code-switching, typically in scholarly and literary contexts. Oral uses have taken center stage in code-switching scholarship on modern languages, but in recent years a written turn can be discerned, notably with increasing attention for literary uses of code-switching.[17] The fact that only written forms of code-switching are extant from the early modern period implies an observer's paradox, a major methodological issue in sociolinguistics, first recognised by the discipline's pioneer William Labov and holding a fortiori for our early modern sources.[18] The code-switching encountered in manuscript and print typically reflects well-considered, thought-through intellectual and literary language use, not spontaneous oral speech, even though certain text types, like student notes and conversation reports, can give insight into such spontaneous language.[19]

[14] Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 4.

[15] See Van Rooy, "Διάλεκτος, *dialectus*, Dialect," for details on this complex process. On borrowing in Neo-Latin more generally, see Helander, "On Neologisms in Neo-Latin."

[16] Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 109–13.

[17] See notably Gardner-Chloros and Weston, "Code-Switching and Multilingualism in Literature," a paper which introduces a special issue on the topic.

[18] Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, 209.

[19] See the ongoing research by Tomás Antonio Valle into orality and Greek terminology in Philipp Melanchthon's scholarly circle, particularly in two forthcoming publications: Valle and Van Rooy, "History of Orality" and Valle, "Making 'Affection' Matter."

Contents and Attitudes

A third dimension in addition to forms and functions is content. What are the subjects of sentences and texts showing Latin–Greek code-switching? One could speak of an originality continuum in this regard, as switches to Greek may contain a quote from classical literature, a variation on an ancient saying, or an entirely new utterance. This appears to be a problem crucial to early modern Latin–Greek code-switching but less so for modern situations of bilingualism and code-switching. Perhaps code-switching from modern languages to Latin set-phrases comes closest to this phenomenon of Renaissance classical bilingualism.

Considering the attitudes of code-switchers themselves also can be helpful in assessing the form, the content, and especially the functions of code-switching. Whereas cognitive measurements suggest that code-switching requires extra effort in terms of the time needed for production and reception, speakers blame their code-switching on laziness. It is said to be easier to use another language than the matrix language in order to find an appropriate word or expression. Typically, speakers disapprove of this code-switching as incorrect language use and express surprise and even embarrassment when they hear recordings of themselves code-switching, resulting in a cognitive dissonance between beliefs and practices. They tend to associate code-switching with informal contexts, where language norms appear to be of lesser concern. These modern attitudes raise questions about the humanists' own attitudes. How did they regard code-switching? The testimonies by Guarino and Erasmus' Folly suggest an ambiguous attitude that contrasts rather sharply with that of modern speakers. Folly's remark indicates that an extra effort was needed to weave in Greek words as part of an act of showing off one's knowledge—if only because of the need to use a different alphabet, one might imagine. Veronese approved of code-switching, as did also Erasmus, in his letter-writing manual.[20] Folly, too, left room for code-switching if it was not "out of place"—using Horatian diction—and stuck to the decorum.[21] The humanists also seem to have been more conscious about code-switching than modern speakers, as they used it especially in formal (literary and scholarly) contexts and expressed meta-ideas about the phenomenon, building on ancient ideas and presumably going far beyond them.

Methodology

A possible mismatch between modern code-switching research and studies of its early modern Latin–Greek counterpart can be found in the methodologies adopted. A central tenet put forward by Gardner-Chloros suggests that "linguists should derive their data and evidence from the most typical speakers rather than

[20] See the discussion in Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 31–32.

[21] Compare Horace, *Ars poetica*, 19: "nunc non erat his locus." See also above for the full passage from Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*.

from more exceptional ones."[22] Scholars of early modernity are faced with several biases related to preservation and focus. First of all, due to the mechanics of Renaissance intellectual and print culture, the most exceptional code-switchers (like Erasmus of Rotterdam) have been best preserved and studied. These biases confront the scholar with the issue of representativeness, which can perhaps be overcome by looking at marginalised authors and student writings and the ways in which they show code-switching.

Historical code-switching presents other methodological issues, too. We cannot monitor the brains of historical speakers and try to analyze how their thought processes worked while code-switching. This poses additional challenges because each individual instance of code-switching "can be looked at from multiple perspectives, so from the outset, a certain depth of engagement with the data is necessary."[23] Hence, scholars of Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity will inevitably have access only to a portion of the data investigators of modern code-switching can draw upon. Nonetheless, an in-depth engagement with language data (i.e. texts) happens to be one of the specialties of Neo-Latinists and other scholars of early modernity, who are ideally suited to analyze early modern Latin–Greek code-switching, as the papers in the three special issues illustrate, we hope. The present triptych hopefully also demonstrates that philologists are prepared to tackle the phenomenon of early modern Latin–Greek code-switching by combining established methods with new digital approaches.[24] This step is inevitable if we want fields like Neo-Latin studies to keep pace with broader trends in the humanities. For this *via duplex*, we could follow the example of recent research into Latin–Greek code-switching in antiquity. In particular, the *Code-Switching in Roman Literature* (CSRL) database at the University of Cambridge provides an example of good practices in this regard, as it offers in-depth engagement with the sources, which are systematically analyzed using a tailormade framework. Figure 1 shows a record of the CSRL database of an instance in Cicero's letters to Atticus where the author code-switched to Greek in order to convey confidential information to his friend regarding the financial malpractice of his wife's freedman.

[22] Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 5.
[23] Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 9.
[24] See e.g., Van Rooy and Mercelis, "The Art of Code-Switching."

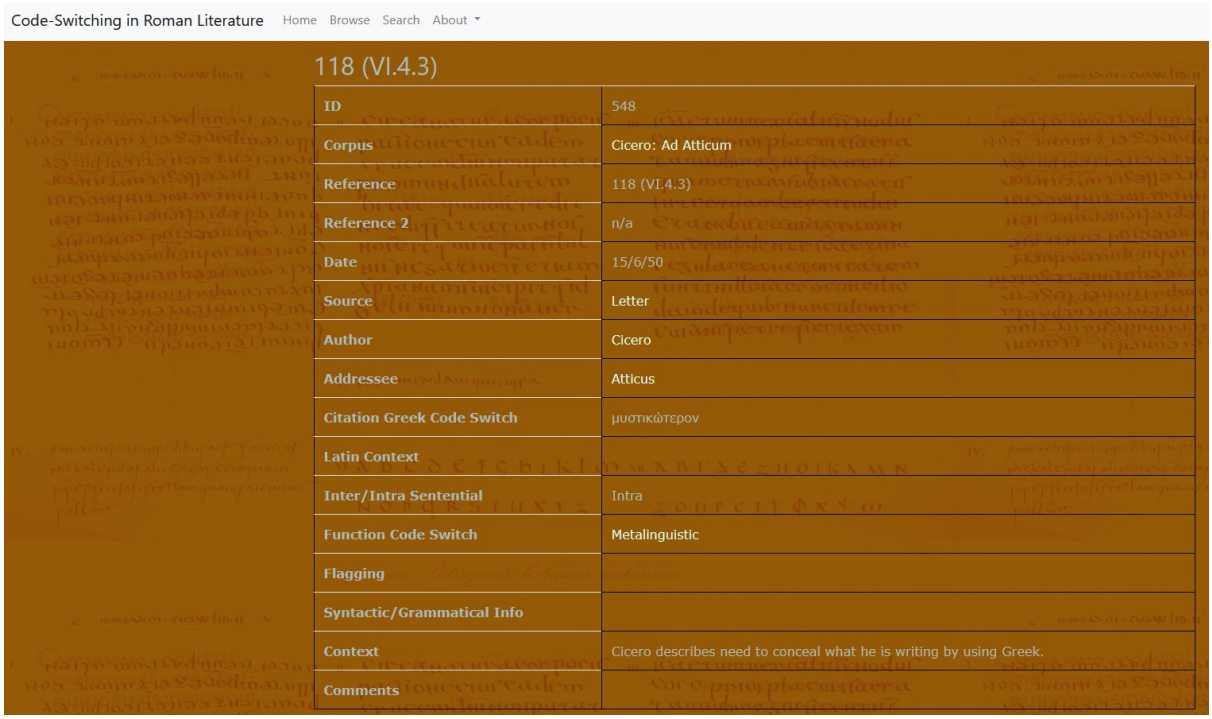

Figure 1: Screenshot from the CSRL database, last accessed 16 June 2023, https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/detail.php?id=548

The CSRL database constituted the starting point for numerous publications, including an extensive and well-researched monograph.[25] This digital philological approach shows how code-switching can be a fruitful research topic where classics and modern linguistics meet in stimulating ways, and how important it is to reflect well on one's methodology:

- What research focus does one want to adopt? What kind of code-switching will be in focus? Which aspect will take center stage (social, intellectual, pragmatic, metapoetic)?
- Which author(s) or corpus does one focus on?
- How can one meaningfully and efficiently analyze the code-switching? By close-reading following the example of the CSRL database or by automated processing? Or by both or by another method still?
- How can one meaningfully open up the results of the analysis? Preferably, one would make the underlying data as well as the analytical results available in order to make one's conclusions fully testable by others.

Conclusion: Thinking Outside the Box

Up to this point, we have been focusing on early modern classical bilingualism, since the special issues take early modern Latin–Greek code-switching as their object. In reality, however, the two classical languages interacted with other

[25] See Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*. See Section 2 for more details on the results.

languages, too, both learned tongues (like Hebrew and Arabic) and the vernaculars (like French and German). Interactions between Latin and the vernaculars have already been tackled in recent research.[26] Yet, the position of the learned languages, especially Greek, in the early modern languagescape has so far been overlooked almost entirely. At the same time, the multilingual situation in early modern Europe implies that Latin authors could switch to other languages than Greek, most notably the vernaculars, as several contributions in this special issue highlight.[27] This observation gains all the more importance, if one considers that "the fact of switching once actually creates the possibility of further switching: instead of going back to the variety used before the switch, trilingual speakers often take a different 'branch' on 'exiting' from it and switch to a third language."[28] This quote from Penelope Gardner-Chloros' work bears on intrasentential switches as in "Ich muss ab und zu in einem *dictionary* KIJKEN," where German, *English*, and DUTCH are used, but for the early modern period trilingual code-switching seems to have been rarer on this small scale, but rather productive between sentences and larger text units. Further research is required to investigate these more-than-bilingual forms of code-switching, especially in early modernity.

This three-part special issue should be considered the first rather than the last words on early modern Latin–Greek code-switching, which we hope will help scholars of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek think outside the monolingual box.[29] This outside-the-box thinking is crucial since Latin stood at the center of an entire intellectual ecosystem of language use. Latin was surrounded by the vernacular languages which scholars were starting to explore both in Europe and beyond, as well as the learned languages like Greek and Hebrew, and other linguistic codes, for instance invented languages (e.g. Utopian) or cryptographical codes, sometimes inspired by non-Latin alphabets such as the Greek.[30] As such, studying Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity joins in recent enthusiasm for historical multilingualism.[31]

Looking beyond the language box, code-switching has much to offer the scholar of the early modern period, since the phenomenon formed part of writers' socio-cultural profiling and constituted a strategy for negotiating an identity for themselves and for demonstrating their learning and wit.[32] This could happen both in dialogue and in contrast with the audience, distinguishing the in-group of classical bilingual learned and privileged men from non-learned others.[33]

[26] See e.g., Deneire, *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular*; Bloemendal, *Bilingual Europe*; Smirnova, "Neo-Latin and Russian"; Zeeberg, "The Language of the Professors"; Volk et al., "*Nunc profana tractemus*."

[27] See Barton and Nicholas in this special issue for observations on Greek, Latin, and the vernaculars (Spanish and English). For Dutch, see also Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, e.g., 58–62, 103–107.

[28] Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 16–17.

[29] The idea of studying code-switching as a strategy to "think 'outside the box'" in linguistic research stems from Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 9. See also the plea in Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*.

[30] See Van Rooy, "*Collegium plus quam trilingue*," 177, for an example of partly Greek-inspired cryptography from sixteenth-century Leuven.

[31] See e.g., most recently Pavlenko, *Multilingualism and History*.

[32] See Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*; Enenkel, "Introduction."

[33] See e.g., the paper by Barton in this special issue.

Indeed, for humanist authors, code-switching was about more than language alone, as it formed a linguistic strategy that gave shape to social relationships. As such, code-switching formed a constitutive part of a broader identity negotiation in early modern culture, in dialogue also with the ancients, from which they drew major inspiration. Hence, Section 2 goes back in time, outlining key features of classical Latin–Greek code-switching that are crucial to understand early modern practices.

2 Code-switching in Classical Literature

Overview

As Alex Mullen underlined in her article of 2015, contact between the Greek and Latin linguistic and cultural spheres was a "defining feature" of late Republican and Imperial Rome.[34] Greek was, of course, far from the only language with which Latin interacted in the long history of the Roman Empire. Varro and Festus reflected on the Etruscan words that had entered Latin by the time of Ennius, for example.[35] As the Empire's borders expanded, Latin speakers soon had to deal with languages (like Etruscan) linguistically much further removed from their own than the Italic tongues, including Oscan and Umbrian, for example, with which they had also long been in contact. Celtic and Germanic to the north, Punic and Libyan to the south across the Mediterranean, Hebrew and Aramaic languages to the east and then the Iberian and Celtiberian languages to the west are just some of the languages for which historical evidence of contact with Latin survives.[36] The extent of the exchange between Latin and Greek in antiquity (particularly in the late Republic and Empire), however, and thus the relatively large quantity of evidence surviving for interaction between the two, makes this sphere of linguistic contact the most important for historians, as well as the best studied.[37] The sitation also meant that the exchange between Latin and Greek particularly was the most influential for the early modern authors at the focus of this special issue.

Among the numerous areas and contexts for the interaction of Latin and Greek in antiquity, the case of "elite bilingualism" in classical Rome has received the

[34] Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 213.

[35] For the discussion of the term "subulo" ("flute-player") in Ennius, *Sat.* 20, for example, see Varr. *Ling.* 7.35 and Fest. 444.2. On this example and Latin's contact with Etruscan more widely see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 158–84. Bonfante, "Etruscan Words in Latin," 203; 206–7 gives three further examples of Varro's awareness of Etruscan contact.

[36] The detailed chapter on the contact of these languages (and others) with Latin in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 111–295 remains a leading introduction to the question.

[37] In lieu of an attempt to rehearse a bibliography of the well-researched field, we signal here Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero," 130–135 for a compact and pointed reminder of the extent of Greek's presence as a language in Rome.

most attention among classicists.[38] Within this 'bilingual' context,[39] the Latin–Greek code-switching in Cicero's letters, those of Pliny the Younger, or the correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius has been called upon repeatedly by philologists for evidence of the wide-spread competence in both Latin and Greek amongst members of the Roman elite.[40] Indeed, such was the expectation that a member of the Roman elite be able to speak Greek, that the absence of such skills in an individual could become a point of criticism and mockery.[41] Further indicative of the extent of Greek skills among Roman elites was the wide-spread opinion that condemned an over-reliance on Greek (as a marker of poor Latin skills, for example, or insincerity), or its use in unsuitable circumstances (such as formal debate or diplomatic occasions).[42] Knowledge of Greek in ancient Rome was, however, by no means restricted to the upper classes. The extensive and enduring overlap of the Roman and Greek worlds across the Mediterranean (and beyond) meant that skills in Greek were to be found across the social spectrum in Roman society, including—and often especially—among slaves.[43]

Following the long Roman conquest of Greece and continuing into the Eastern Roman Empire, Greek speakers of all social classes also came more frequently into contact with, and increasingly learned Latin.[44] Fleshing out her criticism of the 'established view' in earlier scholarship (which claimed that while Romans engaged thoroughly with Greek, the Greeks made little effort with Latin and Latin had little influence on Greek language), Dickey's lexicon of *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek* presents no fewer than 2500 instances of evidence for the intensive, and long-enduring Greek attention to Latin letters.[45] Exemplary of the extensive engagement of native Hellenophones with the Latin language from a later period generally are Ammianus Marcellinus from Greek Antioch and Claudian from Alexandria, who made their names on the basis of their works written in the language of Rome. Though less frequent than the Latin–Greek

38 This terminology is introduced helpfully in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 9. Adams references Hoffman, *An Introduction to Bilingualism*, 46 for his adoption of the term.

39 For pointed reflection on use of the term 'bilingual' in the study of ancient languages see Langslow, "Approaching Bilingualism," 26–35.

40 On Cicero's letters see, for example, Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 308–47, and Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching." For Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, see, for example, Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"." For Pliny see Rochette, "Traces du bilinguisme."

41 Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 9. Adams cites Cic. *Verr.* 4.127 as an example of the social disparagement directed at the Roman elite who had no Greek.

42 See the overview of Roman hostility to code-switching in Jocelyn, "Code-Switching in the Comoedia Palliata," 189–94. See also Rochette, "Greek and Latin Bilingualism," 287–88.

43 Biville, "The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin," 79. Biville gives the example of slaves using Greek at *Petr.* 64.5 and 73.3. On Greek as particularly the language of slaves and other lower classes in Rome see, e.g., Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 215 and Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero," 130.

44 Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 69–83.

45 Dickey set out the 'established view' and neatly formulated a critique in her review article "Ancient Bilingualism," 295–97. Dickey, *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek* appeared in late May 2023. A full consultation of the work has not been possible in the preparation of this Introduction. The summary of her work for the CUP blog, Dickey, "How did ancient Greek speakers use Latin?", http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2023/06/how-did-ancient-greek-speakers-use-latin/?utm source=hootsuite&utm medium=twitter&utm campaign=JYR 245 Dickey Blog June23 IOC provides a helpful summary of some key results (accessed on June 14, 2023).

reverse, Greek–Latin code-switches are also attested in both literary contexts such as Plutarch's description of the Roman temples founded under Servius Tullius,[46] for example, as well as in less elite circumstances. As Adams' chapter-length study showed in 2002, the Roman traders working side-by-side with Greek merchants at Delos from the second-century BC made switches between Latin and Greek in the inscriptions set up within their community, for example.[47]

The overlap of Greek and Latin in a wide range of linguistic contexts was, then, a reality for numerous individuals in the ancient Mediterranean. Code-switching between the two languages has emerged as a phenomenon of particular interest for scholars wishing to learn more about linguistic habits, social perceptions of language, literary traditions and the transfer of ideas within the Graeco-Roman (and Romano-Greek) world. The present overview of code-switching in classical literature intends to provide a compact summary of the key results of this earlier research as a useful starting-point for the study of Latin–Greek code-switching in early modern literature, the central theme of this set of special issues. It is no secret that the Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek authors who are the protagonists of the contributions to follow, prized imitation of classical authors as a key virtue of their own written production. It is thus no surprise to see that code-switching in letter writing (on the model of the custom evidenced among classical authors like Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Fronto and Marcus Aurelius), to take one obvious generic example, was a common practice among humanist authors who wished to set themselves apart as elites amongst their contemporaries.[48] However, as the chapters that follow also make clear, the respective values attached to Latin and Greek in early modern Europe often differed considerably from those of the classical world; the genres in which early modern authors composed their works could vary greatly from their ancient models; and the interplay between Latin, Greek and the various mother tongues of early modern authors (less often an issue for Ancient Greek and Roman writers) could bring new perspectives to the Latin–Greek relationship. Accordingly, whilst a grasp of the functions of code-switching in classical literature undoubtedly makes for a productive starting place for spotting similarities in the study of Latin–Greek switches in the early modern period, knowledge of ancient practice is equally important for highlighting the differences in the relationship between Latin and Greek in the early modern world. Following closely the established scholarship on Latin–Greek code-switching in classical literature, then, this overview will first briefly address (i) acknowledged methodological concerns before sketching (ii) representative formal concerns for code-switching in ancient authors and the question of genre, and (iii) the attempts to describe the common functions of code-switching in classical texts.

[46] Plut. *Moral.* (23.10) 322F. Plutarch keeps the specific Roman terminology for the temples' context, but uses the Greek alphabet. For further examples see Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 290–93.

[47] Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos," 119–25.

[48] See the articles on the letters of Ascham, Mariner, and Schurman in the present special issue.

(i) Methodological Concerns

As the written heritage of a historical linguistic community, it is clear that the evidence for Latin–Greek code-switching in the classical corpus is exclusively textual. The Latin and Greek of antiquity—and, for that matter, of the early modern period—are thus "corpus languages".[49] The application to written corpora of terminology and concepts developed primarily for the study spoken language is a process not without its challenges.[50] The concerns of literary production, for example, (including considerations of genre, audience, and style) might colour an author's use of language in ways different to those observed in spoken communication.[51]

Although the study of corpus languages occasionally offers solutions to some of the difficulties faced in work on the very flexible and rapidly changing world of speech,[52] scholarly approaches to code-switches in classical literature face a number of hurdles: a considerable amount of information on the identity of authors and their readers is missing; the precise dates and contexts of written production are often unclear; the effects of textual transmission of manuscripts or later editing should be accounted for; and access to data about the intentionality or spontaneity of an author's language use is seldom sure.[53] These concerns also hold, by and large, for the study of code-switching in the early modern period. But the fact that scholars of the Renaissance and early modern period are often fortunate to have access to autograph material from their authors, and in many cases possess surer knowledge of the contexts and figures at the heart of their work, may mitigate some of the methodological concerns faced by classicists.

(ii) Formal Characteristics

Studies of the formal aspects of Latin–Greek code-switching in antiquity to date have dealt almost exclusively with examples of the phenomenon in letter-writing, and with Cicero as a particular point of focus. This focus can be deemed representative to the extent that letter-writing, as a genre, constitutes for scholars one of the dominant sources for code-switching in antiquity: the three major collections of Cicero, Pliny and Fronto/Marcus Aurelius all contain Latin–Greek code-switches, with Cicero's correspondence alone presenting around one thousand instances.[54] Code-switching also occurs in early Roman comedy, where Plautus used Greek terms as a strategy to introduce humour through witticisms

[49] For the use of this term in classical philology see Langslow, "Approaching Bilingualism," 23–24.

[50] A summary of approaches to code-switching in historical texts, in the context of explicit methodological reflection on the study of the phenomenon in classical language is offered in Mäkilähde and Rissanen, "Methodological Considerations," particularly 239–41. See also Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 7–12.

[51] On this question see Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero," 143–46.

[52] Ibid., 144–45.

[53] This list summarises the points made by Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 214.

[54] Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 215.

and banter,[55] for example, as well as in satire, where in-jokes could be made for educated readers (who were also occasionally the targets of humour) in Greek.[56] Greek terminology appears, of course, in Roman technical treatises,[57] but switches into Greek were largely avoided in oratory and the poetic genres of elegy, lyric, and epic. Historians, too, tended to steer away from the inclusion of Greek in their work. The anecdotes including Greek words and phrases included in Suetonius' historical works make here for an exception.[58] Whilst these generic patterns of code-switching in ancient literature appear to map only loosely onto the practices of Neo-Latin authors,[59] classicists' concentration on Cicero and his letters has two clear methodological benefits for a comparison with early modern practice: firstly and most conspicuously, it is surely no accident that the majority of the chapters in the current series of studies have also found code-switching to be particularly common in early modern letter writing.[60] Secondly, regardless of genre, Cicero's works marked (then, as also perhaps still today) a high point of classical Latinity, and thus served as a model for Neo-Latin composition in numerous genres for authors in later periods.[61] The following overview of key formal characteristics of code-switching in classical literature thus draws in large part on Cicero due to his simple dominance in the sources (and thereby in earlier studies), but also as a particularly representative figure for Latin composition (and therefore also for code-switches into Greek) among early modern authors.

The structures of classical Greek and Latin are, in the wider perspective of linguistic divergence, overall rather similar. Both belong to the Indo-European family, are roughly co-eval and, as highly inflected languages, exhibit the characteristics of synthetic language structure (i.e.: they condense a range of semantic information in their endings). One result of these similarities with particular significance for the practice of code-switching between Latin and Greek is the relatively free word-order in both languages. On the basis of these conditions, it thus follows that the insertion of nouns in the second language is among the simplest, and the most frequently observed, examples of Latin–Greek code-switching.[62] Indeed, in their statistical analysis of the parts of speech employed in Pliny's correspondence, Elder and Mullen found that "single word switches are overwhelmingly composed of nouns, in fact three-quarters of all

55 Shipp, "Greek in Plautus," 105–12.

56 Jocelyn, "Code-Switching in the Comoedia Palliata," 183.

57 Ibid., 183–84.

58 Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 216.

59 See for example, the conspicuous inclusion of Greek in the theological tracts of Roger Ascham in the present issue by Nicholas.

60 The contributions by Nicholas and Barton address Latin–Greek code-switching in early modern correspondence.

61 For a careful but concise overview of Cicero as "[der] sprachlich-stilistische Vorbild der frühen Neuzeit schlechthin" see Korenjak, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur*, 34–37.

62 Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 126.

examples are single noun switches."[63] This dominance of nouns was also observed in Jackson's study of Cicero's code-switches in the *Ad Atticum*.[64]

Turning to the use of these nouns in their context: Greek nouns in code-switches tend to be governed by the Latin syntactical structure in which they appear.[65] In moments of exclamation in Cicero's letters, for example, where the Latinate exclamatory accusative is used, an inserted Greek noun also goes into the accusative, even if Greek itself would expect a genitive of exclamation.[66] The degree of overlap between the languages' syntaxes meant that this practice might operate seamlessly for code-switchers (compare Cic. *Epist.* 12.5.1 "non ad διψῶσαν *χρήνην* sed ad Πειρήνην," ("not to a *thirsty fount* but to *Pirene*"), where *ad* with the accusative replaces easily εἰς with the same case).[67] But the lack of an ablative in Greek, and the overlap of the Latin ablatival, instrumental and locatival functions of the ablative with the dative (instrumental and locatival) and genitive (ablatival) in Greek made for an array of responses. In Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, we find constructions such as "[Cato] dicit enim tamquam in Platonis *πολιτείᾳ*," ("For [Cato] speaks as though he were living in Plato's *Republic*"),[68] where Latin *in* plus ablative maps straightforwardly onto *ἐν* plus dative. The same Ciceronian corpus also gives, however, "etsi quid iam opus est *σχολίῳ*" (Not that there's any need *for a tract* now"), constructed with the dative to match the expected Latin ablative, whereas equivalent Greek phrases (*δεῖ* or *χρεία ἐστί*, for example) would want a genitive.[69] This meant a preference, in Fronto's letters for example, for Latin *ex* with a Greek dative, where the related Greek preposition *ἐκ* would expect a genitive.[70] To generalise, then, for a Latin ablative, the Greek dative is commonly employed.[71] In his study of the "Roman Greek" dative in Cicero, Adams even remarked on the graphemic support for this pattern in the apparent preference for Greek terms ending in *-ῳ* or *-ᾳ* in the dative to match the Latin ablative equivalents.[72] To mention but one of the alternative approaches to this widespread tendency, a Greek preposition might additionally be attracted into a moment of code-switching and thereby substantiate the 'expected' Greek declension of a noun within the switch.[73] An example occurs in Quintilian's consideration of *status* in philosophical discourse. In his discussion of the various

63 Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 47. The authors' statistical analysis is set out in tables 4 and 5 in the monograph on pages 45–6 and 48 respectively.

64 Jackson, "*In utramque partem*," 10–24.

65 Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 125–26.

66 Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 127. For a refinement of Dunkel's remarks on this syntactical structure see also Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 497.

67 The text and translation of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* follows those of Shakleton Bailey, ed. and trans., *Cicero's Letters to Atticus.*

68 Cic. *Epist*. 2.1.8.

69 Cic. *Epist.* 16.7.3; given as an example (with a different reading of the text) in Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 497.

70 This example is discussed at Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 71.

71 Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 125, n. 27. Wenskus even names the practice of Greek dative for Latin ablative "ein Regel," ("a rule") at "Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen," 178.

72 For Adams at length on the dative/ablative question see *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 496–509.

73 On the four or five varieties of attraction in Latin–Greek code-switching see Wenskus, "Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen," 180–84.

names for the conceptual arrangement of philosophical enquiry, Quintilian calls on the example of Theodorus the Atheist as follows,

> Idem Theodorus, qui de eo an sit et de accidentibus ei quod esse constat, id est *περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων*, existimat quaeri.
>
> As indeed [says] Theodorus, who thinks that the questions asked concern (a) whether a thing exists, (b) the accidents of something whose existence is agreed that is to say, *about its substance and its accidents.*[74]

Here, the Greek preposition *περί* is drawn additionally into the code-switch, which allows Quintilian to use the Greek genitive as expected after a preposition meaning 'about'. He might alternatively have declined *οὐσίᾳ* and *συμβεβηκόσιν* in the dative (for ablative) after *de*.[75]

Turning to the less well-represented parts of speech in Latin–Greek code-switches, adjectives—unsurprisingly—follow nouns and nominal phrases both in the frequency of their occurrence as well as in their grammatical-syntactical behaviour in the corpora reviewed by classicists.[76] The same does not hold, however, for the Greek noun's other close companion, the definite article. As Adams put it unambiguously in his overview of the theme in the context of ancient bilingualism, "the Greek definite article presented complex problems for Latin speakers."[77] Readers of an English-language special issue on Latin–Greek code-switching might agree with Dunkel's view that this absence is a "surprising" missed opportunity on the part of ancient authors to expand Latin's "grammatical panoply."[78] No statistical analysis of the parts of speech employed by early modern authors (with a wide variety of mother tongues) is offered in the present collection of essays, but the editors' impression would be that this absence is not so acutely felt in the Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek texts studied here. This is perhaps because many early modern vernaculars, the mother tongues of the authors considered in the following contributions, did possess an article in contrast to Latin.

In the data collected for the correspondence of Cicero, Pliny, and Fronto, verbal forms also lag behind nouns (outside nominal phrases) and adjectives when quotations are left out of the picture.[79] In the case of Pliny this lack of verbal forms is "striking,"[80] and whilst Cicero and Fronto more frequently employed Greek verbs in their texts, the profile of this usage is similarly marked: finite forms far outweigh infinitives. These verbs tend to be in the main clause, in the

74 Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.36. The translation follows that of the Loeb, with an editional translation of the Greek by the present authors for the sake of demonstrating the force of the code-switch.

75 This example is discussed at length at Wenskus, "Triggering und Einschaltung griechischer Formen," 183.

76 See once more Jackson, "*In utramque partem*," 10–24 for Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* and Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 48 for an overview of Roman correspondence.

77 Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 515.

78 Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 127.

79 Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 44–50.

80 Ibid., 49.

indicative, and with a preponderance of first-person forms.[81] In his focused study of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, Dunkel underlined the "complete absence of subordinate optatives" as indicative of the (relatively) restricted syntactic complexity of code-switches among ancient authors, for example.[82]

(iii) Common Functions of Code-Switching in Classical Texts

The use of Greek by Roman authors is a long-acknowledged feature of Latin literature, and indeed, for readers of Roman correspondence, comedy, satire, technical treatises and the wide range of later papyrological evidence—as we have seen—impossible to ignore.[83] Research into the circumstances, motivations, and goals of Latin authors' usage of Greek only began in earnest, however, with the introduction of methodologies from modern language studies, including the apparatus of code-switching.[84] One general, often implicit result of this turn of attention towards the whys-and-wherefores of Latin–Greek switches is the status of code-switching as a 'marked' activity.[85] That is to say, an activity with a communicative power greater than the meaning of the words themselves. On this basis, Adams classified the functions of code-switching in ancient authors into four overarching categories: establishing a relationship with an addressee, expressing identity, responding to a particular topic, and stylistic effect.[86] Under these main headings are then catalogued specific functions, which include expressions of solidarity and intimacy, practices of encoding information, confidentiality or the exclusion of certain readers, distancing, humour and euphemism, the use of fixed expressions, filling a gap, technical terminology, and emotional or literary evocativeness. There is a good deal of overlap in the functions discussed by Adams with those identified by Swain, who examines—once more on the basis of Cicero—examples of code-switching for addressing specific topics, as discourse markers, for the purposes of humour, solidarity, confidentiality and, of course, learned quotation.[87]

The most comprehensive list of the functions of code-switching in ancient literature (once more with an explicit focus on the correspondences of Cicero, Pliny, Fronto, and Suetonius) has been prepared by Elder and Mullen. A first tabular arrangement of these functions in Fronto's correspondence was presented in Mullen's article-length study of 2015.[88] It was then expanded considerably to include the results of the authors' work on Cicero, Pliny, and Suetonius and

[81] It has been well noted that this preference for the first person is surely influenced by the personal nature of the letter-writing genre. See Jackson, "*In utramque partem*," 10.

[82] Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 126–27 (citation 126).

[83] A useful review of earlier nineteenth and twentieth-century studies was made in Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, 16–26. (Rochette's introduction continues with a review of earlier work on Latin in Greek, 26–36.)

[84] Dickey, "Ancient Bilingualism," 296.

[85] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 303–305 refers explicitly to the terminology of markedness inherited from modern language studies.

[86] Ibid., 301–304. Adams' list largely maps onto the functions outlined in Section 1.

[87] Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero," 151–62.

[88] Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 222.

offered to readers in a series of tables as an appendix to *The Language of Roman Letters*,[89] before being made available online in the CSRL database.[90] As the fullest account yet produced in the field, the following reproduction of the head words from Elder and Mullen's survey, in alphabetical order, provides the a clear overview of the basic functions of code-switching in Roman literature:[91] Citation of a word under discussion (often the Greek term's meaning or correct translation); Code (for the sake of confidentiality); Commentary (for elaboration on terms in the other language); Description (offering additional information on another term); Discourse marker; Exclamation; Explanation; Greek cultural sphere (GCS) (to describe the evocation of Greek cultural associations, often through the use of specifically Greek terms); Greetings; Instructions/Requests; Insults/Mockery; Metalinguistic (for code-switches that comment on a moment of switching); Naming (for mentioning a Greek proper name); Omen/Prophecy; Question; Quotation (including both verbatim and lightly adapted quotations of sources); Referential (where the code-switch advances the meaning of the text, but neither comments nor describes the other language); Wordplay.

In the corpus compiled by Elder and Mullen, the two dominant functions are those of the 'Greek cultural sphere' and 'Quotation'. The second of these needs little explanation. Pliny, for example, could call on Homer's *Odyssey* in a letter to Tacitus, a fellow member of Rome's literary elite, by means of a switch into the original Greek.[92] The ampler functions of such a quote might include the marking of solidarity for an in-group of Hellenised Romans, or the evocation of emotions, but for Elder and Mullen's analysis the primary function of quotation remains key.[93] The wider category of 'GCS' gains its precedence primarily through the inclusion of code-switches involving specific Greek terms for the technicalities of literature, rhetoric, and grammar. Whilst Latin developed its own terms for many of these features, Greek remained the dominant language of instruction for educated Romans in these fields.[94] The same went for the vocabulary of medicine, philosophy, politics, seafaring, and warfare, where the incorporation of single word switches allowed authors to express nuances and subtleties of meaning that were difficult to capture in Latin alone.[95]

Among the "higher level functions" subordinated to Elder and Mullen's list of "basic functions"[96] the related purposes of expressing solidarity, intimacy and

89 Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 291–307.

90 Elder and Mullen, "Code-Switching in Roman Literature," https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/index.php# (accessed on June 10, 2023). See Section 1 on methodology.

91 This list reproduces the head words, with adapted descriptions in brackets (where deemed necessary), from the table presented in Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 25–29. Methodological reflection on the compilation of these head words is offered ibid., 19–30.

92 E.g., Plin. *Ep.* 1.20.22.

93 Discussion of the methodological choices made by the two authors on the basis of this Plinian passage can be found at Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 19–23.

94 The explanation of this statistical dominance at Mullen, ""In Both Our Languages"," 225 is concise and clear.

95 A list of common fields where these "still-Greek *Fremdwörter*" in Cicero is offered at Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 127.

96 For this terminology see Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*, 19.

shared experience stands out as a group of theme to which classicists have attributed particular importance.[97] This is an example of a function of Latin–Greek code-switching upon which early modern authors also frequently called.[98] To cite just once example from the array of examples mentioned in earlier research: in signing off a letter to Atticus (2.15), Cicero could pass on greetings to his friend on behalf of his family, specifically from Terentia (who owes much gratitude to Atticus for his support in her dispute with Mulvius) and from his son as follows: "ea tibi igitur et Κικέρων, *ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς*, salutem dicunt," ("so, she [Terentia] and *Cicero*, *most noble of sons*, send their regards.") The switch captures, then, Cicero's affection for his son in his use of the boy's language of education and in-house upbringing.[99] It also, however, captures the feeling of belonging of Cicero himself and of Atticus to this group of upper-class Romans well-educated in Greek. By extension, the Greek then also reinforces the feeling of solidarity and intimacy felt by Cicero towards Atticus for the latter's engagement on behalf of Terentia.

2 Summary and Preview

Whilst the above summary of several of the key elements of code-switching in classical literature testifies to the extensive work devoted to the interaction between the ancient languages, the phenomenon of Latin–Greek code-switching in Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek literature has yet to become the object of dedicated study. The oversight is surprising: the widespread presence of Ancient Greek in Neo-Latin texts is immediately evident to readers of humanist dialogues, baroque *tractatus*, eighteenth-century handbooks, or early modern letter collections. Moreover, authors of new Greek texts in western Europe's early modern period had invariably—indeed, almost unavoidably—also had extensive training in Latin. The workshop "Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity" (held at KU Leuven 13–14 October 2022 and funded by the Scientific Research Network (SRN) "Literatures without Borders" from the RELICS Group (Ghent), the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies (Innsbruck) and the Flemish FWO (KU Leuven) aimed to make a first step towards filling this gap.

The twelve contributions to this workshop dealt with both linguistic and literary questions of code-switching between the classical languages in early modern Europe. Following a two-day discussion of materials submitted by

[97] For solidarity in particular in Cicero see Mäkilähde and Rissanen, "Methodological Considerations," 241–42. On intimacy see Wenskus, *Emblematischer Codewechsel*, 8–10; Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 128; Jocelyn, "Code-Switching in the Comoedia Palliata," 187. For the expression of shared experience see Dubuisson, "Le grec à Rome," 193 and again Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 128. A compact summary of these themes on the example of Cicero, with a detailed bibliography of earlier studies, is available at Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin language*, 309–323.

[98] See, for example, the contribution by Nicholson in the present issue. See also Rummel, "The Use of Greek."

[99] Dunkel, "Remarks on Code-Switching," 128.

authors in advance of the event workshop and subsequent revision of papers in response to the workshop's results, the contributions collected in this three-part special issue offer case-studies of individual authors, works, and geographical areas. The studies reflect on the various practices, contexts, meanings, and functions of Latin–Greek code-switching in the period ca. 1450–1750. The articles return to a series of questions and themes which guided, often implicitly, the proceedings of discussion in Leuven and therefore also the present three-part collection. From the wide-range of responses to these questions offered by the early modern material under the lens, the following paragraphs draw together the themes of the four papers collected in this first part of the special issue triptych. Parts two and three will both be prefaced by a brief editorial note performing a similar synthetic function for the articles in those issues.

In the first contribution to the present issue, on Roger Ascham's (ca. 1515–1568) Latin–Greek code-switching, Lucy Nicholas asks a series of questions about the strategic combination of the two classical languages in one scholar's correspondence and examples of his theological work from Tudor England. This paper reveals the recognisable use of Greek to parade one's learning and the language's employment as a recondite medium offering potential to forge new communities within a public-facing Latin discourse. After Nicholas' attention to Ascham's prose texts, Stefan Weise's article analyses the factors that determined Lorenz Rhodoman's (1546–1606) choice of languages or dialects in his extensive poetic output. Rhodoman's verse included Neo-Latin and bilingual poems, in Greek and Latin or Latin and German. Within his Greek poems, moreover, Rhodoman often also used the Doric dialect adding further linguistic variation.

Moving from Germany to Spain in the multilingual landscape of early modern Europe, the third article by William M. Barton focuses on the forms and functions of Vicente Mariner's (d. 1642) Latin–Greek code-switching in his correspondence with Brabantian scholar Andreas Schott. The contribution finishes by comparing Mariner's use of the languages with his theoretical reflections on the relationship of Greek, Latin, and the modern vernaculars in his œuvre. For the Valencian author, a perceived hierarchy in descending order from Greek to Latin to the vernaculars became a means to demonstrate his virtuosity in the face of his personal publication concerns. Widening still further the information available from the study of Latin–Greek code-switching in the early modern literary tradition, Pieta van Beek's article gives an overview of Anna Maria van Schurman's (1607–1678) remarkable linguistic knowledge. The paper examines the Dutch scholar's Latin–Greek code-switching within her plurilingual context and shows how it differed from that of her male and female contemporaries, as well as how it could change in response to shifting religious allegiances.

This first issue thus explores the results of applying the concept of code-switching to early modern uses of Latin and Greek in the writing of four authors from western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeen centuries. The following second and third issues widen this perspective substantially to include studies on the phenomenon of Latin–Greek code-switching in the multilingual early modern world from the early sixteenth century to the nineteenth century across Europe.

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Roger Ascham's Latin–Greek Code-Switching: A Philosophical Phenomenon*

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ABSTRACT

The Englishman Roger Ascham (ca. 1515–1568) was an expert Latinist and Hellenist, and an inveterate code-switcher. This article will assess Ascham's careful incorporation of Greek into his writing, be it single words, phrases or quotations. It will consider his extensive Latin correspondence and theological treatises that were inflected with Greek; his Latin and Greek poetry; and also one of his most famous tracts composed in the vernacular. I will explore how his use of Greek heightened a sense of sociability at both micro- and macro-levels through the establishment of a network of 'belonging'. Ascham's conspicuous cultivation of royalty and nobles also implicated his Greek code-switches in the business of State governance. Yet many of Ascham's Greek references were religiously freighted; this was especially so in his two theological Latin tracts, each of which broached sensitive doctrinal topics and relied on the Greek New Testament as a guarantor of religious veracity. In addition to probing the meanings of discrete parcels of Greek, this article will also broach the significant role Greek might play in terms of linguistic enhancement, both for Latin and also the vernacular. Taking this further, I will additionally suggest that Greek could be instrumental in effecting a broader programme of moral formation. Hence a fundamental premise and arrival-point of this paper is that code-switching was more than just a practice; it was a mentality.

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* Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own, and Latin and Greek orthography and any accentuation has been standardized in line with modern conventions.

1 Introduction

In his final work, *The Scholemaster*, the sixteenth-century humanist Roger Ascham stoutly declared:

> For good and choice meats be no more requisite for healthy bodies than proper and apt words be for good matters … For mark all ages, look upon the whole course of both Greek and Latin tongues, and ye shall surely find that when apt and good words began to be neglected … then also began ill deeds to spring, strange manners to oppress good orders, new and fond opinions to strive with old and true doctrine, first in philosophy and after in religion.[1]

Here, *in nuce* (or ἐν ὀλίγῳ if you prefer), Ascham presents us very directly with his conception of language, one that, depending on its quality, impinged on individual conduct, on civic regulation, and on doctrinal and ideological beliefs. This conviction was central to Ascham's entire programme, and in turn must colour our view of his prolific Latin–Greek code-switching. Indeed, a fundamental premise of this article is that code-switching was more than just a practice or a status-marker; it was a mentality. I shall argue that, for Ascham at least, it constituted a symbolically-charged activity; that it was closely correlated with community-creation and also larger issues of rule, but also—and perhaps more strikingly—with religious truth, and linguistic-ethical improvement. Indeed, evident in all of Ascham's code-switches was a deep sense of the sacrality of Greek, a perception that it was a special language of peculiar power. While the primary focus will be Ascham, his approach merits our attention as it has the potential to shed light on the habits and mindsets of other Latin–Greek code-switchers of the time.

Before advancing further, I offer a few words on Ascham's background, which might help us to understand a little more about what qualified him to use Greek within a Latinate setting in the first place. The life of the Englishman Ascham (ca. 1515–68) coincided with a tumultuous period in English history, witnessing the reigns of five monarchs of vastly different confessional hues: Henry VIII and his break with Rome but rather indeterminate religious policy; his son Edward VI, who launched one of the most radical Protestant experiments in all of Europe; his (fudged) Protestant successor, the nine-day Queen, Lady Jane; the staunchly Catholic Mary I; and finally the *via media* Protestant Elizabeth I. During this time of continuous change, Ascham worked as a university scholar, a royal tutor, and court servant and diplomatic secretary in the Low Countries, all the while taking an active role in the religious reform of the Tudor realms. He was an expert Latinist, acting as Public Orator at Cambridge University, and serving as Latin Secretary under both Mary I and Elizabeth I. Ascham was also a very gifted Hellenist. While still a student, Ascham's Greek tutor, Robert Pember, complimented him on his flair for Greek and referred to a separate letter that Ascham had written to

[1] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 3, 211–12.

him entirely in that language.[2] By the mid to late 1530s, Ascham was himself lecturing on Greek authors, in particular Aristotle and Plato.[3] Between 1541 and 1543, he produced the first Latin translation of the Greek commentaries on Philemon and Titus, attributed to Oecumenius,[4] at a time when the field of Greek patristics was still in its infancy both in England and elsewhere in Northern Europe.[5] Later in his life, he would also teach royals and other nobles in Greek, including Elizabeth, both as a princess and also as Queen.[6]

Among these many obligations, Ascham also produced a number of written works, including tracts composed in Latin and—perhaps more famously, at least today—his native English. All of these works broach the use of Greek or were interspersed with parcels of Greek, be it single words, phrases, or longer quotations. Over the course of this article, I will review Ascham's use of Greek code-switches in his extensive Latin correspondence, in his theological works in Latin, in the Latin and Greek poetry he composed, and finally in *The Scholemaster*, his most influential and well-known text, written in the vernacular.[7] While the actual utilization of switches into Greek constitutes the primary concern of this article, Ascham's *obiter dicta* about the status and capabilities of the Greek language are also pertinent, and will be mentioned along the way. Additionally, as I will suggest towards the end of this article, the integration of Greek into Ascham's vernacular writing was not insignificant, and it is likely that his views about Greek's relationship to Latin also extended into his thoughts about the emerging English language. Throughout, I will attempt to show that Ascham's sprinkles of Greek were far from superficial or merely 'rhetorical', but deeply serious and bound up with an entire philosophy, one which was almost certainly not unique to Ascham.

2 Community creation

In recent years scholars have called attention to and evaluated the extraordinarily polyglot nature of early modern Europe. A recurring emphasis has been the cultural context of language use, with a strong focus on the ways in which language

2 See Edward Grant's *Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami* (ibid., 311); unfortunately, this letter in Greek seems not to have survived. It is clear that Ascham wrote other letters in Greek: there is mention in 1541 of a Greek letter written to Archbishop Edward Lee (Giles, Ascham, vol. 1.1, 18); and in a mailing to John Seton in 1544, Ascham suggests that he might write to a potential new patron "vel Graece vel Latine vel utrumque" ("in Greek, or in Latin or both") (Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 61).

3 Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 25–26. It is unclear whether this was done in Greek or Latin, and indeed whether the students were reading these authors in the original Greek.

4 Ascham's identification of 'Oecumenius' as the author of the commentaries was an over-simplification: the material he translated was just one authority among several, including Chrysostom, Theodoret and Cyril.

5 The full title was *Expositiones item antiquae, in epistolas Divi Pauli ad Titum et Philemonem, ex diversis sanctorum Patrum Graece scriptis commentariis ab Oecumenio collectae, et a R.A. Latine versae*. See Kennerley, "Patristic Scholarship and Ascham's "troubled years"."

6 For more on such royal teaching commissions, see Nicholas and Law, *Ascham and his Sixteenth-Century World*; and Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain*.

7 Ascham's letters are set out in Giles, *Ascham*, vols. 1–2, his verse and *The Scholemaster* in vol. 3. His theological tracts can be found in Ascham, *Apologia … Cui accesserunt themata quaedam theologica*.

practices are socially, historically and politically embedded.[8] It has been further suggested that social groups could confer value on particular languages, determine the appropriates codes, assess the relative ranking or prestige of languages, and even adjudicate the quality or purity of a language.[9] One of the most widely-dispersed linguistic communities of the early modern era was one organized around Latin, the European *lingua franca*, a language which gave shape to what is commonly termed the *res publica literaria*, a 'Republic of Letters'.[10] Although ill-defined and more a community of the imagination than a physical reality, this Republic of Letters, which promoted a Latinity rooted in humanist ideals, wielded enormous influence in both national and international affairs. Under this umbrella grouping, individuals forged a variety of networks within and across borders. Ascham's correspondence, however, seems to reflect the development of a further subset of the Republic of Letters, one that was composed of individuals who had a literacy in both Latin *and* Greek. I will propose in what follows that the use of Greek, even if deployed within the far more public-facing language of Latin, might result in the establishment of a series of sub-groups that were yet more tightly-knit; or, to use more modern terminology, 'information bubbles'.

While the vast majority of Ascham's letters are in Latin, and clearly rely on and invest in that society of Latin speakers, many of them are flecked with Greek. In his capacity as Public Orator and Latin secretary to two queens, Ascham would write hundreds of letters in Latin to public worthies across the continent. The letters that incorporate Greek tended to comprise exchanges with other scholars, either in Cambridge or other European universities, but also include those with select nobles linked to such centres of learning. Within Ascham's corpus it is possible to discern efforts to build affiliations at both micro and macro levels, and I shall discuss both.

Ascham's dispatches that contain Greek often do so towards the start of the letter, as though the Greek almost acts as a 'masonic handshake', a form of signalling that acknowledges that both sender and recipient understand the language. In this sense, code-switching was very much bound up with *amicitia*. So, for example, a letter that Ascham sent to an absent colleague, James Cordingley, about a college matter, began as follows:

> Quoties memoria repeto, carissime Cordinglaee, iucundissimam illam familiaritatem, quae mihi tecum arctissime intercessit, *οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε νὴ Δία δικαίως δοκοίην τῆς μεγίστης ἀχαριστίας ἀναίτιος εἶναι* sed ab omni prorsus humanitatis officio discedere, si postquam tu a nobis discesseris ullam necessitudinis nostrae discessionem mea scribendi negligentia patiar obrepere.[11]

[8] Auger and Brammall, *Multilingual Texts and Practices*; Bloemendal, *Bilingual Europe*; Gallagher, *Learning Languages*; and Winkler and Schaffenrath, *Neo-Latin and the Vernaculars*.

[9] Auger and Brammall, *Multilingual Texts and Practices*, 4.

[10] See also Bots and Waquet, *La République des lettres*; and Burke, *Languages and Communities*.

[11] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 9 (1539/40). "My dearest Cordingley, how often I recall to mind that most delightful friendship that bound you and me in the most intimate way, [and] *I would not, by Zeus, justly seem to be guiltless of the greatest ingratitude*, but to break completely with every duty of courtesy if, after your departure from us, I should allow any break in our connection to steal upon me by my negligence in writing."

The Greek is crucial to the opening appeal to intimacy. It also contains a learned allusion, which nods to both Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, *οὐδ' ἂν οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀναίτιος εἶναι ἀφροσύνης*,[12] and also Cicero, who used the Greek term in one of his letters to Atticus, "sed ita meruisse illum de me puto ut *ἀχαριστίας* crimen subire non audeam ... ."[13] The Greek deployed here acts as an additional bond between the two men both by its actual content, and through a shared consciousness of its provenance. It might even be argued that the fusion of Xenophon and Cicero as simultaneous points of reference effectively amounted to a sort of code-switching allusivity, an integrative patterning of ancient Greek (Xenophon) and ancient code-switcher (here, Cicero) which could be repeated.

A sixteenth-century scholar like Ascham would have been alert to the fact that he was working within a tradition of code-switching into Greek, a consideration that might suffuse certain phrases with yet further weight and meaning, but might equally have served to 'naturalize' phrases with the result that they underscored a greater sociability. Erika Rummel, in her survey of Greek in Erasmus' correspondence, has shown how certain Greek phrases were used repeatedly by Erasmus to generate an air of fraternity.[14] Some of these appear in Ascham's letters too. For example, in a dispatch that Ascham sent to Sir William Paget, himself a former Cantabrigian and the then Secretary of State, concerning his own suitability for the Greek professorship at Cambridge University, Ascham described Paget as a "Deus *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*," writing, "Tum cepi ego multas cogitationes versare, ecquisne tu, quasi Deus *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς* a Deo Optimo Maximo non solum ad Reipublicae salutem sed etiam ad meae caussae susceptionem mittereris."[15] The phrase "Deus *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*," which is believed to have originated with Plato,[16] was also a favourite of Erasmus.[17]

Rummel further points out that the use of Greek often signalled emotional involvement, since each Greek word "affected the reader through its inherent qualities and its foreign character."[18] In this way too, then, the incorporation of Greek might act to heighten levels of intimacy. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Ascham often deployed Greek tragedy in moments of particular personal distress. So, for instance, in a letter to John Redman, a fellow college member, in which Ascham expresses his bewilderment about a certain in-house hostility towards

12 Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1.5.10. " ... not even he, it seems to me, would rightly be considered guiltless of inconsideration."

13 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 9.7.4. "But I consider that he [Pompey] deserves so much from me that I dare not lay myself open to a charge *of ingratitude* ... ." Ascham would use the Greek term on a few occasions: to Cheke in 1551 (Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 236); and in a letter to Stephen Gardiner of 1553 (Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 383).

14 Rummel, "The Use of Greek in Erasmus' Letters." As she points out, the theory behind such usage was discussed in part in his *De Copia*.

15 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 51 (1544). "Then I began to reflect at length how you, just like a *deus ex machina*, you were sent by Almighty God, not only for the safety of the state but also for the support of my cause."

16 Plato, *Cratylus*, 425D.

17 Rummel, "The Use of Greek in Erasmus' Letters," 60. It was also used by Cicero.

18 Ibid., 56.

him, he wrote, "*βλάβαι* enim sunt *ποδώκες*, ut ait in Antigone Sophocles."[19] It may be that certain Greek literary genres helped to engender a particular psychological register in early modern correspondence more broadly. Indeed, Ascham's deployment of Sophocles here is closely mirrored by Philip Melanchthon's citations of the Greek tragedians in his letters.[20]

In addition to cementing current friendships in Ascham's own land, his application of Greek played an important role in cultivating close acquaintances with individuals further afield, indeed often with people he would never actually meet in person. One of his most meaningful lines of correspondence was with Johannes Sturm, a renowned classical scholar and Hellenist, head of the Strasbourg Gymnasium, and prominent player in the Protestant movement there.[21] The written communication between Ascham and Sturm was frequent and long-lasting, and the two men became so close that Ascham would make Sturm godfather to his son, and their wives would send each other gifts. In his many epistles to Sturm, Ascham regularly employs Greek phrases and literary quotes, discusses the Greek Fathers, and early modern Greek scholarship, including various projects Sturm himself is working on.[22] It is striking that Ascham's first letter to Sturm began with a direct comparison of Athens and Rome. He referred to Athens as the cradle of all eloquence and learning, and to Rome as an equal practitioner of rhetoric, but also as a place that had fallen into a state of "papist luxury" (*papistico luxu*) and become "an empire of the Antichrist" (*imperioso Antichristianismo*).[23] This identification of two cultures, Hellenic and Latinate, at the head of this first letter, and Ascham's categorical pronouncement that "Hinc incredibilis ille sensus amoris, quo omnes fere docti etiamnum prosequuntur Athenas illas Atticas",[24] captures well the development of a specific branch of humanism, the focus of which was as much ancient Greece as Rome. The close conjunction of Greek and Latin literature also reflects an outlook that Sturm evinced in his own writing, particularly in his educational tracts.[25]

By extension, it is interesting to observe in Ascham's letters his tendency to define individuals by their proficiency in and allegiance to Latin and Greek studies. In another letter to Sturm, Ascham informs Sturm about the imminent arrival of one of his colleagues, John Hales, in Strasbourg, writing, "Doctrina verissimae religionis Christi optime institutus est. … Literarum amore summo, cognitione vero praeclara imbutus est … peritiam Latinae linguae perfectam,

19 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 43 (1544). "For injuries are *swift-footed*, as Sophocles says in Antigone." The reference is from Sophocles, *Antigone*, line 1104.

20 Lazarus, "Tragedy at Wittenberg", 55–56.

21 Nicholas, "The Special Relationship."

22 For example, *Dialogi Aristotelici* or *Aristotelian Dialogues*: this was a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in dialogue form, but now lost.

23 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 181–82 (1550).

24 Ibid., 182. "For this reason, almost all learned men still follow after Attic Athens with an astonishing sense of devotion."

25 Spitz and Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education*.

Graecae mediocrem … exhauserit."[26] To John Cheke, one of his dearest Cambridge friends and mentors, he alluded to a recommendation from "Elandus noster" ("our friend Eland") of one Henry Wright, who has "tanta ingenii, industriae, constantiae, spe in rectissimum studiorum cursum ingressus est, hoc est, tam feliciter Aristotelem et Platonem cum Cicerone coniungit …"[27] The use of "coniungit" here was especially potent as it evoked the very act of code-switching itself. It was as though Latin–Greek code-switching, at least within this context of amity-and-introduction, functioned as a guarantor of a sort of 'soundness'. It denoted a form of trust, and pointed to a presumption that those who know Greek would be able to act ethically with the information encoded in Greek.

There is a similar instance of this in another letter Ascham sent to Francis Douaren, a French jurist and professor of law at the University of Bourges.[28] The letter in part comprises a lengthy encomium about a mutual acquaintance, Thomas Martin,[29] and in the midst of this passage, Ascham, cognizant of Douaren's love of classics,[30] makes reference to Martin's appointment to a senior post: "*in numerum τῶν προέδρων*, qui … maximas hominum controversias cognoscunt et decidunt."[31] The calculated use of Greek here seems to help bind and underpin the ties between the three men, and to unite them by a sort of clubbable nod produced by the Greek reference. In this sense, code-switching might be said to function like an actual code, in the MI5 sense – a secret language – in which the significant 'message' was less what was said than the fact that both utterer and listener were privy to the code in which it was said. Through his code-switches into Greek, Ascham was generating more than single linkages, but an entire web, as Ascham defined individuals by their proficiency in and allegiance to Greek as well as Latin studies. There had been philhellenic coteries in the past, perhaps most famously, Aldus Manutius's *Neakademia*, but, by this time, Ascham and others were forging more diffuse networks.

3 Greek's hegemonic role

Indeed, efforts to create Hellenically-inclined sodalities were not simply confined to Ascham's academic friends. Ascham was a man with contacts at Court, including with some of the most influential elite in the land. We know that he taught Greek to the English ambassador Richard Morison, Charles Brandon (the future 3rd Duke of Suffolk) and Elizabeth I. We also know, because he tells us time and

[26] Ibid., vol. 1.2, 303 (1551). "He [Hales] is very well instructed in the doctrine of the truest religion of Christ … He is moreover endowed with the highest devotion to and the most excellent knowledge of literature … [and] he has achieved a complete proficiency in Latin, [and] a moderate one in Greek … ."

[27] Ibid., vol. 1.1, 176 (1549/50). "[Wright has] entered upon a most correct course of studies with so much promise of talent, diligence and perseverance; that is, he so happily conjoins Aristotle and Plato to Cicero … ."

[28] Ibid., vol. 1.2, 431–35, (1554).

[29] Sometimes spelt 'Martyn'.

[30] He was one of a splinter group of lawyers who applied the philological methods of the Italian humanists to legal texts.

[31] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 434 (1554). " … as one *of the principal officials* who inform themselves about and decide the most important controversies of men."

time again, that he was tireless supporter of the pursuit of Greek by any royals and nobles in whom he sensed a sympathy for classical Greek studies, and we must also include those figures within Ascham's Latin-Greek compass.

His correspondence with certain luminaries often either embedded a Greek term within a Latin text, or made mention of a classical Greek author or work of literature. There was often a religious charge to the Greek he used. In 1551 he wrote to Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and a young woman destined to be the unfortunate short-lived Queen at the end of Edward's reign. His letter opens with an almost devotional recollection of the moment when he came across her, "a divine maiden" (*divinam Virginem*) at her ancestral home, diligently reading "the divine *Phaedo*" (*divinum … Phaedonem*) "of the divine Plato" (*divini Platonis*) in Greek.[32] With the cry ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί ("O Zeus and the Gods!"), a phrase found—and not by coincidence—in another Platonic work, the *Protagoras*,[33] Ascham declared Jane more fortunate on account of her reading in Greek than because of her royal descent on both her father's and her mother's side: "hac parte felicior es iudicanda, quam quod πατρόθεν μητρόθεν τε ex regibus reginisque genus tuum deducis."[34] He followed this with the exhortation to press onward, calling her "the pride of your country" (*patriae decus*) and the "highest admiration to all strangers" (*omnibus exteris summam admirationem*). This was, in fact, an episode that Ascham would relate repeatedly, including in his final work, *The Scholemaster*.[35]

Ascham would make constant reference to the Greek abilities of the great and the good in his letters, regularly via code-switching, and in doing so, he heightened yet further the importance of the language. In a letter to Sturm he observed how Mildred Cecil, the renowned daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke and wife of the Secretary of State, William Cecil, "haud aliter Graece intelligit et loquitur quam Anglice."[36] He then proceeded to praise Cecil himself with an accolade that Thucydides bestowed on Pericles, "Γνῶναι τὰ δέοντα, ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὰ γνωθέντα, φιλόπολις εἶναι, καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων,[37] huic communis consentiensque Anglorum vox impartita sit."[38] In many letters to Sturm, Ascham lavished praise on his charge, Elizabeth, for her excellence in both Greek and Latin tongues. In one missive, Ascham outlined the extent to which Aristotle's definition of excellence was wholly transfused in Elizabeth, writing, "Nam κάλλος in illa, μέγεθος, σωφροσύνη καὶ φιλοεργία omnia summa."[39] When we realize that Ascham was here quoting qualities listed (in the same order) in Aristotle's own *Rhetoric*,

32 Ibid., 239 (1551).

33 Plato, *Protagoras*, 310E and also in Aristophanes' *Plutus*.

34 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 239. "In this degree are you to be judged the happier than because you trace your family back to kings and queens *on your father's and mother's side*." μητρόθεν and πατρόθεν: these words are found together in Plutarch, *On the Education of Children*, 1.2.

35 Ibid., vol. 3, 118. And also in two letters to Sturm (Giles, Ascham, vol. 1.2, 227 (1550) and 298 (1551)).

36 Ibid., vol. 1.2, 228 (1550). "[She] understands and speaks Greek equally with English."

37 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponneisan War*, 2.60.5–6.

38 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 228. ""To know all that is fitting [to know], to be able to apply what he knew, to be a lover of his country, and to be superior to money": to this, the common and consistent voice of Englishmen has pledged [itself]."

39 Ibid., vol. 1.1, 191 (1550). "For in her is contained all beauty, stature, prudence and industry."

we see a deliberate attempt to harmonize praise of the pupil and the learning of the tutor. The technique not only served to underscore the tightness of the relationship between teacher and student, but also invested the Latin–Greek clusters with a layer of powerful patronage and associated them with the business of rule.[40]

Ascham's remarks about the *modus* of the future Queen's assimilation of Greek illustrate this point still further. Ascham was emphatic that the nature of Elizabeth's instruction was not just linguistic but also literary and wholly directed towards government. He actively encouraged her to consider both the words and also the examples that stood behind them. In another letter to Sturm in 1562, when Elizabeth was on the throne, he wrote:

> … non esse in aula, in academiis, non inter eos, qui vel religioni vel reipublicae praesident, apud nos quattuor nostrates, qui melius intelligunt Graecam linguam quam ipsa regina. Cum legit Demosthenem vel Aeschinem, admirationem mihi ipsa saepenumero movet, cum video illam scienter intelligere, non dico, verborum potestatem, sententiarum structuram, proprietatem linguae, orationis ornamenta et totius sermonis numerosam ac concinnam comprehensionem, sed illa etiam quae maiora sunt, oratoris sensum atque stomachum, totius caussae contentionem, populi et scita et studia, urbis cuiusque mores atque instituta, et quae sunt huius generis reliqua omnia.[41]

In the same letter, Ascham informed Sturm that in every action the Queen held in view Plato's precept that the law is the master of man, not man the master of the law.[42] As Ascham presented it here, a training in Greek language and literature resulted in profitable and wise governance, and he effectively rendered his monarch a guardian of both *patria* and *lingua*. Ascham did not restrict his comments in that regard to Elizabeth alone. In a another letter, this time penned during the reign of Edward VI, Ascham expressed his delight that Sturm has included "his Majesty [Edward] in his *Aristotelian Dialogues*", commenting, "Nam cum audiet abs te, quam praeclarum sit τὸν ἄρχοντα φιλοσοφεῖν et rempublicam consilio, non fortuna gubernari, consilia autem optima ex optimis hauriri libris … uberrimam voluptatem … in universam Angliam et singulos Anglos transfusurus sis."[43] In utilizing a Greek code-switch in this allusion to Plato's philosopher kings, Ascham was in effect signifying—and with great portentousness—a direct linkage between language and leadership.

40 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.6.

41 Giles, *Ascham*, vol 2, 63 (1562). "There are not in the court, not in the universities, not among those who are in charge of religion or the state, not among us all, four Englishmen who understand the Greek language better than the Queen herself. When she reads Demosthenes or Aeschines, she so often arouses my admiration; when I see that she expertly understands, not [only], I say, the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the essence of the languages, the style of the speech and the rhythmical and elegant unity of the entire discourse, but even those considerations which are of greater importance, [namely] the meaning and tone of the speech, the thesis of the whole subject-matter, both the statutes and the spirit of the people, the customs and laws of each city and all the rest of this sort."

42 Ibid.

43 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 225 (1550). "For when he hears from you how splendid it would be *if the king was a philosopher*, and if the state were guided by counsel, not by fortune, and that the best counsels are derived from the best books … you will pour out the richest pleasure … to all England and into all Englishmen." Ascham was here paraphrasing Plato's *Republic*, 473D.

4 The sacrosanctity of Greek

It is certainly the case that Ascham's approach to Greek can be viewed as a form of civic humanism, insofar as he was convinced that Greek learning could contribute to a *vita activa*, and a new form of civic action founded on the revival of ancient ideals. Yet defining Ascham's use of Greek solely in this way alone runs the risk of transforming Ascham's code-switching into a purely political ethos and a largely secular activity. That this has become a common tendency is largely owing to the historiography on Renaissance political thought, which still enjoys considerable sway today, and has tended to treat 'civic humanism' as a move towards modernity and secularization. In so doing, it has marginalized the Reformation and the religious programmes that continued to be a fundamental driver for so many writers and thinkers throughout the early modern period.[44] While I have already touched on the religious significance of Greek for Ascham, in this next part of this paper, I suggest that Ascham's Latin–Greek code-switching had a deeply spiritual complexion and was implicated in a much broader Protestant mission.

A code-switch that recurs in Ascham's letters during the late 1540s, when hopes for a Protestant settlement were running high following Edward's accession, involved the Greek term ἐθελοθρησκεία (literally, "will-worship"). In a letter of 1547 to Sir John Astley, prominent courtier and member of Princess Elizabeth's household, Ascham wrote:

> Expectamus, imo Deum oramus, ut omnis ἐθελοθρησκεία in hoc parlamento tollatur. Quam late patet hoc Graecum vocabulum, et quem impetum facit in universas verae religionis partes, explicare tibi potest Grindallus noster. Veram doctrinam Christi populus omnis libentissime amplectitur; sola sacerdotum natio contra veritatem repugnabit.[45]

The term ἐθελοθρησκεία is a biblical one, found in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians 2:23. The Latin equivalent (used in the Vulgate and by Erasmus) was "superstitio." The word seems to have denoted an ill-judged asceticism, which leads to over-indulgence, a form of action that men pursue of their own volition without authority from God. In essence, it denotes a human tradition. Ascham used the same code-switch in a letter sent in 1547 to Thomas Cranmer, the then (avowedly Protestant) Archbishop of Canterbury, and again in a letter in English to Edward Raven in 1551.[46] The Greek term seems to have operated as an important

[44] The literature on Renaissance civic humanism and republicanism is vast, and includes Castiglione, "Republicanism and Its Legacy"; Hankins, *Virtue Politics*; and Rabil, Jr., "The Significance of Civic Humanism."

[45] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 108 (1547). "We hope, indeed, we pray to God, that all *will-worship* is removed in this Parliament. How widely this Greek term is understood and what an assault it makes against the universal parts of true religion, our Grindal can explain to you. All the people most gladly embrace the true doctrine of Christ; only the priestly tribe will fight against the truth."

[46] Ibid., vol. 1.1, 124 and vol. 1.2, 285. To Cranmer, Ascham writes: "… cum divo Paulo loquamur prudentia humanae ἐθελοθρησκείας foedissime corruptum et construpratum" ("… to say together with St Paul, ruined and defiled most foully by the "wisdom" of human *will-worship*;" to Raven, Ascham writes "The Prince of

watchword, one that played a role in a broader Protestant campaign against Catholic superstition. For instance, one prominent feature of John Cheke's preface to a translation of Plutarch's *De superstitione* (1546) was a definition of ἐθελοθρησκεία,[47] and the term can also be found in the writings of John Calvin and Martin Bucer.[48]

What is striking about the 1547 letter to Astley quoted above is the way Ascham, after using the Greek term, comments that Grindal would "explain how widely this Greek word is understood." This reference suggests that Ascham's code-switch into Greek constituted a form of private language, a veiled reference to a still—notwithstanding the new Protestant atmosphere—combustible topic. This was certainly an age when letters were often intercepted, and Ascham's emphasis that the bearer of the letter, William Ireland, was a trusted friend points to a certain discretion about its contents. Indeed, with this code-switch Ascham advertised his commitment to Scripture, and more crucially, to the authentic Holy Writ *in Greek*. For Ascham, as for many reformers, that was where the true meaning of the Bible resided. While an adherence to Scripture was embraced by many across the confessional spectrum, a dogged commitment to the original Greek of the New Testament was far less typical, and Greek was perceived in some quarters as a dangerous and a potentially heretical medium.[49]

Ascham's belief in Greek's capacity for *ad fontes* verity was also evident in his other writings. It is at this point that we can turn to Ascham's incorporation of Greek into his two Latin theological works, both composed while he was still at Cambridge. The first of these was not in fact a single treatise, but a collection of mini theses on particular biblical verses (both Old and New Testament), on patristic statements and/or on theological concepts, such as the notion of "felix culpa" (literally, "happy fault"). Entitled *Themata theologica*, Ascham composed these theses over a period of years (ca. 1539–46) during the final phase of Henry VIII's reign.[50] The second work was a much more uniform piece, a treatise under the title of *Apologia pro caena Dominica contra missam et eius praestigias* ("A Defence of the Lord's Supper against the Mass and its Magic"), consisting of a trenchant case against the Catholic Mass, written at the very start of Edward VI's new reign in 1547, when the Eucharist was a sensitive topic.[51]

Latin–Greek code-switching occurs in both of these theological works. In each, the most obvious reason for code-switching is to supplement the Latin biblical quotations with their equivalent in Greek. So for example, at the start of theme 7 in the *Themata*, a piece which begins with a quotation from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians 8:2, "Si quis putat se aliquid scire, hic nondum cognovit

Piedmont, the Duke of Alva, one of the Emperor's council, bare [*sic*] torches that night; a wonderful ἐθελοθρησκεία to live so abominable all the year, and then will needs make amends with God whether he will or not."

47 Περὶ Δεισιδαιμονίας. The unique copy of the preface and translation is Oxford, University College MS 171, housed in the Bodleian Library. The Latin text has never been printed. An English translation of the preface by William Elstob was appended to Strype, *The life of the learned Cheke*.

48 Cited by McDiarmid, "Cheke's Preface to *De Superstitione*," 114.

49 Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek?*, 26.

50 See Nicholas, *Ascham's Themata Theologica*.

51 For a full text and translation, see Nicholas, *Roger Ascham's Defence of the Lord's Supper*.

quemadmodum oportet scire,"[52] Ascham provides the Greek for each of the references to knowledge in the verse heading.[53] Restating the same verse, he writes "Si quis putat se aliquid *εἰδέναι* nondum quicquam *ἔγνωκεν*, quemadmodum oportet *γνῶναι*."[54] Ascham rather nonchalantly presents this as (literally) 'gospel', with no hint that there might be anything disputable about this content. However, some of the earliest confrontations of the Reformation pivoted on the application of Greek philology.[55] Ever since Erasmus' initial publication of his *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516, which comprised a revised Latin version of the New Testament based on the original Greek, the utilization of Greek in biblical translation had become a fraught business. This was because a return to the Greek not only exposed flaws and shortcomings in the Vulgate and destabilized the notion of an 'orthodox' version of the Bible, but it also had the potential to undermine time-honoured theological positions, such as penance and the role of the priesthood. Ascham's policy of interlacing of Greek terms for "knowing" or "understanding" within his Latin reprisal of the Pauline verse illustrated with great visual immediacy his allegiance to the Erasmian philological method, but also his belief in the capacity of Greek to provide that knowledge.

This biblical-based code-switching is yet more prevalent in Ascham's *Apologia pro caena Dominica*. In fact, Greek was one of Ascham's chief allies when going into battle with the priestly Mass. Considerable space was given over in this treatise to a careful examination of specific Greek terms as a means of testing and challenging Catholic doctrinal claims. Greek was effectively weaponized. At one point Ascham asked which New Testament Greek word his opponents could use to support the Latin term "sacrificium", proclaiming, "omnia nomina novi Testamenti Christi colligamus, quibus sacrificium ... appellatur."[56] One possibility, he suggested, was the Greek term *θυσία* ("sacrifice"). However, following a detailed scrutiny of *θυσία* as used in the Greek of the New Testament, Ascham surmised that the priestly sacrifice was invalid and that the term had a considerably broader application in Scripture:

> *θυσία*ne[57] illud sacrificium quod soli sacerdotes possidere cupiunt, separatum ab aliis hominibus? ... Negant etiam Christiani omnes, duobus clarissimis testibus Paulo et Petro: Paulo, *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί: παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν*: planissime ad Hebr.

[52] Ascham, *Themata Theologica*, 55. "If anyone thinks that he knows anything, he has not yet got to know as he ought to know." Ascham's wording diverges slightly from the Vulgate, which has "si quis se existimat scire aliquid, nondum cognovit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire;" Erasmus has "si quis sibi videtur aliquid scire nondum quicquam novit quemadmodum oporteat scire."

[53] One of the main Greek resources Ascham was using as he drafted his *Themata Theologica* was a Greek New Testament of 1531, now held at Hatfield House, and inscribed very neatly with the autograph "Rogerus Aschamus." This was *Τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἅπαντα. Novi Testamenti omnia* (Basel, 1531), Hatfield House 7522. The preface was written by Johannes Oecolampadius, one of the chief assistants in Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* project.

[54] *εἰδέναι* ... *ἔγνωκεν* ... *γνῶναι*: Ascham highlights verbs that are used in the Greek New Testament and are the equivalent of "putat" ... "scire", and "cognosco" and "scire" respectively.

[55] See, for example, Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek?*; and Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*.

[56] Ascham, *Apologia*, 88. "Let us collect all the records of the New Testament of Christ by which their sacrifice ... is invoked."

[57] This represents an interesting Greek–Latin admixture with its Greek noun and Latin enclitic particle.

> τῆς δὲ εὐποιίας, και κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, τοιαύταις γὰρ θυσίαις εὐαριστεῖται[58] ὁ θεός: et Petro, ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας. Iudaei et Gentes nullum verbum tritius habent quam θυσίαν: latius ergo patet haec vox, et in plures res pertinet, quam ut soli privato sacrificio sacerdotum serviat.[59]

The original Greek wording from Romans, Hebrews and Peter 1, interspersed within Ascham's Latin argumentation, served very conspicuously as proofs, almost standing as exhibits might in a court of law, and cumulatively lent considerable clout to his suit. One might understand Ascham's use of Greek here in conjunction with his justification for using Greek that appears at the start of the *Apologia*. He wrote, "cogor Graeca Latinis interponere, … hoc iam instituo, non ut me Graecis verbis ostentem, sed ut veritatem luminibus suis ostendam."[60] As far as Ascham was concerned, the Greek that he wove into his Latin broadside was the voice of God, it was the λόγος itself and it illuminated the adjoining Latin. When we look at Ascham's Greek code-switches, we could do worse than to imagine the Greek lit up in bright lights and shining forth from the page. Indeed, this was in many ways precisely the effect of printing in Greek in the first place. Yet in a religious context, the presence of Greek effectively served to embed the Greek God, Logos, into the Latin textual frame.

Besides drawing on the Greek of the Gospel to bolster a theological case, Ascham also mobilized passages from the Greek classics and Greek Church Fathers in support of his argument. Following on from the passage above where he 'tested' the philological foundations of the priestly sacrifice in the Mass, Ascham examined another term that he anticipated his opponents might be relying upon. This was the Greek λειτουργία, but, once again, Ascham dismissed this as a suitable verbal foundation for a "sacrificium", arguing that the Greek term had its roots in the secular sphere just as much as the religious. Alongside a litany of New Testament citations, Ascham marshalled the Greek orator Isocrates, writing:

> Hoc verbum λειτουργία a Gentibus ad Christianos, et e Repub. in Religionem dimanavit: Reipub. verbum est, ut in illo, περὶ εἰρήνης Isocratis: δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι νομίζετε τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους, τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὑμῖν λειτουργούντων.[61]

[58] Other versions of the Greek have εὐαρεστεῖται.

[59] Ascham, *Apologia*, 90–91. "Is [the Greek] "thusia" that sacrifice which our priests are desirous to have dominion over alone separate from other men? … All Christians deny this, along with two of the most distinguished witnesses, Paul and Peter: in Paul, "I beseech you, brethren, to make your bodies as a living "thusia"" [Romans 12:1] and very clearly in his Epistle to the Hebrews, "Forget your beneficence and fellowship; for with such "thusias" God is well pleased" [Hebrews 13:16]. And in Peter, ' … a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual "thusias"" [I Peter 2.5]. The Jews and the Gentiles have no word which is more common than "thusia". Therefore, this word extends more widely and applies to more things than to accommodate only the private sacrifice of the priests."

[60] Ascham, *Apologia*, 88. "I am compelled to intersperse Latin with Greek …[and] I do this now, not so that I can show off with Greek words, but to demonstrate the truth with their light."

[61] Ascham, *Apologia*, 92–3. "This [Greek] word "leitourgia" has spread from the Gentiles to Christians and from the State into religion. The word is applicable to State business, just as in that *On the Peace* of Isocrates: "Consider that those who dole out public revenues more democratic than those who perform liturgies at their own expense."" Isocrates, *On the Peace,* 13. Modern editions of *On the Peace* have: καὶ

Ascham would later quote in Greek a short passage from Demosthenes' *Against Leptines* to make a similar point.[62] By citing the Greek testimonies of these classical authors in parallel with the Bible, Ascham sets those testimonies on a par with the Gospel passages.[63] The point was that Ascham perceived a 'Christian spirit' residing within the ancient canon. For Ascham, his code-switches, whether derived from biblical or pagan sources, were charged with the same supernatural properties. In short, Greek scholarship represented not just an important philological tool, but also a vital medium for Christian truth.

5 Linguistic and Christian moral enhancement

A further aim of Ascham's philology was to find the Greek equivalents of Latin terms. As many of the examples above indicate, Ascham wanted to clarify the Greek equivalent for the words standardly used in Christian worship, since, as he saw it, the original Greek term should be the ultimate source for the Latin. The interdependent relationship between Greek and Latin was one that exercised Ascham through his life. In several letters, Ascham expressed his fears about a disjunction between Latin and Greek texts that would compromise the former. For instance, in a letter to Sturm, he recounted recent linguistic mutilations, describing how "In these last years, Aristotle has come out of France speaking with a Latin tongue ... but thinking very strange thoughts;" and how "Italy has sent us Aeschines and Demosthenes speaking in Latin, but in my opinion not worthily of the orators of that land."[64] It is this relationship between Greek and Latin (and by extension, English) that I will consider in the final part of this article. I shall do so with reference to Ascham's last work, *The Scholemaster*, to some of Ascham's poetry, and also to the last letter that he ever wrote in 1568, where he outlined—almost by way an end-of-life testimonial—the fundamental aims of his intellectual mission.

The Scholemaster is ostensibly a treatise on educational method and the improvement of Latin through several strategies, which included imitation and a process Ascham termed "double translation", a technique whereby a student was required to translate a passage of Latin into English and then convert the English back into Latin, always with reference to the original Latin.[65] The methods of *imitatio* and double translation that Ascham advanced in *The Scholemaster* were selected and designed to facilitate such an interchange between languages. Yet at every stage, Ascham is clear that knowledge of Greek was the *sine qua non* for composition in any other language. He writes, for example:

νομίζετε δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας τῶν εὖ φρονούντων καὶ τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὑμῖν λειτουργούντων.

62 This was a speech in which Demosthenes called for the repeal of a law sponsored by Leptines that denied anyone a special exemption from paying public charges ("leitourgiai").

63 See also Ascham's annotations in his Greek New Testament (referred to in n. 53).

64 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 185 and 187 (1550).

65 Miller, "Double Translation in Humanistic Education." Ascham may have been one of the first to give a name to the discipline, though the method was expounded much earlier in Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.155.

> It is very rare and marvellous hard to prove excellent in the Latin tongue for him that is not also well seen in the Greek tongue. For even as a hawk flieth not high with one wing, even so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tongue.[66]

References to classical Greek authors are present at every stage in *The Scholemaster*. They arguably form the bedrock of the work, and principles from Plato and Aristotle, in particular, but also from other authors, including Demosthenes, Isocrates and Xenophon, provide the fundamental basis for each of his pedagogical recommendations. It is not for nothing that Ascham refers to his work as a σχολαστήριον ("scholastērion") via a Greek code-switch in his letter to Sturm.[67] Passages of original Greek script also pepper *The Scholemaster*, just as they would in his Latin compositions, and in a way that seems to suggest he viewed this work in the vernacular as a sort of Neo-Latin document and as susceptible to refinement as Latin was. For Ascham, Greek was the jumping-off point for all language advancement, but he felt that an especially close bond existed between Latin and Greek. Thus, we find him describing the putative schoolmaster of *The Scholemaster* to Sturm as "a reciprocation of two languages" (*reciprocantem duarum linguarum*) and "a rendering of each on both sides" (*utriusque utrubique vertendarum rationem*), "so that indubitably they may change Greek to Latin and then that same Latin once more into Greek."[68]

Ascham certainly presented Greek as necessary to the development of Latin. At one point, for example, he declared that "poetry was never perfected in Latin until by true imitation of the Grecians it was at length brought to perfection."[69] It is against this backdrop that we can read Ascham's bilingual diptych that commemorated the death of Sir Anthony Denny (in 1549), from which I include a small extract. The Greek version came first:

> Α. Ἄγει με καὶ φέρει κακὸν θεήλατον.
> Ξ. Τί λιμός;
> Α. Οὐκ.
> Ξ. Ἦ λοιμός;
> Α. Οὐδαμῶς μέν, οὐ.
> Ξ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐστι πόλεμος;
> Α. Μὰ Δι᾽.
> Ξ. Οὐ μεῖζον κακόν.
> Α. Πολὺ μεῖζον, ὥς φασίν, Προφήτης καὶ Πλάτων.
> Ξ. Τί ποτε, τί ἐστ᾽;
> Α. Ὅταν μὲν ἐξαίρει Θεός
> Τῆς γῆς ἄριστον ἄνδρα, φεῦ μεγέθους κακοῦ!

[66] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 3, 225.
[67] Ibid., vol. 2, 177 (1568).
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid. vol. 3, 257.

Ξ. Ἐξεῖλε τίνα;[70]
A. Οἴμοι τάλαινα, οἴχεται
Βέλτιστος ἀνδρῶν ὧν πόθ' ἥλιος βλέπει
Ἀντώνιος Δενναῖος, Ἀγγλίας κλέος.

ANG. Graviter premit me coelitus missum malum.
HOSP. Famesne?
ANG. Minime.
HOSP. Pestis?
ANG. Haud illud quidem.
HOSP. At Mars?
ANG. Nequaquam.
HOSP. Gravius his nullum est malum.
ANG. Ah gravius, ut Propheta memorat et Plato.
HOSP. Tandem quid est?
ANG. Quando optimos tollit Deus
Viros, id offensissimum arguit Deum.
HOSP. Quem sustulit?
ANG. Me miserum, eheu nuper perit
Vir optimus, quos sol vidit, vir optimus,
Antonius Dennaeus, Angliae decus.[71]

Here we have a very vivid illustration of a Latin composition that springs directly from the Greek. The Latin form draws on and responds to the Greek literary convention of the funeral dialogue (*dialogus epitaphius*) which was inspired by the Attic custom of a yearly funeral oration (*logos epitaphios*) in praise of the city and those who had died in battle.[72] Ascham's Latin poem clearly attempts to remain faithful to the Greek, often even reproducing the word order, but at the same time selecting suitably idiomatic Latin phrasing and Roman reference points, such as "Mars" for πόλεμος. Yet "Plato and the prophet" is retained, as though symbolically transitioning into the realm of Latinity.[73] This exercise was not just about language manipulation but an opportunity to demonstrate the assimilation of Greek wisdom into Latin. As Ascham's *The Scholemaster* highlighted, it was as much the Greek attitude of mind as the language that warranted close observance, and he also referred in *The Scholemaster* to Greece as a "commonwealth to emulate."[74]

70 The printed version has Ἐξεῖλέ τινα, but this cannot be correct, and was almost certainly an accentual misunderstanding on the part of the printer, which has been rectified here.

71 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 3, 281–84. "ENG. A heaven-sent ill gravely oppresses me. / STR. A famine? / ENG. No. / STR. The plague? / ENG. No, not that. / STR. Then war? / ENG. Not at all. / STR. There's no worse evil. / ENG. Oh yes, as the prophet and Plato tell us. / STR. Then what is it? / ENG. When God takes away the best of men, then He shows himself at his angriest. / STR. Whom has he taken away? / ENG. Woe is me, alas! Lately the best of those the sun looks down that has died, a fine man, Anthony Denny, the glory of England." Trans. Sutton, *Philological Museum*.

72 Crown, "Ascham as Reader and Writer: Greek Sententiae and Neo-Latin Poetry," 200.

73 By "Prophet" Ascham almost certainly means Scripture.

74 Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 3, 134.

Given the oral and performative nature of the early modern period,[75] it is possible too that Ascham had in mind the issue of pronunciation. The terms λιμός ("famine") and λοιμός ("plague"), as well as creating a pun in Ascham's Greek poem quoted above,[76] would in fact crop up a few years later in a flurry of correspondence between Ascham and a group of scholars from the Low Countries. This correspondence centred on the different forms of pronunciation of Greek followed in England and on the continent, with Ascham promoting the newer Erasmian system, and the those from the Low Countries tending to cleave to a more conservative (itacist) articulation of Greek (namely, the tendency to pronounce many vowels as [i]). Naturally, this dispute about Greek pronunciation was conducted in a set of letters replete with code-switches.[77] In a letter to Ascham, Nicholas Cisner discussed whether the ancients were able to distinguish between λιμός and λοιμός.[78] These were then Greek words that fell within the ambit of such investigations, and it seems likely that Ascham, inspired by Thucydides, the Greek historian, who had done the same,[79] pondered the issue of their sound as he included them in his Greek poem. Furthermore, as Raf Van Rooy has suggested, knowing how to pronounce Greek was not unrelated to theories of the pronunciation of Latin, not least because Latin vocabulary possessed many Greek loanwords, but also because many humanists believed the two languages to be related.[80] And one can only speculate on the extent to which the principles of vowel / diphthong pronunciation in the terms λιμός and λοιμός were similarly in Ascham's mind as he inscribed his Latin sister version.

It is clear from *The Scholemaster* and his other works that, for Ascham, a vital role model in this Latin–Greek synthesis was Cicero, an author commonly thought to be the supreme stylist,[81] but one who was himself also heavily indebted to the Greeks. In his Latin letter to Sturm that accompanied *The Scholemaster*, Ascham sketched out Cicero's approach to the Greek legacy, which points very immediately both to a linguistic hierarchy but also to the connection between purity of language and purity of behaviour:

> Si vero optarem ipse fieri alter Cicero … si ipse cuperem eo recte ire, quo Cicero ante felicissime pervenit, qua meliore via quam ipsis ipsius Ciceronis vestigiis insisterem? Habuit ille quidem Romae Gracchos, Crassos, Antonios, rarissima ad imitandum exempla: sed exempla alia ipse alias quaerit. … Ille enim sermo non in Italia natus est, sed e Graecorum disciplina in Italiam traductus. Nec satis habuit Cicero, ut lingua eius proprietate domestica casta esset, et ornata; nisi mens etiam Graecorum eruditione prudens efficeretur, et docta. … Itaque, cum ipsa lingua Latina, felicissimo suo tempore, in ipsa Roma, in ipso Cicerone,

75 Richards, *Voices and Books*.

76 A point which again suggests that Ascham started thinking from the Greek.

77 For example: Ascham to Hubert of 1553 (344–49); Cisner to Ascham of 1553 (367–70), Hubert to Ascham of 1553 (373–77), all in Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2.

78 Ibid., 369 (1553).

79 Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.54.3, and also noted by Ascham in his personal copy of Thucydides at Shrewsbury School, 36. (And I thank Micha Lazarus for this detail).

80 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 13.

81 Albeit to various degrees: there were strict Ciceronians and more lenient, eclectic stylists like Erasmus.

> ad summam perfectionem sine Graeca lingua non pervenit: cur quisquam in sola Latina quaerit, quod Cicero ipse absque Graeca non invenit?[82]

A conspicuous manifestation of Cicero's dedication to Greek learning was, of course, his own Latin–Greek code-switching within his Latin prose, especially his letters,[83] and it certainly behoves us to speculate on the degree to which the code-switching on display in Ascham's output was a form of Ciceronian reflex. It is noteworthy that some of Ascham's own code-switches were those that Cicero himself had used. We have already witnessed one such example in his above-mentioned letter to Cordingley.[84] Another can be found in a Latin letter to Redman.[85] Here Ascham deployed the phrase πρὸς τοῦ συμφιλολογεῖν ("to be engaged in common literary studies"), a Grecism almost certainly lifted from Cicero's *Ad familiares*, "Tu velim in primis cures ut valeas, ut una συμφιλολογεῖν possimus."[86]

In some ways then it might be argued that code-switching could be viewed as an act of Ciceronian reception. Yet Ascham's primary concerns were different to those of Cicero. For Ascham, the Christian faith, which Cicero of course did not know, was the overriding telos. In many ways, we should view Ascham's perception of the commitment to Greek paradigms in the same light as his view of the Latin Bible's relationship to the original Greek, God's λόγος, which comprised not only word, voice and eloquence but also reasoning, and ultimately, *action*. It is certainly evident that Ascham viewed the contents of *The Scholemaster* as wholly germane to the broader matter of Christian conduct. In the preface to the work, he commented, "I have earnest respect to three special points: truth in religion, honesty in living and right order in learning."[87] It was also clear that he considered the Greek authors that he included in *The Scholemaster* and the Roman writer, Cicero, whom he argued best embodied a Roman assimilation of Greek wisdom, eminently suitable adjuncts to Scripture. He wrote at one point, "He that will dwell in these few books only, first, in God's holy Bible and then join it with Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes in Greek must needs prove an excellent man."[88] To read the ancient Greek authors was to absorb an influence that could improve Christian *mores*. The sentiment was echoed across

[82] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 2, 181 (1568). "If truly I should desire to become another Cicero … if I should wish to go straight to that point which Cicero arrived at most fruitfully before, by what better way could I advance than in Cicero's own footsteps? Indeed, he had right at Rome, the Gracchi, Crassi, Antonii, rarest examples for imitation, but he sought other examples elsewhere. … For his speech was not born in Italy, but was consigned to Italy from the discipline of the Greeks. Cicero was not satisfied that his tongue should be elegant and embellished by native propriety if his mind had not also profited wisely and learnedly by the erudition of the Greeks. … And thus, since the Latin language itself came not to the highest perfection at a most happy time in Rome itself, in Cicero himself, without the Greek language, why should anyone seek from Latin alone what Cicero himself did not find without the aid of Greek?"

[83] See Elder and Mullen, *The language of Roman letters*.

[84] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 9 (1539/40).

[85] Ibid., 45 (1544).

[86] Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, 16.21.8. "I would wish that you would take care of your health first and foremost, so that we can be students together."

[87] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 3, 86.

[88] Ibid., 228.

his corpus, and one can find regular references to the literary triumvirate of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, especially in conjunction with the Bible.[89]

We can be in no doubt that for Ascham, and almost certainly for many other humanist reformers of his epoch, individuals including Philip Melanchthon, Joachim Camerarius and Johannes Sturm, the Greek language was imbued with a sort of sacred power. It was for him a gift from on high, and a tongue that demanded the greatest respect not only for the learning but also the virtue it could inculcate. It was a language that might put a worshipper in greater proximity to the Almighty. Ascham constantly evangelized about the Greek language and its literature, and hoped for its widespread adoption in the education system at all levels and its patronage by the regime. Throughout his life, he was forever on the hunt for Greek books, once offering to pay a huge sum, some sixth month's salary, for any Greek volumes concerning "oratorum, philosophorum aut historicorum" ("oratory, philosophy or history") and principally for a book on the Greek orators.[90]

During his 1550–53 trip to the continent, he also sent regular reports back to acquaintances about the Greek tomes he had encountered along the way. A code-switch in a letter he sent to Johannes Froben, the well-known Basle printer, in 1551, captures well the significance of the Greek tongue. In this dispatch, Ascham reported how he had seen the Fugger[91] Greek library and assembled an inventory of its books, many of which have never been published, adding that this man's praise would be so much the greater if so many distinguished authors were presented to the world. By keeping them in "eternal darkness" (*in perpetuas tenebras*) Ascham declared Fugger a man who was no φιλολόγος ("lover of learning").[92] The Greek code switch φιλολόγος was a potent reference point. It graphically served to combine Greek learning with the Word of God, serving as a sort of visual extension of the New Testament's Hellenic power, which, as we saw earlier, constituted such a priority in Ascham's faith-based outlook. Ascham here lamented the confinement of Greek materials in exactly the same terms that he and other reformers would the Gospels: Greek was the 'good news', the 'euangelion', the language that must be allowed to burst forth. In this Latin letter about books and resources, it is the Greek code-switch which is arguably the starting point. In Ascham's writing, when we encounter a Greek code-switch, we ought, even though the Greek phrasing has much more of a cameo role than the Latin that surrounds it, to

[89] For example: in a letter to Sturm of 1550, Ascham talks about reading Scriptures and joining to them Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and Cicero (Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 183); he refers in a letter to John Redman of 1544 to how the examination of God's Word is attended by the reading of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, who are, as it were, "its attendant and handmaid" (*quasi ministra et ancilla*) (vol. 1.1, 45); and in a letter to William Cecil (in English) of 1553 (vol. 1.2, 350), Ascham describes being at St John's and keeping "company with the Bible, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and Tully." The unit of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero recurs throughout his letters almost like an incantation.

[90] To a friend at York, Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.1, 58 (1544). This would amount to ca. 20 shillings. "There is a Greek book which is called the *Ten Rhetoricians*, for it contains the orations of Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus and others."

[91] The Fugger family were a prominent group of European bankers, several members of which cultivated strong humanist interests.

[92] Giles, *Ascham*, vol. 1.2, 289 (1551).

direct our eyes first not at the Latin but at the Greek. This was the genesis from which the rest of the Latin flows: perhaps instead of 'Latin–Greek code-switching', the title of this special issue, we should adjust the order to 'Greek–Latin'.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I hope to have drawn attention, albeit in some small way through reference to the writings of a single individual, to some of the broader ramifications of code-switching. Greek could build accord and indicate and instil allegiance. It was a language that naturally slotted within pre-existing communities that were constructed around the generally acclaimed *lingua franca* of Europe, Latin. But for some, such as Ascham, its presence in Latin could ennoble and elevate the very Latinity in which it dwelt. It is revealing that Ascham never transliterated the Greek in his Latin–Greek code-switches, but always reproduced the original script. We can only assume that for an Hellenophile like Ascham, transliteration would have represented a form of subjugation. Use of the actual script signalled a deference to the classical Greek inheritance and its importance and even superiority over Latin. Greek also represented a commitment to linguistic, societal and cultural improvement. In this way it can be considered a sort of *philosophy*, for in the minds of individuals like Ascham, language was the outward expression of an inner condition. Most significantly of all, as Ascham would see it, Greek learning lay at the heart of his religious programme. During an epoch of such doctrinal flux, it was for him a guarantor of religious orthodoxy. But it was also a language that could put the Christian in direct contact with the Word of God, and it was essential to his life in faith. We tend to think of an engagement with the Greek language as an intellectual activity, which of course it was in many ways, but its use was also a deeply emotional one, as Ascham's example demonstrates at the very least. In the early modern period, language—and especially Greek, treated by some as a sort of ur-language—was conceived of not just as a practical medium of communication, but rather as a form of divine speech and writing, an expression of the soul of the profoundest magnitude, the main function of which was, above all, the worship of, prayer to, and connection with God.

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Note

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Dialects and Languages in the Poetic Oeuvre of Laurentius Rhodoman (1545-1606)

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the choice of languages and dialects in the poetic oeuvre of the German Protestant humanist Laurentius Rhodoman, introduced in the first section. The second section discusses an instance of Latin-Greek code-switching in the poem *Iter Lipsicum*, arguing that it is influenced by the common educational background of both author and addressee. The third section considers two of Rhodoman's poems written in the Greek Doric dialect and tries to explain the dialect choice by analyzing their context and intended audience. The fourth section examines some of his bilingual poems (both Latin–German and Greek–Latin prose), and the final section is dedicated to the handling of Greek and Latin verse in Rhodoman's bilingual poem *Troica*. The analysis argues that Rhodoman made a highly deliberate choice of languages and dialects.

***

1 Introduction

Laurentius Rhodoman, a German Protestant, was a humanist active during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. He received a deeply humanist education in Magdeburg and, in particular, at Ilfeld Monastery School. After earning the degree of Magister at Rostock University, he served as rector at a series of Latin schools in Schwerin (1571–72), Lüneburg (1572–1584), Walkenried (1584–1591), and Stralsund (1598–1601), and also as

professor at Jena (1591–1598) and finally Wittenberg University (1601–1606).[1] A renowned poet of Ancient Greek verse, Rhodoman was also a typical representative of Renaissance multilingualism, writing poetry in several languages. Although he learned the three essential languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew,[2] he used only Greek and Latin extensively in his poetic works.[3] A current research project, "Rhodomanologia," investigates and edits the first half of his poetic output, that written before 1589.[4]

Like many of his contemporaries, Rhodoman followed ancient and contemporary examples in using code-switching in his letters and prefaces.[5] This paper will start from, but quickly pass over that classical focus, focusing on another, more interesting aspect of his work: his choice of languages and dialects in his poetic works in general. Despite the narrower focus of the "Rhodomanologia" project, this paper will also consider Rhodoman's poetry written after 1589. This broader view should advance our understanding of the different motifs that influenced code-switching in humanist culture.

2 Latin–Greek code-switching in Rhodoman's *Iter Lipsicum* and its connection to Jan Steinmetz

Despite the eventual focus, my analysis begins with "typical" Latin–Greek code-switching. There is at least one example of Rhodoman switching from Latin to Greek in a poem that otherwise employs Latin alone. His *Iter Lipsicum* (373 lines, hexameters), a classical hodoeporicon dating from 1581, describes a private journey from Lüneburg to Leipzig and back, which he made with a friend. Within this poem, Rhodoman inserts a single Greek line.[6] The context of this code-switching deserves a closer look: accompanied by his friend Jan Steinmetz, a former fellow student at Ilfeld, where Rhodoman received his intensive training in Greek under the guidance of Michael Neander (1525–1595), Rhodoman visits the grave of Petrus Mosellanus (1493–1524) at Leipzig's Nicolai Church:

> te duce doctorum video simulacra virorum
> atque Mosellani spithamas vix quatuor altam
> effigiem Petri, notat hoc quem carmine saxum:

[1] For Rhodoman's biography, see especially Ludwig, "Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus"; Gärtner, "Rhodoman(nus), Lorenz (Laurentius)."

[2] For trilingual learning in the Protestant sphere, see Keen, "Melanchthon as Advocate."

[3] For Rhodoman's use of Hebrew, see s. a., *Manes … Rhodomani* [K 5r]: "Quid in Hebraicis? In illis vero tantum cognitionis iam olim consecutus fuerat, ut non solum intelligere, quae illa lingua scripta essent, sed etiam scribere ipse, quae alii legerent, pari industria ac laude posset."

[4] "Rhodomanologia – Digitale Edition der griechischen und lateinischen Dichtungen von Lorenz Rhodoman bis 1588" (nr. 461456140), funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). For the project, see https://rhodomanologia.uni-wuppertal.de/de; for the online edition, see https://www.rhodomanologia.de (both accessed on 27 April 2023).

[5] For code-switching in letters and its various functions, see especially Rummel, "The Use of Greek"; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 113–20.

[6] For the genre in general, see Wiegand, *Hodoeporica* (which does not mention Rhodoman's poem).

"Μικρὸς ἦην ῥώμην οὗτος, γνώμην δὲ μέγιστος.
Corpore parvus erat, sed pectore maximus iste."
et quid plura? satis bonitas tua pignoris edit,
quod sub doctiloquo florens Ilefelda Neandro
te mihi non ficto quondam sociarit amore.[7]

The insertion of the Greek line may have different functions and invoke various connotations. First of all, Mosellanus was indeed an important teacher of Greek at Leipzig University.[8] Rhodoman mentioned him in his academic speech *De lingua Graeca* together with Richard Croke, referring to them as "primi ... Graecarum literarum professores" ("the first professors of Greek") in Germany.[9] That status is highlighted by the code-switching employed in the quotation of the tombstone's actual Greek inscription.[10] Rhodoman even allows the reader to participate in the process of reading and interpreting, for he states the Greek first, only afterward adding his own, poetic Latin version, which also tempers, so to speak, the code-switching in an otherwise Latin only context.[11]

Furthermore, the genre of the hodoeporicon descends from Lucilius and Horace (Hor. *sat*. 1,5), and Rhodoman evokes that heritage by integrating typical elements of satire and satiric language into his poem.[12] Lucilius frequently inserted some Greek in his poems, as Rhodoman may have known from Horace.[13] Therefore, this code-switching may suggest some genre awareness (although the fact that the original inscription was already a Greek hexameter certainly encouraged Rhodoman simply to copy it[14]).

Finally, the context concerns his close friend Jan Steinmetz, who was once a fellow student at Ilfeld. Since Steinmetz had the same thorough training in Greek as Rhodoman himself, the appearance of the Greek line may also be a compliment to Steinmetz and a homage to their common educational background. There is some additional evidence to support this last suggestion: Rhodoman later published two complimentary poems written specifically for Steinmetz. One was a Greek-Latin poem celebrating Steinmetz's wedding in 1584,[15] while the other was

7 See Feller (s.a.), *Laurentii Rhodomanni Iter Lipsicum*, sig. [)(6v]. The text follows the edition by Thomas Gärtner that will be published on https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.It.Lips.html (accessed on 27 April 2023). "Under your guidance, I see images of men and the picture of Petrus Mosellanus, about four spans high. The stone designates him with the following line: "This man here was small with regard to his bodily strength but very great with regard to his mind. [Greek] He was small with regard to his body but very great with regard to his heart [Latin]." What more could I add? Your kindness is sufficient testimony that under the guidance of the prudently speaking Neander, the flourishing Ilfeld once united us by true love."

8 See, e.g., Rhein, "Die Griechischstudien in Deutschland," 109–13.

9 See Rhodoman, *Oratio de lingua Graeca*, 27.

10 The tombstone is lost now but there are literary testimonies for its inscription. See Schmidt, *Petrus Mosellanus*, 82; Schober, *Petrus Mosellanus*, 60–61.

11 A hint by Irina Tautschnig in the discussion of the paper at the Leuven Workshop "Latin–Greek code-switching in early modernity: A cross-disciplinary workshop" (13-14 October 2022).

12 See e.g., non-epic vocabulary in l. 44 (emungere), 205 (oppidulum), 230 (lucellum).

13 See Hor. *sat.* 1.10.20–35. For mixed poetry, see also Auson. 27.6 & 8 Green (letters) and other poems.

14 Suggestion by Raf Van Rooy.

15 See Rhodoman, *Εὐφημία Graecolatina*.

a Greek-Latin poem cycle congratulating Steinmetz upon the award of his doctorate of medicine in 1592.[16]

To contextualize these poems, we should first review some numbers. The "Rhodomanologia" project has counted 57 poems published by Rhodoman up to 1588 (see Appendix). Among these, 22 (~ 39 %) are written entirely in Latin, 18 (~ 31 %) entirely in Greek, 1 (~ 2 %) entirely in German, 12 (~ 21 %) are bilingual (Greek and Latin verse), and 4 (~ 7 %) have a Latin prose translation alongside the Greek. Although these statistics have limited value as they relate only to the first (much smaller) half of Rhodoman's poetic output, they clearly indicate that bilingual poems consisting of a full Greek and Latin version are not as common as monolingual ones. We may further suppose that their more complex production process gives them a prominent position. Surveying the collection written for Steinmetz's wedding, one notices that nearly all of the poems are in Latin; only Rhodoman's poem at the beginning and that by Steinmetz himself at the end are bilingual (Greek and Latin verse). Here again, one might ask why Rhodoman composed a bilingual poem instead of a poem entirely in Greek or Latin. There are two possible explanations. First, Rhodoman may have wanted to make the poem accessible for persons who are unfamiliar with Greek, e.g. the father of the bride. Since her father, Johannes von Schroeter, was a professor of medicine at Jena University, however, and had published on Hippocrates and Galen, we can exclude that possibility. The other, more obvious explanation is suggested by Rhodoman's and Steinmetz's common educational background: instead of composing a mere monolingual poem, Rhodoman sought to honor his friend through the double effort needed for a bilingual poem.[17]

The 1592 poem cycle corroborates this hypothesis. By then, Rhodoman was already a professor of Greek and Latin at Jena University. This time, he was the publication's sole author, which included not just one but four Greek-Latin poems in different meters: two poems written in elegiac couplets, one in Sapphic stanzas, and one in Anacreontic meter. However, this poem cycle is not only bilingual (Greek and Latin) and polymetric but also polydialectal, for the poem in Sapphic stanzas also employs a dialect different from the common, Ionic-epic dialect of Greek that Rhodoman uses in the other poems.

This Sapphic poem (40 lines) is actually a speech by Paideia (the personification of Education), addressed to Steinmetz, and begins as follows (one may note the similarity between ll. 10–11 and the Greek inscription on Mosellanus' tombstone, cited above[18]):

Χαῖρέ μοι λαμπρῶν καθ' ὅμιλον ἀνδρῶν·	Inter excultos mihi prime, salve:
χαῖρε, καὶ σεμνᾶς ἀπόναιο τιμᾶς,	optime vertat tibi, quos honores
ἃ τὶν ἔντιμον προτέρων ἄεθλον	addit, ut longi tibi sint laboris

16 See Rhodoman, *Trias medica*.

17 For the function of such bilingual poems, see also van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 67–68: "This display of erudition and virtuosity in translating Greek into Latin or Latin into vernacular, honours the addressee of the book, but it is most of all a playful demonstration of the author's power over language."

18 Suggestion by Raf Van Rooy.

ἦλυθε μόχθων.	Praemia, Numen.
ἦ γὰρ ἐκ πράτων βιότω θεμέθλων	a tui cursus etenim repaglis,
Μῶσα καὶ πυκνὰ Σοφίας μερίμνα	vita quem tendit, tibi pectus almae
ἐς τέλος θ' ὁρμὰ μεμαῶσα κυδρὸν	concitum Musae Sophiaeque largis
σὰν φρέν' ἀναίθει.	Ignibus ardet.
Εὖτε γὰρ μάτηρ σ' ἐπὶ φῶς ἔχευε,	cum tibi primam dedit aura lucem,
Μοῖρα τὶν θέσπιξε τάδ' ἐκθροεῦσα·	Parca divinas sonuit loquelas:
"Ἄρτι μὲν μικκός, τὸ μάθημα δ' ἀσκέων	"Nunc quidem parvus, sed eris fatigans
πάμμεγας ἔσσῃ."	Maximus artes."[19]

The Greek text is marked by peculiarities of the Doric dialect, including the *alpha Doricum*, the genitive in *-ω* (l. 5), the pronoun *τιν* (l. 3, 10), and the forms Μῶσα (l. 6) and *μικκός* (l. 11).

In the lines that follow, Rhodoman again alludes to Steinmetz's education at Ilfeld, which indicates that his choice of Sapphics and Doric dialect is certainly due to the thorough study of Greek that they shared there. Rhodoman wants to honor his friend by combining three ambitious formal criteria: bilingual poetry, a variation of dialect within the Greek part, and a variation of meter.

Taking all of this into account, one can confidently infer that the eye-catching code-switch evidenced in the *Iter Lipsicum* is intended to evoke the common background and close friendship between Rhodoman and Steinmetz. Greek was their common language.

3 Variation of dialect: the case of Rhodoman's "epitaphius" on Luther and his *Arion*

The 1592 cycle of poems written for Steinmetz draws our attention to the phenomenon of dialect-switching and, moreover, to Rhodoman's choice of dialect in general. In contrast to Latin, Greek offers the additional literary tool of choosing among different literary dialects. While in most cases Rhodoman uses the Ionic dialect common to epic poetry, there are some notable exceptions. In addition to his Doric Sapphics written for Steinmetz, at least three other Doric poems by him are known: the Doric "epitaphius" on Martin Luther (*Luth. Dor.*; hexameters);[20] the epyllion *Arion* (hexameters);[21] and an epigram on Nicodemus Frischlin's Greek–Latin grammar (20 lines, elegiac couplets).[22] Both the epitaphius and the

[19] Rhodoman, *Trias medica*, sig. A 2v-A 3r. "Greetings to you in the circle of illustrious men, / greetings, and may you enjoy the noble honor / that came to you as the high price / of your previous labors. // For truly, since the first days of your life, / the Muse, the frequent care for *Sophia* [wisdom], / and the effort that eagerly seeks glorious perfection / set your mind on fire. // For when your mother brought you to light, / the Moira gave a prophecy to you, uttering the following words: / "Now you are small but when you exercise your lessons, / you will be magnificent." (Translation of the Greek text.)

[20] Originally Rhodoman, *In Lutherum*. For the Greek text and (German) translation, see Gärtner, "Die diversen Reflexe," 130–49.

[21] Originally Neander, ed., *Argonautica*, sig. O 5r–Σ 2v. For the Greek text and (German) translation, see Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*.

[22] Rhodoman, *In clarissimi viri summique philosophi et poetae*.

epyllion are of considerable length, the first running to 337 lines, the latter to 1248.

In the case of the epitaphius, an obvious explanation for the choice of dialect is the ancient model that Rhodoman took as a basis for developing his praise of Luther. Rhodoman leans heavily on the *Epitaphius Bionis* (*EB*) from the *Corpus bucolicum*, as Thomas Gärtner has clearly demonstrated.[23] Instead of the bucolic singer Bion, however, Rhodoman mourns for the "German Orpheus," Luther. The refrain of the *Epitaphius Bionis*, ἄρχετε Σικελικαὶ τῶ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι "Sicilian Muses, begin, begin the lamentation" (*EB* 8, 13, 19, etc.), is adapted to ἄρχετε Τευτονικαὶ τῶ πένθεος ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι "German Muses, begin, begin the lamentation" (Rhod. *Luth. Dor*. 15, 23, 30, etc.).

Although Rhodoman's epitaphius is merely a liminary piece to the work of another poet,[24] there is a specific connection to the learned milieu of Ilfeld, for the epitaphius accompanies a Greek verse paraphrase of Luther's *Small Catechism* and of some church songs by another Ilfeld student, Johannes Martin. Nevertheless, one may still wonder why Rhodoman chose the genre of bucolic lamentation and the Doric dialect in a work that is otherwise written in Ionic hexameters, making his dialect-switching prominent.

There are three significant factors that may have influenced Rhodoman's choice. First, Johannes Martin versifies not only the catechism but also some of Luther's songs.[25] By replacing Bion with Luther, Rhodoman highlights Luther as a singer. Second, the bucolic milieu of the epitaphius also has a theological dimension. Luther is not only a singer but also a shepherd who cares for his sheep and defends them from evil, that is the pope, who is identified and ridiculed as the "Ausonian" (Italian) Cyclops Polyphemus.[26] Here, Rhodoman wittily employs the potential of the uncivilized and unmusical Homeric-Theocritean figure to contrast the true shepherd (Luther) with the false one (the pope). The musical aspect (important both in Theocritus' *Cyclops* and the *Epitaphius Bionis*) becomes evident when Rhodoman says that Luther's wife Katharina fled from the "badly playing" Cyclops (v. 281 ποππύσδοντα) to Luther. A third reason that Rhodoman chose the form of a Doric epitaphius, that is a lamentation instead of, for instance, an Ionic panegyric, may be seen in the intra-Protestant conflict between "Crypto-Calvinists" and Gnesio-Lutherans originating after Luther's death. Lutherans were afraid of the spread of Calvinism and so opposed people they considered "Crypto-Calvinists."[27] Without being anti-Melanchthonian, Rhodoman seems to have adopted a rather orthodox position or at least tried strongly to avoid any close relation to Calvinism as one can readily deduce from his contact with

[23] See Gärtner, "Die diversen Reflexe," 117–21, 150–54.

[24] For liminary poems and poetry, see van Dam, "Liminary Poetry," and van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold."

[25] On Martin's versification of Lutheran songs, see Neuendorf, *Daraus kündten auch die Graeci lärnen*, 284–86.

[26] See Gärtner, "Die diversen Reflexe," 120.

[27] For the problem and the differentiation between "Crypto-Calvinism" and "Philippism", see the case study by Crusius, "Nicht calvinisch, nicht lutherisch," and Lück, *Alma Leucorea*, 72–78.

Joachim Westphal (1510–1574) and his other Lutheran writings.[28] The death of Luther remains relevant since his theological heritage is in danger. Therefore, Rhodoman chooses a lamentation instead of pure praise. Thus, the dialect choice is cleverly motivated by the learned Ilfeld milieu and embedded within it.

Let us also briefly discuss the case of Rhodoman's Doric *Arion*, anonymously published in 1588, together with his entirely Greek epic poems *Argonautica*, *Thebaica*, *Troica* (*Tro.*), and *Ilias parva*. This collection was designed for pupils, as Rhodoman states in the proem to the *Troica*:[29]

> οὐ μέλπω πινυτοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἄλις ἐστὶν
> ἰδμοσύνης, ποθέω δὲ νέοις παΐδεσσιν ὑφαίνειν
> χρήσιμ', ὅσοι φιλέουσιν Ἀχαιΐδος ἤθεα μούσης.
> (Rhod. *Tro.* 11-13)[30]

With this audience in mind, the poems *Argonautica*, *Thebaica*, and *Troica* retell the plot of each myth in a relatively straightforward manner, including almost no direct speech but adding moral commentaries and long quotations taken from original Greek models such as Homer, Quintus, and Apollonius.[31] The poems are intended as an introduction to prepare young pupils to read the originals at a later date.

The *Arion*, however, is completely different. The narrative is complex and often interrupted by lengthy speeches and even songs. The effect of this diversity is further heightened by the different dialect. Whereas the collection's other poems are written in the common epic dialect, the *Arion* is written in Doric. The reason may once again be connected with special generic aspects, since the main figure, Arion, delivers a long lamentation about his future death.[32] Thus, there is a certain relation to (traditionally Doric) bucolic lamentation. Another reason, however, becomes clear when considering the poem's very different original audience. For there seem to have been an earlier edition of the *Arion* by the Basel printer Johannes Oporinus from about 1567. This edition apparently was not intended for children like the 1588 edition, but rather for learned men like Oporinus, and was probably intended to secure their appreciation.[33] Rhodoman makes this explicit by allowing his Arion these lines about his future glory that clearly allude to Oporinus and his signet (Arion riding on a dolphin):

> [...] μετεσσομένων δ' ἐν ἀκουαῖς
> βομβασεῖ κιθαρισμὸς ἐμὸς καὶ θέσπις ἰωά.

[28] For Rhodoman's contact with Westphal, see https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Epist.1570-10-11.Rhod.Westph.html and https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.Westph.html (accessed on 18 April 2023).

[29] See Weise, "Griechische Mythologie," 199.

[30] See Neander, ed. *Argonautica*, sig. Z 1v–Z 2r. "I do not sing for prudent men and those who have enough knowledge, but I want to create something useful for all those young children who love the character of Greek poetry."

[31] See Weise, "Griechische Mythologie."

[32] For a discussion of the choice of dialect, see Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 106–7.

[33] See Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 96-7; Weise, "Griechische Mythologie," 208–9.

οὕτως αἰώνεσσιν ὁμήλικος ἔμμορα τιμᾶς
ἐν πινυτῶν στομάτεσσιν ἀοίδιμος. οἱ δέ με φῶτες
ἐκπρεπέες σοφίᾳ τε περιστεφέες τ' ἀρεταῖσιν
ἐν βίβλοις γραψοῦντι καὶ ἐν σφραγῖσιν ἐῇσιν
ἁδυμελῆ φόρμιγγα τιταινόμενον μετὰ χερσίν.
(*Arion* 582–586)[34]

Significantly, the *Arion* is not mentioned in the title of the anonymous 1588 collection. Here too, then, dialect is used as a mark of distinction.

4 Bilingual poems (Latin-German, Greek and Latin Prose)

Let us finally consider some of Rhodoman's bilingual works.[35] On the title page of the 1588 collection, there is a notice about the missing Latin translation: "Accesserunt etiam singuli Poëmatii Argumenta & marginalia, quae & vicem Argumenti longioris & versionis latinae iuuentuti praestare possunt." ("To each poem, summaries and marginal notes have been added, which can serve as a replacement of longer summaries and a Latin translation for young people.") It thus becomes clear that the Latin versions not only function as a means to demonstrate linguistic excellence but also as a working tool to facilitate comprehension of the Greek text. This is especially true for those poems written in Greek and accompanied by a Latin prose version, such as Rhodoman's *Lutherus* (1579).

The same apparently applies to poems with both Latin and German versions. There are two prominent cases. The first one is a bilingual poem (18 lines, elegiac couplets) from 1594 about the painter Henricus Petraeus, who painted a portrait of Rhodoman.[36] This poem is printed on a single sheet together with two other epigrams on the painter, accompanied by a German version (in iambic tetrameters).

Rhodoman apparently wants to compliment the one-eyed painter, whom he compares to Polygnotus. One may suppose that the painter was not able to understand the Latin text, and so Rhodoman added a German version. Nevertheless, it is possible that Rhodoman did not act entirely on his own initiative. The closure of his bilingual poem instead suggests that the single sheet should also serve as publicity for the painter's work and was directed at both learned men and (non-Latinate) wealthy citizens:

[34] Neander, ed. *Argonautica*, sig. [Π 7r]. Text according to Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 194. "My lyre playing and my divine voice will sound deep in the ears of future men. This way, I have won eternal glory as someone famous in the mouths of the learned. Men, excellent in wisdom and crowned by their virtues, will paint me in their books and in their signets, holding [or tuning] my sweet-sounding lyre with my hands."

[35] For Greek–Latin self-translations and their research possibilities, see also Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*, 101–109.

[36] See Rhodoman, *Epigrammata arti Veritatis imitatrici*. The oil painting is still extant at Jena University (Inventar-Nr. GP 7). The second painting at Wittenberg mentioned in Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 12 n. 23 is a fake (hint by Stefan Rhein, Wittenberg).

Latin version:
Cui placet ars ergo tam nobilis illa, magistro
Cum raro vivum laetus amabit opus.[37]

Early-New-High-German version:
Wer nun lieb hat die freye Kunst
Der wol diesm Meister erzeigen gunst.[38]

It seems to me that the German version is somewhat more direct in advertising the master's services than the Latin. The expression "erzeigen gunst" ("show one's favor") should apparently not only exhort the reader to appreciate but also to commission a portrait by the master. Here again, the choice of language seems quite deliberate.

The other case of a Latin–German composition is a commemorative poem on the death of Juliane von Hohnstein, published in 1590.[39] Since Rhodoman was both rector and preacher at Walkenried Monastery at that time, the reason for this double composition may have been either that the members of the Hohnstein family lacked a deep knowledge of Latin, or that Rhodoman was acting as a preacher: in a Protestant context, German was the norm for sermons.

Later, when Rhodoman worked as professor at Wittenberg University, his readers' ignorance of Greek certainly impelled him to include Latin prose translations alongside his larger celebratory poems: the 1601 *Musagetes* for Duke Heinrich Julius; the *Threnos Saxonikos*, written in 1602 on the death of Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony; and the *Hymenaios Saxonikos* written for the wedding of Christian II of Saxony, also in 1602.[40] He may also have been motivated by time constraints; since he had to write many of these official poems nearly concurrently, he concentrated on elaborating the Greek version, afterward appending a Latin prose version to ensure understanding and appreciation.

In the case of his earlier *Lutherus* (1579), the prose translation clearly assisted his pupils in understanding the Greek, just as the long Latin dedicatory poem secured the benevolence of the dedicatees, the mayors and the senate of Lüneburg, where Rhodoman could not expect any deep acquaintance with Greek. The same reason may have motivated Rhodoman's language choices in his earliest poems. Those two poems accompanied a Greek paraphrase of the old testament book of Jonah composed by his fellow student at Ilfeld, Georgius Cocus (Rhod. *Coc. Ion.* 1-2).[41]

4.1 Language-switching between Rhodoman's earliest two poems

The first, lengthier poem (220 lines) is a plea for financial support for Cocus and Rhodoman himself. Since the poem is directed to the counselors of the counts of

37 "Whoever likes such noble art will happily love the vivid work together with its exquisite master."
38 "Whoever loves free art shall show his favor to this master."
39 HAAB Weimar 4° XXXVII: 201.
40 For *Threnos* and *Hymenaios*, see also Gärtner, "Die diversen Reflexe," 121–27.
41 See Cocus, *Ionas propheta*.

Stolberg and, indeed, to the counts themselves, Rhodoman uses Latin. Moreover, he adds marginal notes to indicate the place where each addressee is mentioned and to summarize the content, which made it easier for the addressees to understand what he wanted very quickly. In the second, shorter poem (20 lines), he switches to Greek, and the poem itself seems somewhat out of place insofar as it congratulates Georg Aemilius (1517-1569) for having regained his health. The only obvious connection between this second poem and Cocus' paraphrase, or Rhodoman himself is that Aemilius is named a "particular patron and friend of the Ilfeld School" ("patronum et amicum singularem scholae Ilfeldensis"). Still, the Greek poem's twenty lines are distinguished by their high density of ancient quotations and allusions, much higher than that of the longer Latin poem.[42] A special clue to this handling can be apparently found at the end of the poem, where Rhodoman mentions himself and asks for Aemilius' patronage (ll. 20-1). This is the first time that Rhodoman uses the Greek version of his name, Ῥοδομάν, perhaps alluding to the name of the ancient Greek lyric poet Ἀλκμάν:[43]

> ἀλλ' ἄγε τὸν Ῥοδομᾶνα, τὸν ἱππιόμοχθον ἀκουστὴν
> Πιερίδων, ἐπίδερκε γαληνιόωντι προσώπῳ.[44]

Thus, it is clear that Rhodoman uses the shorter Greek poem to advertise his ability in Greek composition and gain the patronage of the much older humanist.[45] At the beginning of the Latin poem, Rhodoman perhaps paved the way to this virtuoso poem in Greek by drawing a special comparison with a figure from Greek mythology: Philoctetes.

> [...] tenebris ego circumfusus opacis
> deliteo, torpore gradus detentus inerti,
> Lemniacis veluti quondam Paeantius heros
> immersus specubus nigris se condidit umbris
> extimuitque diem, venas cum virus oberrat
> Lernaeum, sontisque incusat tela magistri.
> nam mihi nescio quo fato, quo daemonis astu
> tabida tristificos hauserunt membra dolores.

[42] The poem also has a notable number of Greek neologisms: *αἱμυλόμολπος* (l. 4), *ἐπιμήστωρ* (l. 3), *ἱππιόμοχθος* (l. 19), *μουσοπόνος* (l. 17; perhaps designed as a counterpart of *μισόπονος* [suggestion by Raf Van Rooy]), *νοόφλεκτος* (l. 15), Χριστοβόας (l. 2).

[43] See Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 12 n. 24. Rhodoman's teacher Neander was the first to edit an anthology of the eight ancient lyric poets next to Pindar. See Page, ed. *Poetae melici Graeci*, v. For Alcman in Neander's anthology, see Neander, ed. Ἀριστολογία, 430–31.

[44] Originally Cocus, *Ionas propheta*, D 4v. Text according to the edition by Gärtner that will be published on https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Rhod.Coc.Ion.1-2.html (accessed on 27 April 2023). "But keep an eye fixed on Rhodoman, the gently-working listener of the Muses, with a friendly face."

[45] On Aemilius as a student of Melanchthon and as a poet, see Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur*, 110–14. For the higher status of Greek in comparison to Latin, see van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 67.

hinc segni lassata stupent mihi corda veterno,
Aoniosque animo nequeo tractare labores.
(Rhod. *Coc. Ion.* 1.14-23)[46]

The second recovery poem, in Greek, is apparently designed as an answer to the curious situation about Philoctetes described in the preceding Latin poem. Like Aemilius, Rhodoman seeks healing through the Muses and patronage from men devoted to them. That Aemilius is honored by this Greek tour de force is a clear indication of the high esteem that Rhodoman wants to pay to him (and also of his expectations of Aemilius' support).

5 Greek-Latin virtuoso pieces: examples from the *Troica*

As we have seen, Rhodoman (and/or his printers) apparently doubted that his major Greek poems would be disseminated and properly understood. He therefore published almost all of them with Latin translations. This is true of his *Lutherus* (1579); the *Historia ecclesiae* (1581); the *Ilfelda Hercynica* (1581); the *Bioporikon* (1582/1585); the *Hymnus scholasticus* (1585); the *Palaestina* (1589); the *Theologiae christianae tirocinia* (1596); his congratulatory poem for Caselius (1602);[47] the abovementioned *Threnos* and *Hymenaios Saxonikos*, and his second edition of the *Troica* and *Ilias parva* (1604). In most cases, the Latin version is meant to ensure understanding by either pupils or officials. The most ambitious projects are certainly those poems having both Greek and Latin verse versions: *Ilfelda Hercynica*, *Bioporikon*, *Hymnus scholasticus*, *Palaestina*, *Theologiae christianae tirocinia*, *Troica*, and *Ilias parva*.

In this last section, I will discuss some examples from the 1604 *Troica* (*Tro.*[2]), showing that the Latin version is not merely a tool for improved comprehension. It also includes some ambitious intertextual wordplay, and therefore, understanding the whole requires considering both the Greek and the Latin versions.

On the one hand, it must be admitted that the Latin *Troica*, which employs a somewhat Hellenized Latin idiom, is not as elegant as the Greek version.[48] One often reads forms such as "Hellados" (l. 301), "Hermes" (l. 318), "Helene" (l. 1638)

[46] Originally Cocus, *Ionas propheta*, D 1rv. Text according to Gärtner (see above n. 44). "Surrounded by thick darkness, I am hiding. I cannot walk: I have been detained by an idle torpor like the heroic son of Poias [Philoctetes], who hid himself in the dark shadows of the Lemnian caves, feared the daylight whenever the Lernean poison flowed through his veins, and accused the arrows of his guilty master [i.e., Hercules]. For by some unknown fate or a list of the devil [literally: a daemon], my weak limbs have received unhappy pains. Therefore, my heart is stunned by languid lethargy and I cannot approach the works of the Muses with my mind."

[47] In the case of Caselius, there is no doubt that the addressee was able to understand the Greek text. Hence, the Latin prose translation must have rather been written for others, perhaps at the request of Caselius himself.

[48] One may note, e.g., some "harder" transitions, the frequent use of "namque," and extreme postposition of relative pronouns. Hence perhaps J. J. Scaliger's verdict: "Rhodomanus doctissimus in Poësi Graeca, sed in Latina imperitus & infoelix. [...] Rhodomanus carmina Latina non benè scribit, sed Graeca bona [...]." ("Rhodoman is very learned in Greek poetry but inexperienced and unsuccessful in Latin. [...] Rhodoman does not write Latin poems well but [he does write] good Greek ones.") See Puteanus and Puteanus, eds. *Scaligeriana*, 393.

and "Helenes" (l. 332, 381), "Aten" (l. 1454, 1569), or other Greek words such as "cetum" (l. 159), "storgen" (l. 165), "calyptra" (l. 184), "technis" (l. 1008), "zelus" (l. 399, 1375, 1657), and "lytris" (l. 1141). Thus, Rhodoman closely follows the original Greek version, perhaps even seeking to inspire his pupils to consult and study the Greek.

On the other hand, Rhodoman also inserts 'neologisms' and/or rare adjectives into the Latin verse, such as "sceptritenens" (l. 324), "undipotens" (l. 763), "Musiparus" (l. 1210), "armicrepus" (l. 1234), "hastipotens" (l. 1617), and "anxificum" (l. 1685), thereby displaying some higher poetic ambition or at least creative handling of the Latin idiom.[49]

Another means of polishing the Latin verse was to use or allude to classical Latin models. Three different levels may be distinguished. The first and simplest level is the use of typical Latin *formulae* and *clausulae*, such as "it comes" (l. 207; = Verg. *Aen*. 6.159, 448 et al.) or "fortibus armis" (l. 422; = Verg. *Aen*. 10.735; Ov. *met*. 1.456 et al.). The second level is a concrete allusion to a Latin model without a corresponding allusion in the Greek text. A good example can be found in l. 1566, where Rhodoman refers to Venus' continuous anger at Diomedes.[50] The Latin reads:

> [...] At flebile divae
> vulnus Acidaliae manet alta mente repostum,
> ex quo vir fortis palmam violaverat hasta.[51]

Whereas the Greek *τραύματος ἐν φρεσὶ μνῆστιν ἀεικελίοιο φέρουσα* has no particular model, the Latin clearly alludes to *Aeneid* 1.26, where Vergil recapitulates the reasons for Juno's wrath toward the Trojans. Rhodoman's allusion has a special force here since the situation is exactly reversed: this time, Aeneas' ally, Venus, is angry with a Greek (Diomedes) for his disrespect. In the following text, Venus punishes him through his wife, who forces him into exile. Every pupil of Rhodoman's era would certainly have recognized the allusion to Vergil. In this passage, it seems that Rhodoman already had the Latin in mind when he composed the Greek.[52] Another passage that might corroborate this hypothesis is ll. 1190-1194, which concerns the 'Oenotropae' (the women "who change (water into) wine"), the daughters of King Anius, who had the ability to change everything that they touch into wine, corn, and oil. Here, even more perspicuously, the Greek depends

[49] For Rhodoman's predilection for neologisms in his Greek poems, see Ludwig "Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus," 165; Weise, *Der Arion des Lorenz Rhodoman*, 118–9; and Weise, "Griechische Mythologie," 205.

[50] For the motif, see Mimn. fr. 22 West. See also Verg. *Aen*. 11.275-7; Ov. *met*. 14.477–8.

[51] "But the painful wound of divine Venus persists in her high mind, since the brave man wounded her hand with his spear."

[52] See also l. 1673-4 on the foundation of the city Petilia by Philoctetes: *ἐνθάδ' ἄρ' οὐ ταναοῖσι περίδρομον ᾠκοδόμησε* / *Κρίμισσαν τείχεσσι, Πετίλιον ἄστυ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ*. – huc, ubi non longis inclusit moenibus urbem Crimissam, parvo cui iuncta Petilia muro. The Latin version clearly alludes to Verg. *Aen.* 3.402 (parva Philoctetae ... Petelia muro).

on the Latin, rather than vice versa (the similarities to Ovid, below, are underscored):

> τῆσι γὰρ εὐφροσύνης τε δοτὴρ σταφυλῆς τε φυτευτὴρ
> μεῖζον ἐτητυμίης καὶ πίστιος ὤπασε δῶρον,
> πάντα μάλ', ὧν ῥαδιναῖς δραξαίατο χερσίν, ἐς οἴνου
> ἡδυπότου μετάγειν ζωρὴν χύσιν ἔς τε μελιχρὸν
> πυρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πῖαρ ἐλαιϊνὸν Ἀτρυτώνης.
>
> maius enim veroque fideque his praebitor uvae
> laetitiaeque hilaris munus concesserat auctor,
> in dulces vini latices convertere et almi
> naturam tritici et baccarum pingue Minervae,
> quicquid sors manibus comprendere forte dedisset.[53]

In both the Latin and the Greek version, the text is clearly inspired by Ovid *met.* 13.650–4:

> ... dedit altera Liber
> femineae stirpi voto maiora fideque
> munera. nam tactu natarum cuncta mearum
> in segetem laticemque meri canaeque Minervae
> transformabantur, divesque erat usus in illis.

The third level of intertextuality concerns passages in which one finds allusions to both Greek and Latin models in each version. An interesting case is l. 95, about the sons of Tros: Ἴλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἰσόθεος Γανυμήδης ("Ilus and Assaracus and godlike Ganymedes") in Greek and "Ilus et Assaracus diisque assimilis Ganymedes" in Latin. The Greek text is an adaptation of Hom. *Il.* 20.231 (Ἴλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης), whereas the Latin verse perhaps adapts Ovid *met.* 11.756 ("Ilus et Assaracus raptusque Iovi Ganymedes").[54] In both adaptations, Rhodoman varies his model. In the Greek, he replaces the Homeric ἀντίθεος by ἰσόθεος, while in the Latin, he replaces Ovid's "raptusque Iovi" by "diisque assimilis," which simultaneously re-Homerizes the Ovidian version of the verse (if Ovid was the model). One may further note the different handling of the cesura: the Greek retains the κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον cesura, whereas the Latin prefers the penthemimeral cesura. This is a highly sophisticated way of intermingling Greek and Latin and concurrently showing their interdependency without ignoring the linguistic differences.

[53] Originally Rhodoman, "ΤΡΩΙΚΑ," 78–9. Text according to the edition by Weise that will be published on https://www.rhodomanologia.de. "For the giver of joy and the planter of the vine [i.e., Dionysus] offered to them a gift beyond truth and belief: the gift to change everything their slim fingers touch into a pure stream of sweet wine, honeysweet wheat, and the olive oil of Athena." (Translation of the Greek text.)

[54] See also Verg. *Aen.* 6.650 ("Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor").

Concerning the linguistic differences, I may add a final textual observation: Rhodoman is so keenly aware of these differences that even though he knows the correct spelling of Greek words, he chooses medieval spellings for Latin words of Greek origin. Therefore, one should not wonder at forms such as "Paeantius" (Rhod. *Coc. Ion*. 1,16; *Tro.*[2] 1366) instead of "Poeantius," "aulaedi" (Rhod. *It. Lips.* 211) instead of "auloedi," "epar" (Rhod. *Tro.*[2] 1329) instead of "hepar," "Moeonio" instead (Rhod. *Tro.*[2] 1219) of "Maeonio," or "Syrenas" (Rhod. *Tro.*[2] 1692) instead of "Sirenas."[55] Despite pairing Greek and Latin, Rhodoman also knows how to keep the two spheres separate, respecting their different traditions.

6 Conclusions

In this brief survey, I examined Rhodoman's careful choices of languages and dialects along with his use of them. The Doric dialect appears in pieces addressed to the highly learned milieu of Ilfeld fellow students and learned men in general. The dialect is an essential part of the content, as in the case of the epitaphius. The Latin–German bilingual poems, on the other hand, seem composed for a combined audience of both learned men and non-Latinate citizens. Latin prose translations are intended either for officials without any Greek or as a means to ensure comprehension by pupils with an imperfect mastery of Greek. Of course, they also serve as a training tool for both languages. Greek–Latin bilingual poems have a double focus: the Latin version secures understanding but it also enriches the text with new or further allusions to Latin models, with the result that each version is only a part of the whole. Thus, they best illustrate the underlying bilingual culture, which demands and reproduces fluent knowledge in Greek and Latin alike.[56]

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[55] Some of these cases may simply be due to the printers' inaccuracy, specifically, the failure to differentiate between the ligatures æ and œ. However, there is also clear evidence of this phenomenon in Rhodoman's manuscripts. See Gärtner, "Zwei Widmungstexte," 62 (ad v. 7).

[56] For early modern Latin–Greek bilingual culture, see Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*.

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Appendix: List of extant Rhodoman poems written before 1589[1]

Year of print (date of composition)	Short description and abbreviation	Nr.	Language/Meter[2]	Evidence
Ilfeld				
1567	Two poems appended to Georg Cocus' *Ionas Propheta* (*Coc. Ion.* 1–2)	1-2	*Coc. Ion.* 1: lat./hex *Coc. Ion.* 2: gr./hex	VD16 ZV 1797 (here: sig. D 1r–[D 4v])
Harburg				
1570 (15.ix.1569)	Poetical request for friendship to Thomas Mauer (*Mau.*)	3	lat./el	VD16 M 1627 (here: sig. Ff 1v–Ff 4v)
Rostock				
1571 (18.iv.1571: death of Chytraeus' wife)	Consolatory poem (*Paramythikon epos*) to David Chytraeus on the occasion of his wife's death (*Par. Chytr.*)	4	gr./hex	VD16 ZV 4221 (here: sig. I 2r–I 5r)
1.v.1571	Two epicedia on Hermann Carstens (*Carst.* 1-2)	5-6	gr./hex	VD16 ZV 10850 (here: sig. C 2v-[C 4r])
1571 (30.ix.1571: date of wedding)	Wedding poem for Johannes	7	gr./hex	VD16 C 2795

[1] This provisional list results from close collaborative work with Thomas Gärtner. Main works (according to a list of Rhodoman's published works, included in a letter from 1603) are printed in **bold**. See also https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/werke.html and https://www.rhodomanologia.de/html/Epist.1603-10-06.Rhod.anon.html (both accessed on 6 June 2023).

[2] Abbreviations: ger. = German; gr. = Greek; gr. (dor.) = Doric Greek; lat. = Latin; hex = hexametres; el = elegiac couplets; 2ia^ = catalectic iambic dimeters; 4ia = iambic tetrameter.

	Caselius (*Nupt. Cas.*)			(here: sig. A 4r-v)
1571	Wedding poem (with acrostichs) for Heino Diepenbruch (*Carm.* 1) and a valedictory poem to Andreas Saurer (*Carm.*2); accompanying epigram (*Carm.* 3)	8-10	lat./el	VD16 ZV 30636
1571	Congratulatory poem for Joachim Westphal (*Westph.*)	11	gr./hex	VD16 C 1147 (here: sig. A 2r-v)
	Schwerin			
after 16.iv.1571 (day of death)	Epitaphium for Martin Burggravius (*Inscr. Burgg.*)	12	lat./el	D. Schröder, *Kirchen-Historie des Ev. Mecklenburgs,* Dritter Teil, Rostock 1789, pp. 127-8
	Lüneburg			
begun before 1567, reworked between 1572-84	Handwritten *Theologia christiana* (*Theol. christ.*) with an augmented version of *Ilfelda Hercynica* (*Ilf. Herc.*[2]) and a dedicatory poem to Neander (*Theol. christ.* Neand.)	13-14	*Theol. christ.*: gr./hex lat./prose *Ilf. Herc.*[2] gr. + lat./hex. *Theol. christ.* Neand.: gr. + lat./2ia^	HAAB Weimar fol. 67 (autograph), fol. 68 (apographon)
1573	Doric epitaphius on Martin Luther (*Luth. Dor.*)	15	gr. (dor.)/hex	VD16 L 5258 (here: sig. A 5v-B 4r)
1575 (13.viii.1575: date of the speech)	Epitaph (*Epigramma*) on Thomas Mauer (*Ep. Mau.*)	16	lat./el	DKB Kopenhagen 183:2, 248 (here: sig. [a 8v])
1577 (1573)	**Poetic summaries of books 12–14 of Quintus of**	**17-20**	**gr. + lat./hex**	**VD16 N 394 (*praef. Quint.*: Nn 3v-Pp 3r; *Per. Quint.* 1 Pp**

	Smyrna (*Quint.Per.* 1–3) with a dedicatory poem to Bishop Eberhard von Holle (*Quint. praef.*)			**3v-Qq 1r; *Per. Quint.* 2: Vu 2v-Vu 4r; *Per. Quint.* 3: Bbb 1v-Bbb 3r)**
1579 (5.viii.1577: date noted below *Luth. epist.*)	**Two books *Lutherus* (*Luth.* 1–2) with a dedicatory poem (*Luth. epist.*)**	**21-23**	***Luth.* 1-2: gr./hex, lat./prose *Luth. epist.*: lat./hex**	**VD16 R 2100**
1580	Inscriptional epitaph for Lüneburg pupil Albert Seulinckhausen (attribution by Th. Gärtner) (*Inscr. Seul.*)	24	lat./el	DI 100, Nr. 532 (originally at Lüneburg St.-Nicholas Church; not preserved)
1581 (1580)	Liminary poem for Martin Moller's *Esaiae prophetae conciones* (*Moll.*)	25	lat./el	VD16 B 3769 (here: A4v-A 5v)
1581	***Historia ecclesiae* (*Hist. eccl.*)**	**26**	**gr./hex lat./prose**	**VD16 R 2093**
1581	***Ilfelda Hercynica* (*Ilf. Herc.*)**	**27**	**gr. + lat./hex**	**VD16 R 2096**
1680[3] (1581)	*Iter Lipsicum* (*It. Lips.*)	28	lat./hex	VD17 14:052235A
1584	Wedding poem for Johann/Jan Steinmetz (*Steinm.*)	29	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 ZV 30487 (here: sig. A 1v-A 3r)
1584 (1579)	Liminary poem for Martin Crusius' *Turcograecia* (*Crus. Turc.*)	30	gr./hex	VD16 C 6153 (here: sig. [† 4r])
1595 (1584)	Poem on Jacob Monavius' symbolum "Ipse faciet"	31	gr. + lat./el	VD16 M 6138 (here: p. 170f.)

[3] The poem was not printed during Rhodoman's lifetime but later from a manuscript formerly preserved in Leipzig's University Library but now lost.

	(*Monav.* 1)			
1585 (1584)	Consolatory and liminary poem (*Philikon epos*) for Reiner Reineccius (*Phil. Rein.*)	32	gr. + lat./hex	VD16 R 858 (here: sig. O 2r-P 1r)
1585 (*Ep. Crus.* 1: 1580) (*Ep. Crus.* 2: 1581) (*Ep. Crus.* 3: 1582) (*Biop.*: 1582)	**Three poetic letters to Martin Crusius (*Ep. Crus.* 1–3), *Bioporikon* (*Biop.*)**	**33-36**	***Ep. Crus.* 1: gr./prose + hex *Ep. Crus.*: 2-3 gr./hex *Biop.*: gr. + lat./hex**	**VD16 C 6110 (*Ep. Crus.* 1-3: pp. 343-7; *Biop.* pp. 348-55)**
	Walkenried			
1584	Inscriptional epitaph on Walkenried rector Johannes Mylius (†1584) (attribution by Th. Gärtner) (*Inscr. Myl.*)	37	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 84 (not preserved)
1584-1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Count Volkmar Wolfgang von Honstein (†1580) (attribution according to Letzner) (*Inscr. Volc.*)	38	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 85 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1584-1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Countess Anna von Honstein (†1581) (attribution according to Letzner) (*Inscr. Ann.*)	39	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 86 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1585	**Liminary poem (*Hymnus scholasticus*) for Michael Neander's *Physice* (*Hym. schol.*)**	**40**	**gr. + lat./hex**	**VD R 2094**
1585	**Dedicatory poem of Rhodoman's edition of Dio to Count Ernst VII von**	**41**	**gr. + lat/hex**	**VD16 D 1810 (here: pp. 4-13)**

	Hohnstein (*Dion. praef.*)			
1585	Five laudatory epigrams on Heinrich Rantzau (authorship not certain) (*Ranz.* 1–5)	42-46	lat./el	VD16 R 221 (here: 409-10)
5.viii.1585 (Rhodoman's 40th birthday)	Handwritten dedication of Rhodoman's edition of Dio to Marcus Gerstenberg (*Gerst.*)	47	lat./el	SLUB Dresden Mscr. Dresd. Da. 23 (here: 95v) (copy by Georg Friedrich Thryllitsch)
1586 (x.1585, month of his death)	Inscriptional epitaph on Lüneburg pupil Georg Reuscher (*Inscr. Reusch.*)	48	lat./el	Originally at Nordhausen St.-James Church (not preserved); Fr. Chr. Lesser, *Historische Nachricht von der alten Kirche S. Iacobi der kayserl. freyen Reichs-Stadt Nordhausen,* Nordhausen 1744, pp. 111ff.
1586	Inscriptional epitaph on Count Volkmar Wolfgang the Younger (†1586) (attribution according to Letzner) (*Inscr. Volc. iun.*)	49	lat./el	DI 105, Nr. 89 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)
1586 (viii.1583?)	Poetic letter to Christoph Frey (*Frei.*)	50	gr./hex	VD16 N 390 (here: fol. 53v-54r)
†1621 (1586?)	Poetic letter to Matthaeus Gothus (*Goth.*)	51	gr./el	VD17 23:295799C (here: sig. []†(6v]-[]†(7r])
1588	Inscriptional epitaph on Elisabeth von Honstein (†1588) (attribution	52	ger./4ia	DI 105, Nr. 93 (original stone preserved in the cloister of Walkenried Monastery)

	according to Letzner) (*Inscr. Elisab.*)			
1588	***Argonautica* (*Arg.*); *Thebaica* (*Theb.*); *Troica* (*Tro.*); *Ilias parva* (*Il. parv.*); *Arion* (*Arion*)**	**53-57**	**gr./hex *Arion*: gr.(dor.)/hex**	**VD16 R 2088**

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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 πενταύγλωττον, 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 œuvre 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 œuvre 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 Menédez 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 Menédez 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 œuvre 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 philósophos, oraciones, 17 prelaciones, 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 œuvre. 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 Menédez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores*, 3.29–34. The orthography and punctuation used here reproduce that of Menédez 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 Rodriguez 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, *Gusmaneidos 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", Menédez 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 Baranguán 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 Rodriguez 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 πρωτοπείρῳ* debeatur.[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 *Theophilacti*

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 "Vincente 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 ῥημάτων, 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, efficies."[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 Hieronymeum, 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, ὅσσοι ἅμ' 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, ὅσσοι ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃς 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. Basilium 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 δήθεν μὴ ἐν σαρκί, ἡ μεν τάχα καταφθέρεται, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, αὕτη δ' ἄφθιτος, καὶ ἀκήρατος* [...][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 ῥᾴδιον ἐστι ἀριθμίον ψάμμων, καὶ θαλάττης μέτρα εἰδέναι, 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 μεν τριγέροντος Νέστορος, οὗ τὴν εὐεπείαν 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 unmistakeable 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 μέντοι τοῦτο στράτευμα 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 iuvenci enutrierant, obvolvuntur, mirifice exornatae nitescunt. Tuos, mi Schotte libros, omnesque illos, in quibus nomen erit tuum, posthac ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὅρκον, 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, ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὅρκον, ("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 dificultossísima y elegantíssima 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 œuvre. 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 Menédez 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 œuvre, 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 lingustic 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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Current Contribution

Pieta Van Beek, " 'Non *δίγλωττον* aut *τρίγλωττον* neque *πεντάγλωττον*, sed *παντάγλωττον*?' The Polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Her (Latin–Greek) Code-Switching," JOLCEL 9 (2024): pp. 96-117. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.87174.

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Note

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"Non δίγλωττον aut τρίγλωττον neque πεντάγλωττον, sed παντάγλωττον?" The Polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Her (Latin–Greek) Code-Switching*

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ABSTRACT

Anna Maria van Schurman, the first female university student in 1636, described by the learned poet Jacobus Martin as proficient in every tongue (παντάγλωττον), had knowledge of at least fourteen languages. Her multilingualism is visible not only in her bestseller *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica*, but also in her other books and works of art. This article offers an overview of her knowledge of languages and how she acquired and used them. It then considers in detail her (Latin–Greek) code-switching, considering why she practised it, how her practice differed from that of her male and female contemporaries and how it changed when she became a Labadist.

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* Quote from De Schurman, *Question Celèbre,* 107–108; Van Schurman, *Opuscula Hebraea*, 357–58.

1 Introduction: The polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678)

Utrecht 1645. Even though it was Christmas day, Anna Maria van Schurman opened her door for a royal visitor: the bride-queen of Poland, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga. The historian Jean le Laboureur had to report every detail of the visit, first describing Van Schurman's many works of art, thereafter her polyglottism, which amazed the Queen:

> … toutesfois elle demeura plus estonnée de l'entendre parler tant de langues, et respondre de tant de sciences. Elle respondit en Italien à Monsieur d'Orange, qui l'interrogeoit par ordre de la Royne: et elle argumenta tres-subtilement en Latin sur quelques poincts de Theologie. Elle repartit aussi fort élegamment en mesme langue, au compliment que je luy fis pour Madame la Mareschale. Elle parla Grec avec le Sieur Corrade premier Medecin de la Royne: Enfin elle nous eust encore parlé d'autres langues si nous les eussions sçeuës; car outre la Grecque, la Latine, la Françoise, l'Italienne, l'Espagnole, l'Alemande, et le Flaman qui luy est naturel, elle a encor beaucoup de connoissance de l'Hebreu, Syriacque et Chaldaïque; et il ne luy manque qu'un peu d'habitude pour les parler. Elle sçait de mesme la charte de tous ces pays; et elle se peut vanter d'y voyager sans guide, aussi bien que sans Interprete.[1]

The report of the Queen's visit gives an accurate insight into Van Schurman's abilities regarding oral polyglottism and code-switching. She went effortlessly from Italian to Latin to French to Greek. According to the reporter, if someone speaking another language had been present, she could also have spoken in Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic ("Chaldean"), Spanish, and German, and even more languages. Other reports of visits by *inter alias* Anne Geneviève de Bourbon Condé in 1646, or by Christina, Queen of Sweden, in 1654 refer to her oral polyglottism as well.[2]

Anna Maria van Schurman was born in 1607 in Cologne into a multilingual community. Her mother was the German noblewoman Eva von Harff, her father the Dutch-speaking Frederik van Schurman from Antwerp. Both were refugees from religious persecution. Anna Maria van Schurman and her family once again had to flee religious persecution of Protestants in Catholic Cologne and ultimately came to the Low Countries after a stay of some years on the maternal family estate

[1] "But more amazed was she [the Queen] when she heard her speaking many languages and engaging in discussions regarding many different disciplines. She answered in Italian to Mr d'Orange, who questioned her by order of the Queen, and she argued very subtle in Latin on some points of theology. She also replied very elegantly in the same language, for which I gave her a compliment in the name of Madame la Mareschale. She spoke Greek with Mr. Corrade, first physician of the Queen. Finally, she would have spoken to us in more languages, had anyone of us been able to understand those, for besides Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and her native tongue Dutch, she has even more a good knowledge of Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldaic; she only needs a little practice to speak them. Likewise, she even knows the maps of all these countries; and prides herself on traveling there without a guide or interpreter." In this article I reproduce the original orthography. Chaldean is the early modern term to refer to Aramaic. See Van Schurman, *Opuscula Hebraea*, 337–39; Van Beek, *The First Female University Student*, 192–93.

[2] Van Beek, *The First Female University Student*, 193–97; Van Beek, *"Herrezen uit de as",* 37.

of Dreiborn. She was given an early education in French, and after she finally succeeded in persuading her father to teach her the classical languages like he did his sons, she became fluent first in Latin, then in Greek. This becomes clear from the eulogium by the Amsterdam poet Anna Roemer Visscher, who praised her in 1620 for addressing those speaking Greek or Latin without an interpreter.[3] Some years later she made a beautiful album with adages in the classical languages, *De Deo* ("On God"). The album starts with her personal motto which she adopted after the promise not to marry which she had made at her father's deathbed in Franeker (1623), Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται ("My love is crucified"). A number of proverbs and adages in Latin and Greek by classical writers followed, for example the following attributed to Hermes Trismegistus:

> Ἐστιν αὐτος καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα
> τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀντα ἐφανέρωσε· τὰ δὲ μὴ ὀντα ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ[4]

After her admission to Utrecht University in 1636, Jacob Cats praised her in 1637 for her knowledge of languages, theology, philosophy, and philology, and for her artistic and musical talents. The languages he mentions are not only her maternal and paternal languages, but also other European, Classical and the then so-called Oriental languages:

> Die in de Rabbijnsche-Hebreusche, Chaldeusche, Syrische, Arabische tale soo veel geleert hadde, datse die konde lesen, verstaen, en met de heylige Hebreusche tale confereren, tot reynder ende geleerder openinge van de H. Schrifture.
>
> Die vorder van sin en voornemen is geweest in toe-komende, met Godes hulpe, daer in voort te gaen, en daer noch bij te voegen het Samaritaens, Æthiopisch, ende Persisch.[5]

In the early modern period, the following languages were regarded as daughter languages of Hebrew: Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Persian (the latter nowadays classified as an Indo-European language).[6]

2 Voetius' sermon on the importance of the study of languages

In March 1636, Voetius held a lecture entitled "Sermoen van de Nuttigheid der Academien"[7] in the Dom Cathedral in honour of the foundation of the Utrecht University. In it, he set out why the study of languages was considered so

[3] Visscher, *Gedichten van Anna Roemer Visscher*, 28.

[4] "He himself is everything that is, as well as everything that is not, since the things that are, have been manifest and the things that are not, He contains within Himself." See Van Beek, *"On God"*, 20.

[5] "Who learned so much of Rabbinical Hebrew and the Chaldean, Syriac and Arabic languages that she can read and understand these as well as compare them with the holy Hebrew language, in order to open up the Holy Scriptures in a purer and learned way. Who further intended to proceed with this in the future, with God's help, and to add the Samaritan, Ethiopic and Persian languages." My translation. For the original, see Cats, *'s Werelts begin, midden, eynde*, foreword.

[6] Van Beek, *Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) en haar kennis van oud-Oosterse talen, 35–42.*

[7] "Sermon about the usefulness of Academies."

extremely important. Besides confirming the generally accepted opinion of the importance of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, Voetius also advised that some Oriental languages which were related to Hebrew should be studied. He thought Hebrew the most important of these, because, besides the fact that God himself spoke in that language, it was always necessary to be able to go back to the original text of the Bible to examine the translations and compare them to the original. It was also important to be able to defend one's interpretation against learned opponents and to better understand the New Testament, which was "de glosse ende uytlegginge van den text des ouden testaments."[8]

After all, the New Testament was full of Hebrew expressions, which one could never understand with the knowledge of Greek alone. The study of Aramaic was also considered necessary, because some Old Testament chapters in Daniel and Ezra had survived in Aramaic, plus a number of Aramaic words appeared in the book of Job. Aramaic would also be useful to better determine the origin and meaning of some other words. In addition, the Aramaic translation of the Old Testament was of great benefit because the correct meaning was believed to be expressed therein. Moreover, the Jews considered this translation to be the very best, and the discussion with the Jews could therefore be enhanced. Furthermore, the New Testament writers would be easier to understand, because they often used phrases from the Aramaic translation. Syriac had to be studied because of the correspondence with the Christian churches in the East. But most of all it was helpful to use the Syriac Bible translation of the New Testament. Then one would also better understand Syriac words and phrases such as "talitha kumi", "mammon" and "akeldama" that occurred in the New Testament. Arabic should be studied for the connections to the language family, but it was also important for explaining many words in the book of Job. In addition, it was very helpful to use the Arabic translation of the Bible. For the education and conversion of the Mohammedans it was very important to read their holy book, the Qur'an, in its original language.

Voetius ended his sermon with his views on the usefulness of the classical languages. In addition to being necessary for reading the New Testament and for the study of the ancient wisdom of the Greeks, Greek was also necessary for reading the writings of the Church Fathers. An additional reason would be to strengthen contacts with the Greek Orthodox Church that had recently been restored. Voetius was referring here to the efforts of the Greek Orthodox patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, who sent his students to the West. One of them was Meletios Pantogalus, bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Ephese, who later became a correspondent of Van Schurman. Voetius finds the study of Latin so self-evident that he covered it in just a few lines. Voetius' view on the study of languages was commonly accepted in Europe at the time.[9]

Van Schurman, who was a student of Voetius, studied all these languages and practised them, thereby putting his advice into action. She knew even more

[8] "The gloss and interpretation of the text of the Old Testament."

[9] Voetius, *Sermoen van de nutticheydt der academien ende scholen*; Van Beek, *Anna Maria van Schurman en haar kennis van oud-Oosterse talen*, 43–48; Papy, *Het Leuvense Collegium Trilingue 1517–1797*.

languages than Voetius himself, such as Samaritan, Persian and Ethiopic; for the latter she even wrote a grammar.[10]

Her multilingualism also manifested itself in the range of books she had in her possession, for example on proverbs in Persian (*Warneri Centuria proverbiorum Persicorum*), or fables in Arabic (*Locmani sapientis Fabulae et selecta quaedam Arabum*), many bibles in Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Arabic, and Aramaic (for example, *N. Testamentum Graeco-Lat. Bezae*; *Biblia Hebraica cum N.T. Graeco*; *Biblia Italica*; *Psalterium Hebr. Graec. Arab. & Chaldaeum*), and numerous lexicons, dictionaries, and grammars, such as *Buxtorfii Lexicon Chald. Talm. et Rabb.*; *Raphelingii Lexicon Arabicum*; *Dictionarium octolingue*; *Posselii Syntaxis linguae Graecae*; *Buxtorfii Gramm. Chaldaeo-Syriaca*; *Erpenii Gramm. Ebraea*.[11] When she or her brother Johan Godschalck did not have a particular book, their friend and pastor-professor Voetius next door had an excellent library as well to which they had access.

Van Schurman used all these languages in her correspondence, in her books, manuscripts, works of art, and during visits of other learned persons. But it depended on the addressee which languages she would use and how she mixed them. In the following, I will show a few examples of this, before I discuss her Latin–Greek code-switching.

3 Van Schurman and Hebrew

For Van Schurman knowledge of Greek was important, but Hebrew even more so: it was the holy language, because just like Voetius she was of the opinion that God himself spoke it. In February 1651, she wrote a poem in Hebrew on the Ten Commandments and translated it into Dutch. It is a compact summary of the commandments, based on *Exodus* 20. She wrote it in capital letters, to emphasise the weight of the commandments, and added a comma after each commandment.

[10] Van Beek, "Anna Maria van Schurman", 578-9.
[11] Van Beek, "*Ex Libris*", 57–76.

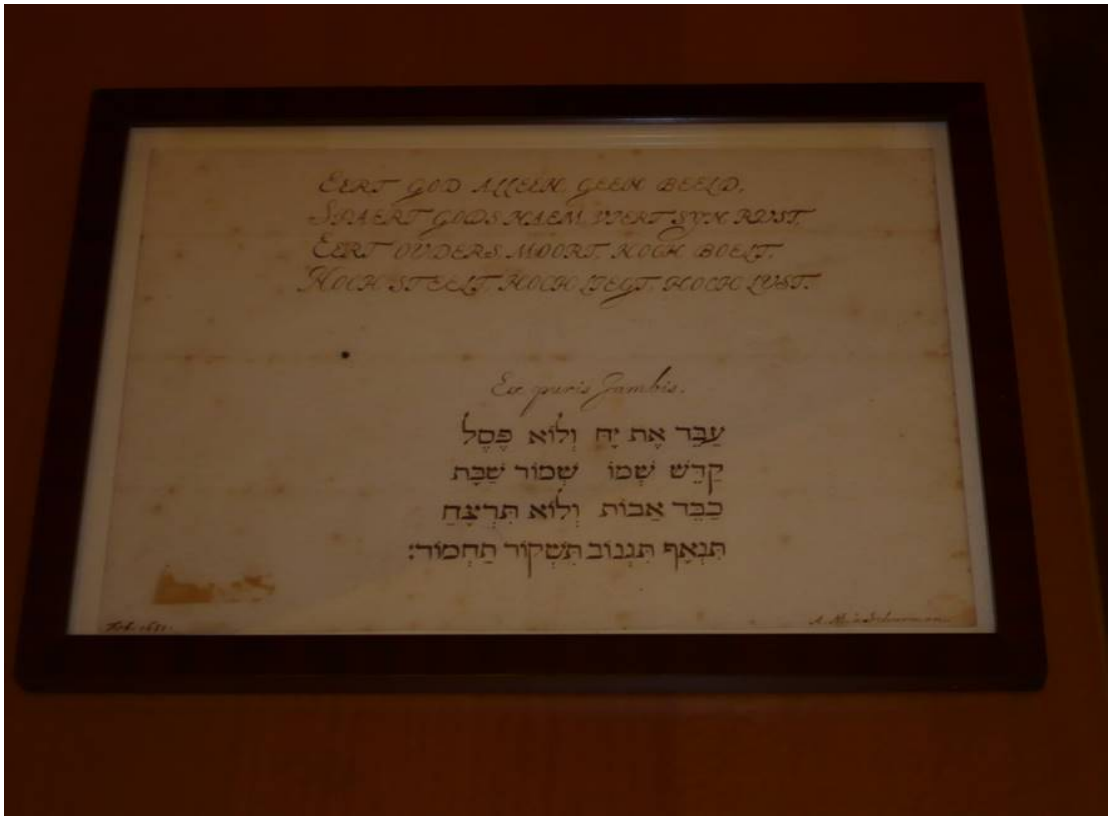

Figure 1: Anna Maria van Schurman. Album inscription in Hebrew, Latin and Dutch, possibly for Menasseh ben Israel. Private collection, Amsterdam.

Over the Hebrew poem she wrote the Latin words *Ex puris Jambis*:[12] in Dutch an iambic metre would have been evident to the reader, and so would not have required an annotation. During her lifetime, fierce debates raged about the origin and metre of Hebrew poetry, for example by Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), who claimed that the metres of ancient Greek poetry derived from the Hebrew Old Testament. Louis Cappel (1585–1658) refuted this, because Hebrew was originally written without vowels and thus left much more room for metrical interpretation. But because such textual criticism might introduce uncertainty into the interpretation of the Scriptures, Cappel's position was labeled as heretical and the publication of his book forbidden. Van Schurman avoided the controvery by using a Western metre. She signed this inscription not with her name in Hebrew, as Mozes Heiman Gans claims, but in Latin: A.M. à Schurman.[13] The Dutch version of the poem runs as follows:

EERT GOD ALLEEN, GEEN BEELD,
SPAERT GODS NAEM, VIERT SYN RUST,
EERT OUDERS, MOORT, NOCH BOELT,

12 "According to pure iambs," that is, a metre that did not exist in Hebrew.

13 Van Beek, *"Verbastert Christendom"*, 64–65; Van Beek, *Anna Maria van Schurman en haar kennis van oud-Oosterse talen*, 71–78; Gans, *Memorboek*, 78.

NOCH STEELT, NOCH LIEGT, NOCH LUST.[14]

4 The use of languages in Van Schurman's works of art

Anna Maria van Schurman also made works of art combined with texts in several languages. A double-sided copper engraving, for instance, which on the front side shows her famous self-portrait as well as the same elegiac couplet that was used in the frontispiece of her *Opuscula* editions of 1648 and 1650: "Cernitis hic picta nostros in imagine vultus / Si negat ars formam, gratia vestra dabit."[15] On the back are found three proverbs in Latin, French and Dutch. The polyglottism is typical of Van Schurman, and offers a clear example of code-switiching. This is reflected in the fact that she wrote these proverbs in different hands: a gothic hand for Dutch and italic for Latin and French:

Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit.[16]
Personne ne sera bien son mestier s'il n'y primierement fait quelque peine.[17]
Van minder tot meerder.[18]

The proverbs all generally state that practice makes perfect. It is as if she is admonishing herself by engraving these proverbs.[19]

Van Schurman met all sorts of learned people, and wrote inscriptions in their *alba amicorum*. On the basis of surviving evidence, most of the inscriptions are in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; there is only one known in French, for the noble woman Juliana de Rosseel; and one drawing of a "fruitagie" ("fruit still life") for Johanna Koerten's album has no accompanying text. She wrote *inter alia* in the albums of Martens, De Glarges, Gronovius, Alting, Schweling, Voet, Heyblocq, Honing, De Zadeler, Otto Zaunschliefer, Johannes Albertus Zaunschliefer, and Godefridus Verburg. She almost always put her *symbolon*, the Greek life motto ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται ("my love is crucified") together with her signature, as a hallmark of her identity. Again, the polyglot inscriptions in the *alba amicorum* are good examples of the way she applied code-switching. The same holds for the writing of her life motto in Greek and her signature in Dutch (van Schurman), Latin (à Schurman) and French (de Schurman).[20]

As is clear from the examples above, Van Schurman knew how to switch between several Western languages. But compared to other erudite writers from her time she is unique in her code-switching, making use also of ancient near-

14 "Honour only God, no likeness, / respect God's name, celebrate his rest / honour parents, commit neither murder nor adultery, / nor steal, nor lie, nor desire."

15 "In this painted picture you see our face. If art does not depict beauty adequately, your kindness will provide it."

16 "By trying everything, clever ingenuity prevails."

17 "Nobody would be good at his profession if he had not spent some effort beforehand."

18 "From less to more." See Manilius, *Astronomica* I, 95 for the Latin proverb; the French and Dutch statements are too general in nature to be ascribed to one specific source.

19 Van Beek, *"Ex Libris",* 12.

20 Van der Stighelen, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 275–76; see also Van Beek, *De eerste studente*; Van Beek, "'Habent sua fata libelli'," 199–209.

eastern languages. She does this in several unique multilingual sheets, in beautiful calligraphy. One example is a sheet in the Royal Library in The Hague,[21] where, on top of the page, in bold, is a text in Hebrew, followed by verses in Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Rabbinical Hebrew, Arabic, and then her Greek motto.[22] The recipients of such calligraphic art pieces were often learned Protestant theologians. Although Van der Stighelen labelled the polyglot pages as boring pieces of "schoolmeesterije",[23] I read them as expressions of her religious beliefs in the many languages that are connected with Hebrew, the most holy language. I think this is the main reason for Van Schurman to apply code-switching between all these languages.

Figure 2: Multilingual sheet, in Hebrew (bold, on top), Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Rabbinical Hebrew, Arabic. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

But this is not all. People in the seventeenth century knew that she was fond of languages and of showcasing them. Thus, in 1637, the Dordrecht pastor Andreas Colvius (1594–1671) sent her two pieces of writing, one with *specimina* of the Persian, Japanese, and Thai languages, and another single-printed leaf from a Chinese "encyclopaedia full of all kinds of useful knowledge."[24] We know that she understood Persian, and according to Bathsua Reginald Makin she even published

21 Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 121 D 2/49.
22 Van Beek, *De eerste studente*, 70-71.
23 "Pedantry." See Van der Stighelen, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 229.
24 Helliwell, "Chinese leaves."

in it: "Anna Maria Schurman of Utrecht [...] hath printed divers works in Latin, Greek, French and the Persian Tongue."[25] However, only one piece in her hand survives, a copy of a bilingual praise poem for her *Teutonice et Persice* by Elichmannus that she kept as a treasure for many years and that she copied for Constantijn Huygens.[26]

Van Schurman worked so hard that she later realised that her incessant studies had made her ill. She devoted herself tirelessly to learning these languages—not as an objective in its own right, but as a means of acquiring a better understanding of the Bible, which was written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and translated into Latin, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopian and Arabic.

She published some of her poems, letters, and books from 1636 onwards—very unusual for a woman at the time—including, for example, her *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica* (Leiden 1648, 1650; Utrecht 1652). This volume contains new work, but also her earlier published essays, for instance on the capacity of women to study and a contribution on *De vitae termino* ("On the End of Life"), as well her poems in Latin and French, for example at the founding of the Utrecht University, on Queen Henrietta Maria of England after the birth of the little princess Elisabeth in the winter of 1635, and on the French feminist Marie Jars du Gournay. The grammar she compiled for Ethiopic was last seen at an auction in 1715 but is now believed to be lost. Her poems in Dutch circulated in manuscript form, like those of most of the women who wrote in that language, or were included in men's books, for example in the "Sermon" by Voetius, or her poem on the calligrapher Koppenol that was published together with other poems on a broadsheet.[27]

5 Latin–Greek code-switching[28]

5.1 Latin–Greek code-switching in *De vitae termino*

The highly gifted Van Schurman loved learning, languages, and variation. She played with languages, and thus it is no surprise to find a variety of code-switching in her writings, from Dutch to French, Hebrew to Dutch, French to Syriac, from Latin to Arabic, Greek to Hebrew, etc. In this section I will explore her Latin–Greek code-switching in her *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica* (1652), especially in the learned letter she wrote to the physician Johan van Beverwijck. He was involved in discussions on several of her publications, such as the multifaceted *Dissertatio*, which included odes, letters exchanged with Andreas Rivet

[25] Van Beek, *De eerste studente,* 78; Makin, *Essay*, 12.

[26] Museum Martena, Franeker; Helliwell, "Chinese leaves"; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague B 133 B8; Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, aanteekening 12, 115; Larsen and Maiullo, *Anna Maria van Schurman: Letters and poems*, xviii, 276–77; Van Beek, "Vrouwen toen en nu," 26–27.

[27] Van Schurman, *Opuscula,* editions from 1648, 1650, 1652; Van Beek, *Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) en haar kennis van oud-Oosterse talen*; Van Beek, *Klein werk*; Van Beek, "'O engelachtige maagdelijkheid'"; Van Beek, *"Herrezen uit de as",* 11.

[28] I am grateful to William Barton and Raf Van Rooy for organising the illuminating workshop on code-switching in Leuven, 13-14 October 2022.

(1572–1651), Andreas Colvius (1594–1671) and Jacobus Lydius (1610–1679), and a logical dissertation on the aptitude of the female mind for academic study.[29]

Van Beverwijck started a national and international discussion in 1632 on *De vitae termino* from a theological and medical point of view. Is life determined by predestination or can it be prolonged by following a healthy lifestyle and using medicines? He wanted to see such a controversial issue discussed from different perspectives. The participants in the debate hailed from the Netherlands, France, and Italy, and were not only Calvinists, but also Roman-Catholics and Remonstrants (liberal Protestants). There was even a Jewish participant. Van Schurman was the only woman to participate.

Van Beverwijck invited Van Schurman to participate in this discussion in a bilingual letter, half in Latin, half in Greek. In her reply, mostly in Latin, Van Schurman took into account the linguistic knowledge of her correspondent and therefore engaged in code-switching. She knew Van Beverwijck was fluent in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, so she used these languages, Latin without translation, Greek sometimes without, but for Arabic and Syrian she added a translation in Latin with an eye on a wider readership.

Taking a closer look at *De vitae* termino, one finds a lot of single Greek words in Latin sentences (as published in her *Opuscula*), such as λογομάχιαν (p. 5, "verbal dispute"), which she, like the other single words in Greek, inflects according to Greek grammatical rules within the Latin sentence. Why does she use code-switching here? The reason is that by writing words in Greek she highlights and emphasises them. Other examples are ὁ μακαρίτης (p. 4), indicating that Sir Westerburgius (who also wrote a *De vitae termino*) had already blissfully passed away, and the phrase ἐξ ἄκρου μυελοῦ ψυχῆς (p. 4, "from the bottom of my heart"), which she uses to express emotion. Sometimes, the reason is that the Greek language expresses the meaning of a concept better than the Latin word. For example, a better word than the Latin one is ἀμεταβλησίαν (p. 15, "immutability"), referring to the Greek New Testament (James 1:17); ἐξουσίαν (p. 15, "power"), emphasising the meaning "power" by using the Greek language. Again, to stress the meaning of a phrase, she uses the Greek ἐξ ἐναντίας (p. 8, "from opposite sides") instead of the Latin, as also in περὶ ἑτέρου λεγόμενον (p. 7, "on the other hand"). In ἀλύσην ἀλύτῳ (p. 15, "by an unbreakable chord") she emphasises the bond by using two similar-sounding words in Greek, beautifully bound together.

She inserts in this letter Latin quotes from authors like Seneca and Ovid without a translation, but when she quotes a Hebrew verse of the Old Testament, she gives a translation in Latin. In other words, Van Schurman was aware of the limits of code-switching: you have to take into account the knowledge of the reader. Therefore, when she quotes rabbi Aben Esra in Rabbinical Hebrew, she provides a translation in Latin (p. 8). For quotations from Greek authors such as Pindar, Homer, Herodotus, Euripides, Simonides, Nicephoras Gregoras, Plato, and Herodian, she provides translations in Latin either by herself or by Buchanan.

In some instances, however, Van Schurman offers no translation, trusting the knowledge of the recipient Van Beverwijck. An example is her paraphrase of *James*

[29] Van Beek, "The Aptitude of the Female Sex," 59–60.

1:17 in Latin, which she ends with Greek: "cum Apostolus aperte testetur de Patre luminum quod apud eum non sit; παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα" (p. 20). In this text the apostle James testifies about "the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning" (King James Version). Or take the well-known verse from *Romans* 11:36: "ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα" (p. 9).[30] The Latin-Greek code-switching in this sentence is a play of recognition, activating religious emotions as well.

On p. 14 she gives a philological explanation for the πολύσημον word γενεὰ by giving some examples showing that the word denotes more than the age of a person, but also lifespan or lifetime. It can refer to the life of King David as recorded in *Acts* 13:36: "For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers" (King James Version), and to other Bible verses such as *Acts* 14:16 and 8:33 (which corresponds to the Hebrew דור of *Isaiah* 53 and elsewhere,[31] and is translated into the Greek Septuagint by γενεά). She does not provide a translation, either for the Hebrew or for the Greek, because the meaning is clear from the context.

When she quotes authors in Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Arabic, she always gives a translation in Latin, although Van Beverwijck knew Arabic. It was for the benefit of a wider readership.

5.2 Greek verses

Most of the New Ancient Greek appears to be Greek verse. We know that Van Schurman wrote poems and hymns in Greek, but unfortunately these are lost, so we do not know if she was practising code-switching in it. But some poems that were written in honour of her have survived, like a special poem in Greek by her preceptor Voetius, praising her as all nine charming Muses together. In the Latin translation following the Greek verse, he kept one letter in Greek, the letter ω in the Greek genitive "Musωn enneas."[32] She would have seen it immediately, belonging as she did to an in-group of specialist readers.

5.3 Greek prose texts

5.3.1 The Lord's prayer

A complete text in Greek from her hand is the Lord's Prayer, a text from the first century CE which can be found both in the Gospel of Matthew (6:9–13) and in the Gospel of Luke (11:2–4). Van Schurman chose the shorter version of the Lord's Prayer as it appears in Luke and left out the doxology "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever."

She added the title in Greek ΕΥΧΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, probably taken from the end of Clenardus' famous Greek grammar. Van Schurman's work is a combination of

30 "For of Him and through Him and to Him are all things" (King James Version).

31 "Generation, lifetime."

32 "The nonary of the Muses."

the text in Greek in her beautiful calligraphic hand. She wrote it down on a medieval illustrated parchment (dating from ca. 1450). The Catholic illustration was removed by her or by the seller of the parchment page. In golden letters she calligraphed the first-century prayer that ended with Amen, and even wrote her name in Greek, "Ἄννα Μαρία Σχύρμαν."[33] It was a religious text dear to her, without code-switching at all. Greek was considered a holy language, because the New Testament was written in Greek. And even more holy because it was the language of the Lord's prayer, the ΕΥΧΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, written by her in capitals.

5.3.2 Letters in Greek

Some of her letters written in Greek have also survived, for example the one to Van Beverwijck, which is included in her *Opuscula*, as well as the letters in Greek to Salmasius, Bathsua Makin, and to and from Meletios Pantogalus, bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Ephesus.[34] There is no code-switching in these letters, except that Meletios Pantogalus quotes one bible verse in Hebrew.

Greek was often used by medical doctors as we have seen above in the report of the visit by bride-queen Maria Louise de Gonzaga: Mr. Corrade, personal physician of the Queen entered into a discourse with her in Greek and was answered by her in the same language. The same was the case with the letter in Greek to Van Beverwijck, who had sent her a book on indigenous medicines, *Αὐτάρκεια Bataviae sive introductio ad medicinam indigenam* ("The Autarky of Batavia, or an introduction to indigenous medicine"). In the Greek letter we find no code-switching at all, but presumably the address would have been in a language other than Greek.[35] It becomes clear that the language she chose depended on the receiver, and Van Schurman only used code-switching when she knew that the receiver could handle it. When Salmasius sent her a book on the Greek language, she had to answer in Greek. When Bishop Meletios Pantogalus of the Greek Orthodox Church wrote to her in Greek and praised her for her knowledge of Greek, she could not but answer in Greek. In her Greek correspondence with the learned British woman Bathsua Makin she used Greek because it had a touch of holiness as the source language of the New Testament, but also because it would show the proficiency of these learned women in that language, their love of languages and their connection as female experts in Greek—two of the very few female members of the Republic of Letters. Makin's letters to Van Schurman are lost, as are earlier letters by Van Schurman to her. In the two surviving letters by Van Schurman to her one finds no code-switching at all. In Van Schurman's Greek letter to Meletios Pantogalus, bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, she applied code-switching only once, from Greek to Hebrew, without giving a translation. As a theologian, Meletios was expected to be fluent in Hebrew, after all.

Greek was sometimes used as a secret language, but not in the corpus of Greek letters from and to Anna Maria van Schurman. She had nothing to conceal

[33] Van Beek, "The Three New Graces," 269–70; Van Beek, "Het gebed des Heeren en de Sura al Fatiha," 18–19.

[34] Van Beek, "As a rose among the thorns."

[35] See Van Schurman, *Opuscula Hebraea*, 160–62, as translated in Van Beek, "As a rose among the thorns."

in her Greek writings, so she used no asterisks to conceal names and countries as she did in some Latin letters to Rivet as published in her *Opuscula*. But in a manuscript letter to Andreas Rivet she did quote from an unknown letter in Greek by Voetius, hinting that its content was still secret.[36]

6 Latin-Greek code-switching and gender

Although research on Latin–Greek code-switching in the early modern period only began recently, the focus thus far has been entirely on learned men such as Constantijn Huygens, Milton, Erasmus, Mariner, Rhodoman, and Comenius.[37] The research on early modern women writing in Latin is itself a fairly new development. Research on early modern women writing in Greek and/or Hebrew is rare, and research on early modern women's code-switching is practically non-existent, as the works *Women in the History of Linguistics* and *Women Latin Poets* show.[38] In a piece with the focus on Van Schurman's code-switching, I can only mention some other women writing in Greek. There is much further work to be done here.

During Van Schurman's lifetime she corresponded in Greek, mostly with men, but also with Bathsua Makin from London, who in 1616, in cooperation with her father Henricus Reginaldus, published the *Musa Virginea Graeco–Latino–Gallica*. The sixteen pages consist mainly of Latin poems, some Greek pieces and Bible verses, a few lines in Hebrew, in German, a motto in Italian, three lines in Spanish, and some mottos and a poem in French. It is a form of code-switching, but not within the separate texts themselves. The booklet was meant to be an advertisement for her father's school to attract pupils. At the same time, it was showing off the polyglot knowledge of his young talented daughter Bathsua.

Christina, Queen of Sweden, was able to read Greek authors, but she did not write in Greek; Margaretha Godewijck, who was called a second Van Schurman, could read the Greek of the New Testament but did not write any text in Greek. Van Schurman's friend, the learned princess Elisabeth of the Pfalz, knew several languages, Latin and Greek included. She was even named La Grecque, but not a single text in Greek or Latin is extant. In Van Schurman's *Opuscula* she code-switches in her letter to Dorothy Moore from Latin to Greek only once, as she does in her letter to Anne de Rohan from French to Hebrew. Both instances are Bible verses the women knew by heart. Olympia Morata was known for her knowledge of Greek, but her work was only published posthumously. Her letters and poems in Greek were followed by Latin translations and even the Greek

[36] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, 133B 8–63.

[37] See *inter alia* Lamers and Van Rooy, "Graecia Belgica," 435–62; Pontani and Weise, *The Hellenizing Muse*; Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*; Gardner-Chloros and Weston, "Code Switching and Multilingualism in Literature", 182–193; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek*.

[38] Aryes-Bennett and Sanson, *Women in the History of Linguistics*; Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*. Antoine Haaker found another letter in Greek to Van Schurman by Ismael Bouillieau; Crucius wrote a letter in Greek to Van Schurman, see Van Beek, "The Three Graces," 279–80; see Haaker, "An Unpublished Greek Letter from Ismaël Bullialdus to Anna Maria van Schurman"; Van der Wal and Noordegraaf, "The Extraordinary and Changing Role of Women in Dutch Language History," 219–214. See also Joby, *The Multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens.*

quotes are translated. But the choice to provide Latin translations might have been the editor's rather than Morata's, given that it is a posthumous publication.[39] Her book was in Van Schurman's library.[40]

The polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman was one of the most accomplished linguistic scholars in early modern Europe. Her knowledge of grammar, dialectic, stylistics and code-switching was profound, reaching the same level as that of learned men like Van Beverwijck and Salmasius. She continuously tried to persuade and encourage girls and women to study and read languages as well, *inter alias* Marie du Moulin (Hebrew), Sara Nevius (Dutch poetry), and Anna van Beverwijck (Greek). As far as we know, they did not practice any code-switching. She was aware of the fact that some female Dutch family members could not read her Latin writings, let alone those in Greek. She thus wrote in Dutch to her cousin Aemilia van Schurman-Van der Haer on 13 September 1673 from Altona, just after the publication of her autobiography *ΕΥΚΛΗΡΙΑ seu Melioris Partis Electio*, explaining that she would send her a copy because the work was written in Latin. She did not even mention the title, perhaps because it had a Greek word in it.[41]

7 Van Schurman's Labadist view on the study of languages

In 1666 Van Schurman came to know the charismatic learned ex-Jesuit pastor Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) whose life was filled by his lifelong vision and quest for the New Jerusalem, to restore the fervour and purity of the post-Pentecost community. He started a communitarian settlement of the regenerated in Amsterdam with his male and female followers in 1669 and Van Schurman followed him there as well. She became the female leader of the Labadists, despite a considerable campaign of slander and opposition conducted by her former reformed friends and professors, especially Voetius. During their wanderings and stays in Amsterdam, Herford, Altona, and Wieuwerd, she spoke to people like Janus Comenius, Antoinette de Bourignon, Paul Hachenberg, Wilhelmus à Brakel, William Penn, using Latin, French, German, Dutch, Frisian and English as languages.[42]

Her Latin autobiography reveals the changes in her views on learning languages as a tool for better understanding theology and thus the Bible. It was published in 1673 in Altona, titled *ΕΥΚΛΗΡΙΑ seu Melioris Partis Electio. Tractatus brevem Vitae ejus Delineationem exhibens*. The Greek word for the "good choice" (εὐκληρία) is in capital letters, pointing to her good choice for the Labadists by referring to *Luke* 10:42. Just as Maria had chosen the better part, so did Anna Maria by choosing for the Labadists. This is what she writes on languages:

39 Korhonen, "Christina of Sweden and her knowledge of Greek," 41–56.

40 Morata, *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae Foeminae Doctissimae*. In the 1570 edition it is said in the preface: "Graeca in hisce libris sparsim posita latinis verbis ne quis laboret expressa" ("The Greek in these books is sparse and expressed in Latin words so that no one should labour"). See Van Beek, "*Ex Libris*", 72 (nr 12); Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 72–73.

41 Franeker, Museum Martena. See Van Beek, *"Verbastert Christendom"*, 159–62, 163–65.

42 Saxby, *The Quest for the New Jerusalem*.

> Exempli gratia videamus unicum studium Linguarum, quas vehicula scientiarum vocant Eruditi, quibus sane, quamvis illas mihi remoras esse saepe comperirem, horas tamen quam plurimas impendi. Sed cui quaeso fini? An ut cum Catone, qui sexagesimo suae aetatis anno Graecas literas addiscebat, ejus causam indaganti respondere possem, ut tanto doctor moriar, aut, cum junior essem, ut tanto doctior vivam?[43]

In this quotation, Van Schurman reflects on her life and the time spent on studying languages. She now sees that these studies did not always lead to greater knowledge; on the contrary, they often hindered it. She considered such learning now a waste of time, like lighting torches in the sunlight:

> sed quod Graecam juxta ac Hebraicam linguam respiciebam, ac suspiciebam veluti S. Scripturae originales; et quod caeteras linguas Orientales, veluti Hebraeae filias, sive ramos, eoque amabiles, et commendation doctorum Virorum, dignas, quas inexhausto labore mihi pararem, mihi persuasum habebam. In primis vero Syriacam, Arabicam, atque Æthiopicam, eo quod plures haberent radicales voces, quarum derivata tantum essent in S. Literis, eoque lumen aliquod conferrent ad eruendum intimum earum sensum: Sed, si verum amamus, annon hoc erat faces accendere Soli? Aut ex Musca facere elephantem? Et in re seria, ne quid gravius dicam, ludere? Cum illae voculae sint paucissimae, quae hoc tempore eruditas Versiones et Hebraeae linguae peritos lateant.[44]

Here, Van Schurman recognises that the study of languages is not so important as she formerly thought. She now thinks that the language of the Bible is clear enough: "there are very few words which in our day are obscure in the learned translations and unknown to the experts in the Hebrew Language." So, reading in the light of the Holy Spirit would be enough to understand the Holy Scriptures, she continues:

> Deinde *εὐστοχία* quaedam spiritualis potissimum hic requiritur, ad quam parum aut nihil ista conferunt. Aut enim in lumine Spiritus S. legitur S. Scriptura, aut non. Si non? Frustra verbuli unius aut alterius Grammaticalem explicationem adhibeas, ad intimam ejus mentem spiritualem assequendam: sin eo Magistro doceare? non pendebit ex notitia alicujus voculae seu radicis rarioris verus ac integer, sive universalis ejus sensus; quem tota series orationis

[43] "For example, let us look solely at the study of languages which the learned call vehicles of the sciences, and to which indeed, even though I found that they often were hindrances, I devoted very many hours. But to what end, I ask? So that with Cato, who studied Greek at sixty years of age, I might respond to one who inquires, that I may die more learned? Or when I was younger, that I might live more learned?"

[44] "But because I respected the Greek as well as the Hebrew language and esteemed them as the original languages of Holy Scripture and because I considered the other Oriental languages to be daughters or branches of Hebrew and for that reason lovable and, by the recommendation of learned men, worthy, I was persuaded that I should acquire them with inexhaustible efforts, especially Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, because they have the most root words, of which only the derivatives are in Sacred Scripture, and consequently shed a bit of light in my quest to unearth its deepest meaning. But, if we love the truth, was this not lighting torches in the sunlight? Or making an elephant out of a fly? Or playing in a serious matter, in order to avoid saying anything too serious? [...] For there are very few words which in our day are obscure in the learned translations and unknown to the experts in the Hebrew Language."

> in universali illo lumine repraesentat. cum solus Deus, et Spiritus ejus sit unicus Sacrarum Literarum infallibilis ac realis Interpres.[45]

Thus, God alone, through his spirit, is the only infallible and real interpreter of the scriptures, according to Van Schurman. The position formulated here is markedly different from the academic approach in her earlier learned correspondences with Lydius, Van Beverwijck, and Salmasius, which show us the beginning of her Bible criticism. But her work was as clearly and eloquently written as before, following the rules of rhetoric and logic. The many classical authors she had cited in her earlier books do not appear in the second volume of her autobiography, written before her death in 1678 but only published in 1685. In this volume the quotations are mostly from the Bible; one is from Augustine. That was sufficient. Classical and other authors were not important anymore, and that was also the main reason for the book auction in 1675 where the Labadists sold their books, those of Van Schurman included.[46]

In her manuscript letters of this period, code-switching appears only when she refers to the title of her *ΕΥΚΛΗΡΙΑ*, written in Greek. But of course, during her daily existence, she practised all sorts of languages within the multilingual community of the Labadists, having as her company people from Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, England, France, and Switzerland. As the 'matriarch' of this group, she stood out in regard to her linguistic competences, also because of her knowledge of so many languages. If only one could hear them speaking, or singing which they often did, in Dutch, German, and French, for example the French songs written by Jean de Labadie and translated and published by Van Schurman in Dutch, *Heylige Gesangen* (1675).

As Voetius lay dying, he and his friends comforted each other with familiar Latin texts that they knew by heart. At Van Schurman's deathbed there was a gathering of polyglot friends as well, singing and speaking in different languages, *inter alia* French and Latin. When the pain became unbearable, she answered:

> In portu jamjam ero ventum tantummodo concitatiorem expecto quo plene in patriam transvehar.[47]

[45] "Furthermore, a certain spiritual *gift for interpretation* is required most of all, towards which this knowledge contributes little or nothing. For either the Scripture is read in the light of the Holy Spirit or it is not. If not, it is futile to employ a grammatical explanation of one word or another in order to grasp its innermost spiritual meaning. Only if you are taught by that master [the Holy Spirit], then the true and universal meaning will not depend on the knowledge of a few words with unknown 'roots'. But if you are taught by that Master, then its true and complete or universal meaning will not depend on the knowledge of some word or unusual root. In his universal light the whole context of the discourse manifests the truth, since God alone through his Spirit is the sole infallible and real interpreter of Sacred Letters." Quotations from Van Schurman, *Eukleria*, 30–32. The translation here and in footnote 45 is taken from Irwin, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 90–94.

[46] See Van Beek, *"Ex Libris"*, 70 (nr. 22).

[47] Van Schurman, *Eukleria. Pars secunda*, 184–89, partly translated into Dutch by Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 261–63; Van Beek, *Verslonden door zijn liefde*, 17–18. "I will be in the harbour soon, I only wait for a stronger wind that will blow me straight into the heavenly homeland."

8 Conclusion

Lawyer and poet Jacob Martin from Lyon, who worked in the Paris parliament, praised Van Schurman extensively, especially her knowledge of languages: "non δίγλωττον aut τρίγλωττον neque πεντάγλωττον, sed παντάγλωττον" ("she could not speak two, three or five languages, but all"). He then quotes the famous physician of antiquity, Galen, who stated that it was a miracle if one man had perfect command of two languages. Suppose this famous physician Galen would now revive, Martin wrote, he would not believe his eyes and ears, because she was not monolingual, bilingual, or even pentaglot but knew all languages. She devoted all her free time to learning languages, including idioms and colloquialisms. Whoever sent her a poem of praise in any language, she understood them all, he said. In doing so, she built such a reputation that she became the bright torch of Europe, the immortal ornament of letters. Martin offered his praise like a twig of ivy for the wreath of her laurels, stating that one world was not enough to contain her praise.[48]

We only have proof of at least fourteen languages, although we know that she could read Spanish and Anglo-Saxon, spoke with experts like the Swedish visitor Stiernhielm on Gothic, and most probably understood Frisian. The hyperbolic praise was repeated well into the nineteenth century, as this anonymous poem shows:

> Wie Schurman noemt, noemt in dit woord,
> Al wat geleerdheid is in elke stad, elk oord
> Er is geen taal ter wereld oyt geweest,
> Die zij niet kent, niet spreekt, niet leest.[49]

Van Schurman had an exceptional knowledge of languages and she practiced code-switching from Latin to Greek often without any translation. She was influenced by the customs and practices of the learned world and influenced a lot of women, contemporary and through the ages. But much more research on Van Schurman's polyglottism is needed—not only with respect to her translations into Latin, German, and French, but also in relation to other aspects that have not yet been investigated in sufficient depth, for example the learned letter in Latin to Salmasius in her *Opuscula*, in which one finds another part of her spectrum of language skills with a lot of Latin–Greek code-switching, and some Latin–Hebrew and Latin–Syriac code-switching as well, but all without any translation.[50]

Another investigation should concern the whereabouts and the content of her Greek linguistic dictionary, which she made in the same way as Matthias Martinus composed his *Lexicon Philologicum* for Latin (1655).[51] In this work she

48 De Schurman, *Question Celèbre*, 107–108; Van Schurman, *Opuscula Hebraea*, 357–58.

49 Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 38. "Whoever mentions Schurman, mentions at the same time everything that represents learning in every city, every place. There has never been a language in the world, that she does not know, or speak, or read."

50 Van Schurman, *Opuscula*, 139-152.

51 Van Schurman, *Eukleria*, 31; Martini, *Lexicon philologicum*.

referred to a universal grammar or some spiritual lexicon for the conversion of the Gentiles and the Jews.[52]

Another topic of research is the material, book-historical aspect of her code-switching. The Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew fonts were available at the leading publishing house Elzevier in Leiden, but also in Utrecht, where the third print run of her *Opuscula* was printed at Van Waesberghe. Her polyglot works of calligraphic art were not printed, probably because it was impossible to show off her skill in languages together with her calligraphy at the same time.

Van Schurman influenced many women and set a trend for the polygot women who came after her, who were often called "second Van Schurmans", like Anna Elisabeth Buma (Leeuwarden), Francina Roscam (The Hague), Jacoba Busken Huet (Vlissingen), and Hyleke Gockinga (Groningen), who wrote four volumes of biblical exegesis on the book of Genesis.[53] In any case, the prediction made in 1620 by Anna Roemers Visscher has been fulfilled. She did indeed become the person who "'t Puijk sal wesen van die maechden, / Die ooijt wetenschap bejaechden."[54]

List of figures

Figure 1: Anna Maria van Schurman. Album inscription in Hebrew, Latin and Dutch, possibly for Menasseh ben Israel. Private collection, Amsterdam.

Figure 2. Anna Maria van Schurman. Multilingual manuscript sheet. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

52 Van Schurman, *Eukleria*, 32.

53 Van Beek, "Vrouw," 264–78; Van Beek, "Vrouwen toen en nu," 26–27.

54 " ... would be the pride of all women who pursued science". Visscher, *Gedichten van Anna Roemers Visscher,* 28; Van Beek, *The First Female University Student*, 21.

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