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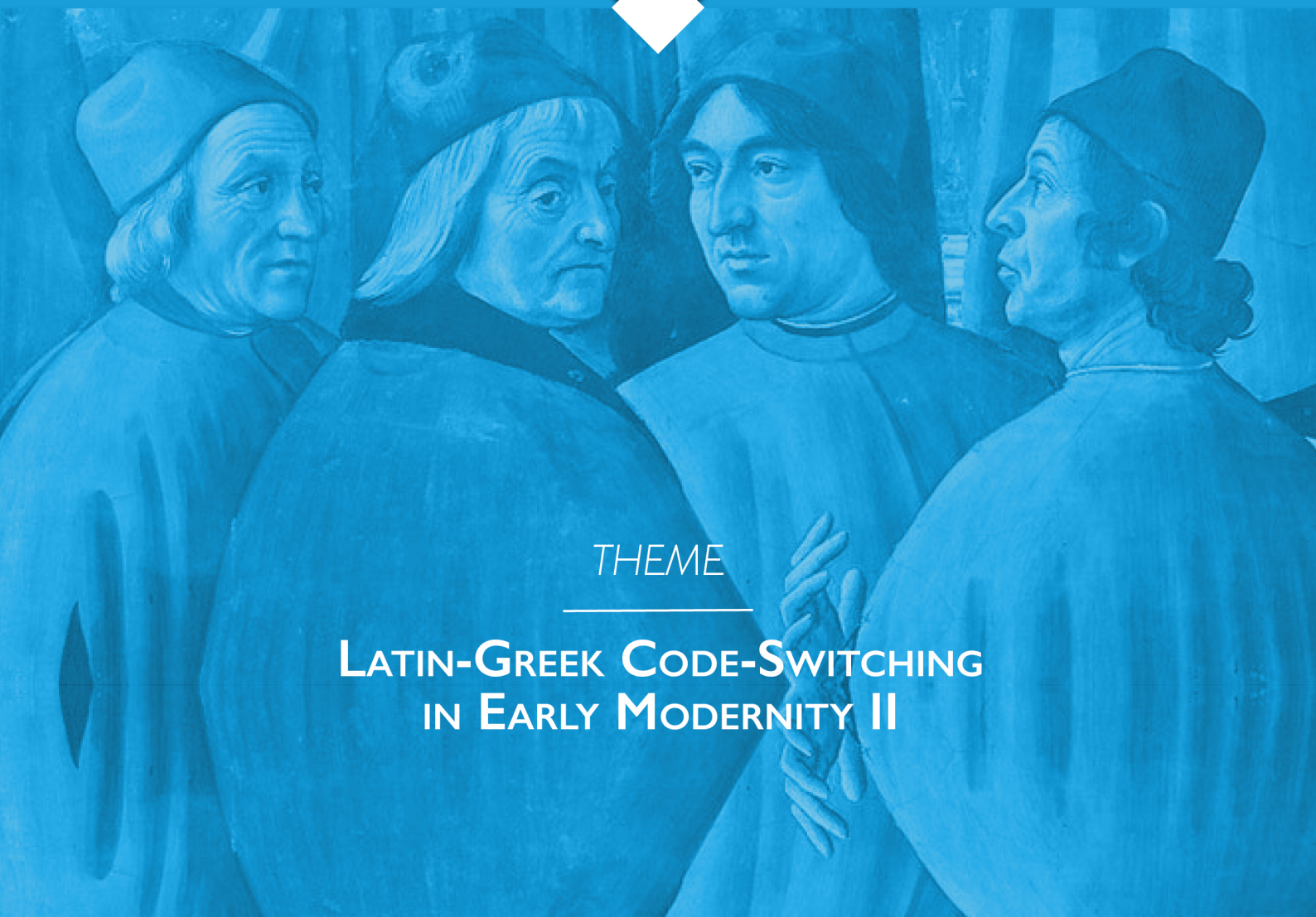

THEME

LATIN-GREEK CODE-SWITCHING IN EARLY MODERNITY II

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CURRENT CONTRIBUTION

William M. Barton and Raf Van Rooy, "Editorial Note," JOLCEL 10 (2024): pp. 1-3. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.91487.

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NOTE

This editorial note introduces the three main articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are "Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johannes Amos Comenius' Correspondence" by Marcela Slavíková (pp. 5–27), "Inverting the Hierarchy: Greek and Latin in a sixteenth-century poetical encomium of Antwerp" by Adriaan Demuynck (pp. 29–57), and "Greek and "The Lady of Christ's College": Latin–Greek Code-Switching in John Milton's *Prolusion VI*" by Tomos Evans (pp. 59–81).

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Editorial Note

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The present issue forms the second part of a triptych on Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity.[1] The first part of this triptych appeared as issue nine of JOLCEL in the Spring of 2024.[2] Following an introduction to the theoretical and methodological basis for the triptych's approach to code-switching between Latin and Greek,[3] the first set of four studies dealt with examples of the phenomenon in the writing of four authors from England, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain and the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This first issue explored new evidence for the religious significance of authors' choices to combine Latin and Greek in their writing and offered original data on the extent to which Latin, Greek (including its literary dialects), and early modern vernaculars could be mixed in an author's corpus. Alongside these innovative results, the triptych's first issue also revealed the continued importance of Latin–Greek code-switching in the correspondence of particular segments of early modern intellectual culture. This practice availed early modern authors of many of the functions of Latin–Greek code-switching already attested in the epistolary corpora preserved from the ancient world. Although it was in this way a direct

[1] This research was funded in whole or in part by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) [Y 1519-G], (Grant-DOI: 10.55776/Y1519) www.lagoos.org. For the purpose of Open Access, the author has applied a CC-BY public copyright license to this publication. Co-funded by the European Union (ERC, ERASMOS, 101116087). Views and opinions expressed are, however, those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

[2] Barton and Van Rooy, eds., *Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity (JOLCEL 9)*, https://jolcel.ugent.be/issue/25766/info/ (accessed June 5, 2024).

[3] Barton and Van Rooy, "Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching".

(and often conscious) imitation of the classical past, the particular historical context of early modern authors nonetheless gave the bilingual practice a series of novel meanings. Latin–Greek code-switching now played a role in marking specific elements of sixteenth-century theological discourse, for example, or the self-conscious formation of the seventeenth century's international learned communities.

The first paper in the present issue picks up on the theme of code-switching in early modern letter-writing to conduct a corpus-wide study of Latin–Greek code-switching in the extensive correspondence of Moravian scholar Johannes Amos Comenius (1592–1670). The corpus examined in this paper extends to just over 250 letters and includes pieces both sent and received by Comenius. The scholar's travels through Hungary, Transylvania, Sweden, the Low Countries and England ensured the very international character of his correspondence. Moreover, Comenius' interest in a wide range of philosophical, theological and above all pedagogical questions sees him address a variety of interconnected themes in the course of his written exchange. This paper's corpus-wide approach thus sheds light on segments of early modern intellectual society for which the choice of classical language—and their blend—could take on an especially broad array of connotations for correspondents. In her analysis of the character of these code-switches and their contexts in the second part of her paper, Marcela Slavíková demonstrates that this corpus represents a unique source of information for several fields of early modern sociolinguistic research, among which the use of the classical languages within early modern confessional discourse stands out once more.

Turning to another literary genre that saw its heyday in early modernity, Adriaan Demuynck's contribution presents an analysis of a laudatory poem on the city of Antwerp (in present-day Belgium) composed by Georg Schrögel in 1565. The main poem in Schrögel's publication is in Ancient Greek, but it is preceded by three liminary texts in Latin. The author's choice of language for his main text and the accompanying paratexts represents a reversal of the typical pattern observed in the early modern literary scene, in which Greek tended to feature as an 'ornamental' language of preface and paratext, framing central texts in Latin. (This typical pattern and its various implications will be addressed explicitly in three of the contributions due to appear in the third and final issue of *Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity* (JOLCEL 11).) In his paper, Demuynck analyses the Greek poem's relation to its complementary Latin materials in search of new perspectives on early modern hierarchies of literary language. Demuynck's paper broadens the view on code-switching not only by considering a conspicuous alternation between Latin and Greek in the poem's title (*Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ [...] in urbem Handoverpiam*) but also the language switches between larger textual blocks such as individual poems. Furthermore, Demuynck highlights another element of the interaction between Latin and Greek: he argues that Latin can be seen to have imposed itself on Greek when language users transferred specific features of the former, more familiar language to the latter, less familiar one. Demuynck's identification of this phenomenon encourages scholars to consider early

modern Latin–Greek code-switching as one manifestation of language contact more widely. Indeed, it appears that contact between learned languages showed many similarities to patterns of contact between natively spoken languages.

Finally, this issue's third contribution deals with a genre of literary production that early modern authors made very much their own, namely university orations. Here, Tomos Evans shows the subversive results of breaking with the ancient Romans' denigration of the use of Greek in public affairs with his study of Latin–Greek code-switching in John Milton's (1608–1674) academic speeches. Greek could be employed here not simply as a language used to underline literary genius, but also as a language of transition and transgression. Evans' study of Milton's Latin–Greek code-switches thus adds a new layer of interpretation to Milton's nickname as the "Lady" and more broadly to his notorious autobiography.

By thus expanding the range of authors, genres, and geographical contexts in which Latin–Greek code-switching operated in early modernity, and by viewing code-switching as part of a broader contact phenomenon, the present issue also looks forward to the third and final part of this code-switching triptych. The last issue will develop the methodologies employed to study the phenomenon to include computational analysis. The chronology and geography of our study will be similarly expanded to include eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Sweden, whilst the list of literary contexts for the use of Latin–Greek code-switching will grow to incorporate both scientific and theatrical publications as well as private documents such as diaries.

References

Barton, William M., and Raf Van Rooy, eds. *Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity (JOLCEL 9)* (2024). https://doi.org/10.21825/jolcel.90013

Barton, William M., and Raf Van Rooy, "Introduction: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Early Modernity." *Journal of Latin Cosmopolitanism and European Literatures* 9 (2024): 1–26. https://doi.org/10.21825/jolcel.90013

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CURRENT CONTRIBUTION

Marcela Slavíková, "Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johannes Amos Comenius' Correspondence," JOLCEL 10 (2024): pp. 5–27. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.87173.

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

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Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johannes Amos Comenius' Correspondence*

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ABSTRACT

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

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1 Introduction: Johannes Amos Comenius and the Hartlib Circle

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

* This study was written as part of the grant project GA20-11795S "Historiam videre: Testimony, Experience and the Empirical Evidence in the Early Modern Historiography of the Bohemian Lands", supported by the Czech Science Foundation and coordinated by the Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. The author has used metadata of the Comenius correspondence which she revised for the Early Modern Letters Online database: see http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=jan-amos-comenius (accessed 22 July, 2024). These revisions were made as part of the MEMORI project, within the LINDAT/CLARIAH–CZ research infrastructure (LM2018101) which is fully supported by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Youth of the Czech Republic under the programme LM of "Large Infrastructures".

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

was once called "the great Intelligencer of Europe", was the founder of a huge intellectual correspondence network.[2] Hartlib introduced members of the network to one another and encouraged them to share ideas on various scholarly matters. Johannes Amos Comenius himself (or in the vernacular, Jan Amos Komenský) is without doubt the most important early modern Bohemian scholar, although he spent the majority of his life abroad. He was born in eastern Moravia in 1592 to a family who were members of the Unity of Brethren, a Protestant church.[3] As such, most of Comenius' adult life was seriously affected by the violent re-Catholicisation that occurred in the Bohemian lands after 1620.[4] Whatever knowledge of Greek Comenius had, he did not learn it at Prague University. Influenced probably by his family's religious background, he attended instead the Protestant Herborn Academy and Heidelberg University.[5] After 1620, as a minister of the Protestant Unity of Brethren, he went into hiding in Moravia for several years, finally being forced to leave his homeland in 1628 and take refuge in Polish Lezsno, at which point his correspondence begins.[6]

On joining the Hartlib circle in the 1630s, Comenius became acquainted with prominent intellectual and political figures all over Europe and thereafter travelled widely. His visits included Hungary, Transylvania, Sweden, and London. Finally, he moved to Amsterdam, where he died in 1670.[7] The extant correspondence amounts to more than 560 letters both from and to him, constituting a unique source of information in several fields of research.[8] Comenius was, above all, a pedagogue and educational theorist, but he was also deeply interested in pansophic studies and, as the last bishop of the dispersed Unity of Brethren, he frequently discussed various theological questions.[9] Finally, there are many letters of a purely practical nature in which he asks for funding or other support for his exiled Unity of Brethren.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Comenius' correspondence

The Department of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague has been working on the critical edition of Comenius' correspondence for several years now. This new critical edition serves as the corpus for the present research into Latin–Greek code-switching. The first volume, published in 2018, contains 71 letters both from and to Comenius, covering the period from 1628 to 1638.[10] This coincides with the first ten years of his exile, which, aside from some brief visits elsewhere, he spent in Polish Leszno. The second volume, published in 2024, includes 35 letters written between 1639 and 1641, that is, until Comenius went to meet Samuel Hartlib in London.[11] Further 150 letters are in various stages of completion and can be safely used as source basis for the present research.[12] Therefore, all in all, more than 255 letters have been examined for examples of Latin–Greek code-switching, representing approximately forty-six percent of Comenius' extant correspondence.[13]

10 Comenius, *Opera Omnia 26/I*.

11 Comenius, *Opera Omnia 26/II*.

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

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

3 The density of Latin–Greek code-switches

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

4 Forms of Latin–Greek code-switches

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

4.1 Full quotations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Grammatically adapted paraphrases and allusions to sources

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

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

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

17 See Euripides, *Hippolytus* 436. See also Erasmus, *Chiliades* I, 3, 38. Both the original and Erasmus' versions read *αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 Phrases and idiomatic expressions

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

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

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

[20] See Eph. 3:6: "*τὰ ἔθνη συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα καὶ συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐν* Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ *διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.1 Single Greek words written in the Greek alphabet

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

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

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

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

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

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

[26] See Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero?", 158.

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

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

> Illustrissime Evergeta, post nuperas meas ad Ill‹ustritate›m V‹estra›m datas redditae sunt duae, ad quas nunc responsurus Deum ardentissimis votis invoco, ut anni hujus decursum felicem faciat ...[28]

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

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

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

> Literae Tuae humanissime scriptae valde me recrearunt. Gaudeo enim adauctum mihi amicorum φιλοδιδακτicorum catalogum.[30]

[27] See section 4.4.1 above.

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

[29] For more about these loanwords, see Helander, "On Neologisms in Neo-Latin," 37–54.

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

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

4.5 Original sentences in Greek?

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

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

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

5 Functions of Latin–Greek code-switching

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[37] For Hübner's predilection for unusual and rare vocabulary, see Slavíková, "Vir non vulgari eloquentia," 49–64.

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

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

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

5.2 Wordplay

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

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

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

> Fateor παρόραμα hoc grande fuit, sed ita mero saepè in meridie caecutimus.[42]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3 A way to make an impression (self-presentation[44])

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

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

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

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

> Id tantùm profiteri hîc semel licebit, quando *συνέργου* honore me dignatus es, annixurum me omnibus viribus, ut si minus ingenio et eruditione, docilitate tamen et laboris promtitudine et constantiâ exspectationi Tuae satisfaciam …[45]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While the first code-switch was employed for economy of expression, there being no adequate single word in Latin to describe "hate towards people", the second Greek word used in this letter could easily have been substituted by the exact Latin equivalent "redemptio". That Comenius preferred Greek may imply an allusion to their similar educational experiences, which in their case would have been their studies at the Academy of Herborn and the University of Heidelberg. Although they were not exactly schoolmates—Mentzel matriculated a year after Comenius had left Heidelberg[55]—they had the same schooling, and therefore

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

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

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

[55] For Comenius' and Mentzel's matriculation at the University of Heidelberg, see Toepke, "Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg," 265 and 272, respectively.

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

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

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

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

> Authores autem eos voco, quos *λογοποιοὺς* sive *λογογράφους* Graeci appellant; quibus in animo fuit rerum veritatem non nuda, sed ornata et eo magis in animos hominum manante oratione tradere.[56]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The role of the recipient in the density of code-switches to Greek has turned out to be vital, since for Comenius it clearly made sense to communicate in Greek only with those whom he was certain had some knowledge of the language. Consequently, some letters are rich in Latin–Greek code-switches, while others contain no Greek at all. Comenius and his Brethren show a strong tendency to use more Greek when they address fellow ministers of various Protestant churches, all people who must have had at least some knowledge of Greek as a scriptural language. This also applies to the very first letters of their exchange. A particularly remarkable example is the letter which Comenius and his fellow ministers of the Unity of Brethren sent to Theodor Zwinger the Younger (1597–1654) on 5 May 1633.[58] This letter is two-and-a-half pages long and includes seven code-switches to Greek, of which two are full quotations from the Greek New Testament and one is a paraphrase, while the rest are single Greek words in the Greek alphabet. This is a large number compared to the average of one code-switch on every eight-and-a-half page, and since this was also the first letter the Brethren sent to Zwinger they appear to have been confident from the outset that they could afford the luxury of using Greek in such an unusual density.

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

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

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

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

7 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Note

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Inverting the Hierarchy: Greek and Latin in a sixteenth-century poetical encomium of Antwerp*

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ABSTRACT

In 1565, the Bavarian Georg Schögel published a city encomium of Antwerp, titled *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii,* on the occasion of the inauguration of the Antwerp city hall. The laudatory poem is written in Greek, and preceded by three Latin paratexts: an introductory letter, a poem to the city council, and a laudatory poem by English diplomat Daniel Rogers. This paper investigates the forms of code-switching in this city encomium. I argue that Schrögel inverted the usual language hierarchy by writing his main text in Greek, and relegating Latin to the paratexts. An analysis of the three paratexts and the titles of the publication shows that the Latin texts were written to serve the Greek main poem. Next, I analyze examples of linguistic transfer from Latin to Greek in Schrögel's Greek poem. These examples of transfer indicate that Latin applied pressure on Schrögel's usage of Greek. With his city encomium, Schrögel tried to obtain a reward from the members of the city council. By writing in Greek, he tried to surpass earlier authors that had written Latin city encomia of Antwerp and had received rewards.

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1 Introduction

In 1565, the Bavarian poet Georg Schrögel (Georgius Schroegelius) published a lengthy Greek poem praising the city of Antwerp, titled *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii*. He dedicated his composition to the members of the Antwerp city council in a Latin elegy that precedes the city encomium. After concluding his main Greek poem, Schrögel addresses the council members again and modestly justifies his endeavour.

> Γράμματα μὲν τάδε παῦρ' αὐτοσχεδιαστὶ ἔγραψα
> ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαύτης ἄξια τῆς πόλεως.
> Οὔπω γὰρ πίον οἵ σε ἔθρεψαν δῖον Ὅμηρον
> μαζοὺς Καλλιόπης, οὕς τε Μάρων ἔπιε.
> Πολλάκι ἀλλὰ θεοῖς τὰ ἀμαυρά γε δῶρα ἀρέσκει,
> ὡς τῶν ἀγρονόμων αἰξ, τύρος, ἠδὲ γάλα.
> Τοὔνεκ' ἐμὴ σπουδὴ ἀρέσει, βουληφόροι ἄνδρες,
> ὔμμιν ἕως δώσω τῶν ποτε λωίονα. (705–12)[1]

Schrögel then concludes his panegyric by expressing the hope that Zeus and Poseidon will in the meantime favor Antwerp and its river Scheldt. In this statement of modesty, he identifies Homer and Vergil as his literary models. In terms of language, Schrögel aims to "show the beauties of the city according to the godly Homer" rather than Vergil.[2] Indeed, Schrögel wrote his main laudatory elegy in Ancient Greek, placing three Latin paratexts before the Greek main text. This is an unusual configuration for the period, in which Greek paratexts are more typically used to frame a main text in Latin, the common language of learned men.[3] In this paper I will study the relation of both languages as they appear in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.

2 Early modern code-switching and language hierarchy

Latin–Greek code-switching in the early modern period has received far less attention from scholars than the occurrence of the same phenomenon in antiquity, two recent monographs apart.[4] In her study of seventeenth-century Humanist Greek composition, Tua Korhonen devotes a chapter to the use of Greek in Latin

1 Fol. D4v, vv. 705–712. "I wrote these few words extemporaneously, / but not worthy of such a city. / For I did not yet drink from the breasts of Calliope, / which fed you, godly Homer, and from which Maro drank. / But often even feeble presents please the gods, / like a goat, cheese or milk of farmers. / Therefore my effort will satisfy you, men of the council, / until at some time I give you something better." All translations in this paper are my own. I have normalized the spelling and punctuation of the Greek passages quoted in this paper.

2 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, D4r, v. 677: "Κάλλεα τῆς πόλεως φράζω κατὰ θεῖον Ὅμηρον."

3 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

4 On code-switching in antiquity, see e.g. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*; Elder and Mullen, *The Language of Roman Letters*; Aubert-Baillot, *Le grec et la philosophie dans la correspondance de Cicéron*.

and vernacular texts.[5] She gives three main reasons why early modern authors code-switched from Latin to Greek, which she illustrates and elaborates with examples from seventeenth-century Finnish and Estonian works. For Korhonen, the three reasons for using Greek are: to emphasize elements in the Latin text, for visual decoration (aesthetics), and to keep information encoded (Greek as a secret language). In his book, Raf Van Rooy treats Latin–Greek code-switching more extensively, focusing on examples from the Low Countries, and identifies many more reasons for its occurrence: for example to show one's membership of a social group of Greek scholars, to showcase one's knowledge of Greek and thus one's cultural capital, or to exploit the reputation of Greek as the language of medicine.[6] Both Korhonen and Van Rooy stress that multiple reasons could coincide in a moment of code-switching.

In the early modern period, code-switching took place on a very broad spectrum. At one end we find small-scale examples of code-switching within words: Korhonen mentions Latin loanwords stemming from Greek that are printed with their endings in Greek characters, or even just one Greek letter printed in the middle of a Latin word.[7] The spectrum develops further from code-switches within sentences, between sentences, between paragraphs and finally to code-switches between entire texts. The book under study in this paper belongs chiefly to the far end of the spectrum: code-switching between entire texts.

From the research by Korhonen and Van Rooy into early modern code-switching practices, a form of code-switching hierarchy can be deduced: in general, early modern authors switch to Greek from Latin texts, and to Latin from vernacular texts.[8] Code-switches from vernacular languages to Greek seem to have been rarer.[9] In some regions, even a distinction between vernaculars can be made, for example in Estonia, where German served as the language of administration and enjoyed higher prestige than Estonian,[10] or in Finland, where for the same reason Swedish was perceived as more prestigious than Finnish.[11] This order of languages in code-switching practices corresponds to the language hierarchy for liminary poems. Generally, Latin books may feature Greek and Latin paratexts, and vernacular books can have liminary poems in Latin and vernaculars.[12] In sum, Greek holds the highest position in the language hierarchy, Latin stands in the middle of the ladder, and vernacular languages are at the bottom.

5 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 126–40.

6 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 113–20.

7 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 131–32.

8 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 126–28; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 60–62. In similar contexts as Greek, code-switches to learned languages such as Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic took place, albeit to a lesser extent. For this study, I will not consider code-switches to these languages.

9 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 60–62. Korhonen says that "In Protestant countries, Greek words and phrases, especially from the New Testament, could be used in the vernacular both in texts and conversation." See Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 127–28. It seems that in Protestant countries, code-switches from vernacular to Greek were more common than in the Low Countries, the region on which Van Rooy's study focusses.

10 Päll, "Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia," 97.

11 Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 127, n. 40.

12 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66–67; Päll, "Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia," 97; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 58–60.

In this paper, I examine Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* through the prism of code-switching and language hierarchy. I study the positions that Latin and Greek occupy in the book and the code-switching between both languages. Firstly, I will introduce the author and his text, elaborating on the background and circumstances in which Schrögel wrote his city encomium. Secondly, I will argue that his Latin–Greek code-switching occurred principally on the 'macro' level, between (para)texts, and that Schrögel inverted the usual language hierarchy by giving center stage to New Ancient Greek and relegating Latin to the paratexts. Thirdly, I explore the relation between the Latin and Greek names for 'Antwerp' Schrögel uses in his book. Fourthly, I will prove that linguistic transfer took place in the Greek main text and present some cases of Latin influence on Schrögel's Greek. Lastly, I explore the motivations that Schrögel had to invert the language hierarchy. I conclude that Schrögel's choice to make Greek central instead of Latin was unusual, but that Latin still asserted its presence in the main text through its influence on Schrögel's usage of Greek. Schrögel's motivation for using Greek was a pragmatic one: to obtain a reward for his city encomium from the Antwerp city council.

3 A German in awe of Antwerp

3.1 The author

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was written by Georg Erasmus Schrögel (Georgius Schroegelius).[13] As can be deduced from the title of his encomium, Schrögel was a Bavarian (*Boius*). He was born in the town of Nejdek (Neudek) in present-day Czechia.[14] According to his epitaph in the Peterskirche in Heidelberg, Schrögel died in 1602 at the age of 58, which means he must have been born in 1543 or 1544.[15]

At some point before 1565 Schrögel must have moved to Antwerp. In the prefatory elegy to the Antwerp city council, he states that he had been in the city for six months.[16] In Antwerp, Schrögel frequented a protestant milieu: he found himself in the company of Daniel Rogers (Rogerius), an English diplomat who also wrote Neo-Latin poetry. Rogers was born in 1538 in Wittenberg to an English father and a mother from Antwerp.[17] After his father, a Protestant preacher, was executed in England by Queen Mary Tudor, Rogers went to Wittenberg to

[13] His Latinized name is frequently spelled Schroegelius, as it appears throughout the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική,* but sometimes his name is spelled Schregelius, Schrogelius or Schrögelius. His German name is mostly spelled as Schregel or Schrögel. I will refer to him as Schrögel throughout.

[14] Ridderickhoff, De Ridder-Symoens, and Heesakkers, *Troisième Livre des procurateurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Université d'Orléans 1567–1587*, 109.

[15] Adam, *Apographum monumentorum Haidelbergensium*, 34; Neumüllers-Klauser, *Die Inschriften der Stadt und des Landkreises Heidelberg*, 320 (n°535). The inscription does not exist anymore; I owe this information to Katharina Kagerer.

[16] Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A3r: "Dumque tuos video fines auguste Senatus, / Iam reficit sextam menstrua luna rotam." (vv. 55–56) "While I am looking over your territory, venerable Senate, / the moon already makes its sixth monthly cycle."

[17] Phillips, "Daniel Rogers," 10.

study with his father's friend Philipp Melanchthon.[18] Rogers collaborated with Schrögel on the Antwerp encomium (see below).

After their stay in Antwerp, both Rogers and Schrögel went to France. Rogers went to Paris in 1565.[19] Schrögel went to Orléans, where he was enrolled as a student into the register of the German Nation in the second trimester of 1567.[20] At the time, the university of Orléans was famous for the study of law, and Schrögel's epitaph indeed praises him for his excellent knowledge of law ('ob egregiam iuris scientiam').[21] Schrögel went into service with John Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern. He represented this Calvinist German ruler as an adviser on several diplomatic missions, such as at the Reichstag of 1582 in Augsburg.[22] Schrögel also worked for John Casimir's successor Elector Palatinate Frederick IV and was present on his behalf at the Reichstag of 1594 in Regensburg.[23]

Rogers and Schrögel remained in contact after their time in Antwerp. Rogers wrote a collection of encomia on English cities, entitled *Urbes* ("Cities"), which remains unedited.[24] Schrögel composed a Greek liminary poem that opens the collection, praising Rogers' effort in composing the city encomia. Some of Rogers' poems are dated between 1574 and 1576, so one may assume that Schrögel's poem was written in the same period.

3.2 The imprint

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed in January 1565 in five hundred copies.[25] The last 24 pages (sig. B1r–D4v) of the book contain the main Greek poem, which bears a separate Greek title of its own: Εἰς τὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, καὶ πάντων τῶν Βελγῶν λαμπροτάτην πόλιν τὴν Ἀνδωβερπαίαν ὕμνος ("Hymn to the most magnificent and brilliant city of all Belgians, Antwerp").[26] As noted above, Schrögel prefaced his Greek poem with three Latin paratexts. Firstly, a prose introductory letter to the reader (fol. A1v), which presents some historical information on Antwerp, and secondly, as mentioned above, an elegiac poem addressed to the Antwerp city council (fols. A2r–A4r) titled "*Augusto senatui clarissimae et*

18 van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors*, 10–11.

19 Phillips, "Daniel Rogers," 11.

20 Ridderickhoff, De Ridder-Symoens, and Heesakkers, *Troisième Livre des procurateurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Université d'Orléans 1567–1587*, 109.

21 Adam, *Apographum monumentorum Haidelbergensium*, 34.

22 Lossen, *Der Magdeburger Sessionsstreit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag von 1582*, 35, n. 81.

23 Fleischman, *Kurze und eigentliche Beschreibung*, fol. BBB1r.

24 San Marino (California), Huntington Library, MS Hertford 31188, (saec. XVI) fols. 195r–212r. This manuscript volume consisting of 385 folios was written by Daniel Rogers himself. The full title of Rogers' collection of encomia is *Danielis Rogerii Albimontii Angli Urbes, ad Franciscum Russellium Mecenatem*—I have adapted the transcription of the Latin text to modern customs, as I have also done in the rest of the present paper.

25 Voet, *The Plantin Press*, V: 2065. The book attracted some attention after its publication. The English poet Abraham Hartwell mentions the encomia on Antwerp by Schrögel and Rogers alongside some other contemporary city encomia in the introductory letter to the reader of his poem *Regina Literata,* fol. A1r, printed in 1565.

26 While *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is in the first place a city encomium, this title marks the main text as a *hymn*. The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* bears traces of several genres; on this issue, see Demuynck and Van Rooy, "In search of a genre".

nobilissimae Belgarum urbis Handoverpiae perpetuam felicitatem" ("I wish the venerable senate of Antwerp, the most brilliant and most noble city of the Belgians, everlasting happiness!"), in which he wishes Antwerp a bright future.[27] Lastly, a third paratext precedes the Greek poem: a short Latin epigram written by Rogers (fol. A4v) with the title "*In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii*", congratulating Schrögel on his achievement in writing the encomium of Antwerp and emphasising that it was written in Greek. The three Latin texts hold functions typical of paratexts: a preface to the reader, a dedication by the author to the patron or patrons (in this case, the Antwerp city council), and praise of the work by a friend.[28]

Rogers himself wrote an ode on Antwerp in sapphic stanzas, which was the main item in his *de Laudibus Antverpiae Oda Sapphica*, also published by Plantin in 1565. Although the *Oda Sapphica* is now listed as a separate publication in bibliographic descriptions and has its own title page, it was intended as a supplement to Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.[29] A note in the financial register of the Plantin Press contains the printing costs. The costs are written down under the title "Elegia Antverpiae Schroegelii" in two entries: one for quires A–C, another for D–F.[30] The pages of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* run from A1r to D4v, so this book was printed in two sections. The mentioned quires E–F contained the *Oda Sapphica*, which runs from sig. A1r to B6. Rogers' book was therefore printed as supplement together with the second part (i.e. quire D) of Schrögel's book. To his *Oda Sapphica*, Rogers added nine more Latin poems about Antwerp in elegiac couplets. Among them are poems on the Antwerp city hall (see below), the huge crowds visiting the stock market, and the freezing of the river Scheldt in early 1565. Two short poems are addressed to Schrögel, congratulating him on his description of Antwerp; so, in total Rogers wrote three poems in praise of Schrögel himself.[31] I will take a closer look at these three congratulatory poems below.

3.3 The occasion of writing

The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* (including the *Oda Sapphica*) was published on the occasion of the inauguration of the Antwerp city hall on 27 February 1565, exactly

[27] In the early modern period, the term 'Belgicus' referred to a larger area than present-day Belgium. It comprises the Low Countries: present day Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and parts of northern France. See Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 439–40.

[28] van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 65–66, 68; Lewis, "Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext," 2–4.

[29] Voet, *The Plantin Press,* V: 2004, 2065.

[30] Antwerpen, Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Grootboek kostenberekening edities 1563–1567*, Arch. 4, tg:mpmre:633:m1, (1563–1567, Antwerpen), fol. 72v; Voet, *The Plantin Press*, V: 2065. The costs for quires A–C were entered on 21 January 1565, the costs for D–F on 27 January.

[31] These three congratulatory poems are also preserved in Huntington Library, MS Hertford 31188, fols. 106r & 109r, the same manuscript that also contains the earlier mentioned collection of *Urbes* by Rogers. Many poems in the manuscript are dated to the period 1574–1576. We may assume that this dating also applies to the versions of these three poems, and that the specimina in the Hertford manuscript are later revisions by Rogers.

four years after the first stone had been laid.[32] This presents us with two intriguing issues – the question of performance, and the question of the description of the city hall façade. After introducing the broader context of the inauguration, I will shortly dwell upon these two issues, before moving to the analysis of Latin–Greek code-switching in this city encomium.

The opening of the city hall was a moment of great pride for the city. Schrögel's and Rogers' city encomia on Antwerp, which paid plenty of attention to the new city hall, will have graced this event. A Greek poem praising Antwerp will have enhanced the prestige of the new building, since "Greek was a more distinctive and more glamorous medium than Latin in which to sing the praises of specific places and communities."[33] At the same time, the publication of the Greek encomium served as cultural capital for the author himself: by writing in Greek, Schrögel showed his classical learning and linguistic abilities, and this provided him with cultural distinction.[34]

Greek compositions regularly featured at important events in the early modern Low Countries. Sixty years before Schrögel, Erasmus had composed a short Homeric cento to add lustre to the return of Philipp the Handsome of Habsburg to the Low Countries.[35] The Greek poem was appended to Erasmus' Latin *Panegyricus*, which was partly recited in Brussels during the festive event. On the occasion of Erasmus' death, seven students of the Leuven university wrote epitaphs in honor of the famous humanist, and three of them also composed Greek poems.[36] Some ten years later, the death of another Louvain humanist, Collegium Trilingue professor Rutger Rescius, prompted the composition of Greek epitaphs.[37] Marriages were also occasions for Greek composition, as shown by a Greek epithalamium written in the circle of the Plantin-Moretus printing house, to celebrate the marriage of Balthasar Moretus and Anna Goos in 1645.[38]

Even within this context, however, Schrögel's encomium occupies an unusual position. As a New Ancient Greek composition, it is relatively long: 714 verses (covering 24 pages). Greek compositions of such length were rare in the Low Countries.[39] The choice of Greek is not typical of the genre of the city encomium: in my research to date I have observed that early modern encomia were usually written in Latin, and only to a lesser extent in the vernaculars. Greek city encomia

32 Maclot and van Ginneken, "De Bouwbiografie van het Antwerpse stadhuis," 98. As seen, the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed in January 1565, one month before the opening of the city hall.

33 Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 454.

34 Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 448–53; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 5; 122–23.

35 Lamers and Van Rooy, "The Low Countries," 223–25.

36 *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia per eruditiss[imos] aliquot viros Academiae Louanien[sis] edita*, Leuven, Rutger Rescius, 1537. The three students that wrote Greek poems were Thomas Lineus, Diogo Pires and John Helyar. Several Latin poems in the collection exhibit code-switches to Greek, Diogo Pires even wrote a perfectly balanced Latin–Greek bilingual elegiac poem, with Latin hexameters and Greek pentameters. See Demuynck and Van Rooy, "Tussen Neolatijn en Nieuw-Oudgrieks."

37 Feys and Van Rooy, "Louvain Lyrical about Greek."

38 Lamers and Van Rooy, "The Low Countries," 261–64.

39 Greek poems were usually short pieces, featuring alongside longer Latin texts, see Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

are scarce.[40] Because of this peculiar choice by Schrögel for Greek in the main text, both in the context of the Early Modern Low Countries and regarding the genre of the city encomium, I will focus on Latin–Greek code-switching in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* and the relation of these languages in the imprint in the next chapter.

The occasion for which the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was written, the solemn inauguration of the Antwerp city hall, raises the question of whether the poem was read aloud in public for this event, or only circulated in print. Certain passages in the Greek poem seem to suggest a performance, for example:

> Εὑρεῖ εἰν ἄστει ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσόψει
> τῷ ξανθῷ χρυσῷ κτίσματα λαμπόμενα.
> Ἀκροπόλεις ἔνθα κρατεράς, καὶ ἐκεῖ χαρίεντας
> νηοὺς οὓς φήσεις οἷς μακάρεσσι πρέπειν. (131–34)[41]

The adverbs of place *ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν*, *ἔνθα* and *ἐκεῖ* could be traces of a performance, where Schrögel pointed to buildings in different direction during his speech—although it is also possible that Schrögel simply wanted to give the impression of a text that had been performed. If the text was indeed read aloud in public, the question remains how many people would have been able to understand such a reading at all.

Secondly, the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* unveils something about the building process of the Antwerp city hall. Interestingly, the city hall had not yet been completed when the inauguration took place. The central part of the facade was not finished until a year later.[42] Schrögel paid a fair share of attention—a little more than two pages—to the city hall in his Greek poem, including a description of the façade. He reported that three statues adorned the front of the building: Brabo, the symbol of Antwerp, flanked by Justice (*Δίκη*) and Concord (*Ὁμόνοια*):

> Ἐν τοῖς ὁ Βράβων πομπεύει ὑπέρτατος ἄλλων,
> χερσῖν ξὺν σφετέροις χαλκῷ ἐνιστάμενος.
> Ἐν τῇ δεξιτερᾷ ἐν δαιδάλῳ εἰκόνι νηλὴς
> ἵσταται ἥδε Δίκη ἐκγεγαυῖα Διός.
> Ἔκδικον εἰν ἄλλῃ χειρὶ ξίφος ἶφι ἔχουσα,
> εἰν ἄλλῃ τρυτάνην πᾶσι νέμουσαν ἴσα.
> Ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἡσυχίη δ' Ὁμόνοια κάθηται,
> ἄμφω ἔχουσα σοφῶς χεῖρε ὁμοπλέκεε. (173–80)[43]

[40] Among the ca. 200 examples I have found at the moment, only this encomium by Schrögel and the encomium on 's-Hertogenbosch by Johannes Vladeraccus (see below) are written in Greek.

[41] Sig. B3r, vv. 131–134. "In the broad city you will behold here and there / buildings that shine with gleaming gold. / Here sturdy citadels, there graceful / churches, about which you will say that they are fitting for the blessed gods."

[42] Maclot and Van Ginneken, "De Bouwbiografie van het Antwerpse stadhuis," 98.

[43] Sig. B4r, vv. 173–180. "There Brabo parades high above the others, / standing upright with bronze hands. / On his right stands in a skilfully wrought image pitiless / Justice, daughter of Zeus. / In one hand she

Figure 1: Façade of the Antwerp city hall. Photograph by G. Lanting, from Wikimedia Commons, accessed 22 July, 2024, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=48274298. License CC-BY-SA-4.0.

This description does not match the arrangement of the statues as it eventually came to be in 1566: Justice (*Justitia*) did flank Brabo on his right hand, but on the other side stood Prudence (*Prudentia*).[44] The statue of Prudence is standing and her hands are not folded, she holds an object in each. The *ecphrasis* of Justice is however correct: she can still be seen today on the left, holding sword and scales (see figure 1). Schrögel probably based his description on provisional building plans. Between 1560, when the construction plans were presented to Philipp II,

stoutly holds an avenging sword, / in the other a pair of scales, that allots to all everything equally. / On his left sits quiet Concord, / wisely keeping both hands folded together."

44 Initially, an image of Brabo stood in the central niche of the façade, as can be seen on the illustration of the city hall in Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi*, 80–81. In 1587, Brabo was replaced in the context of the Counter-Reformation by a statue of Mary, that is still there today.

and the placing of the statues in 1566, the design of the façade was changed.[45] Originally, Affection (*Caritas*) was planned to stand next to Justice. By the time Schrögel wrote his encomium, Affection had been replaced by Concord. During the turbulent year 1566, the year of the Iconoclastic Fury, the relations between Antwerp and Philip II worsened. There was little concord between them anymore, so the figure of Concord was replaced by one of Prudence. Schrögel's description thus represented a temporary design in the continuing development of the city hall façade.

4 The functions of the paratexts in relation to the Greek main text

In this section I explain how the titles and different Latin paratexts of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* relate to the Greek main text: the titles and the three Latin paratexts. I also reflect on the notable absence of a (Latin) translation.

4.1 Titles

The title of the book *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστικὴ in clarissimam et praestantissimam Belgarum urbem Handoverpiam Georgii Schroegelii Boii* features a significant intrasentential code-switch to Greek. The second word *ἐγκωμιαστική* is unmistakably set in the largest type on the titlepage (see figure 2). Whether Schrögel coined the title himself, or whether it was chosen by someone else involved in the publishing process, such as Rogers, Plantin or someone else from the Officina Plantiniana, the code-switch was obviously deliberate: the poem could have just been titled *Elegia encomiastica* or *laudatoria*. Caspar Brusch did the same for his Latin laudatory poem *Ad divum Ferdinandum Romanorum Regem elegia encomiastica* on later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand, printed in Nürnberg in 1540.

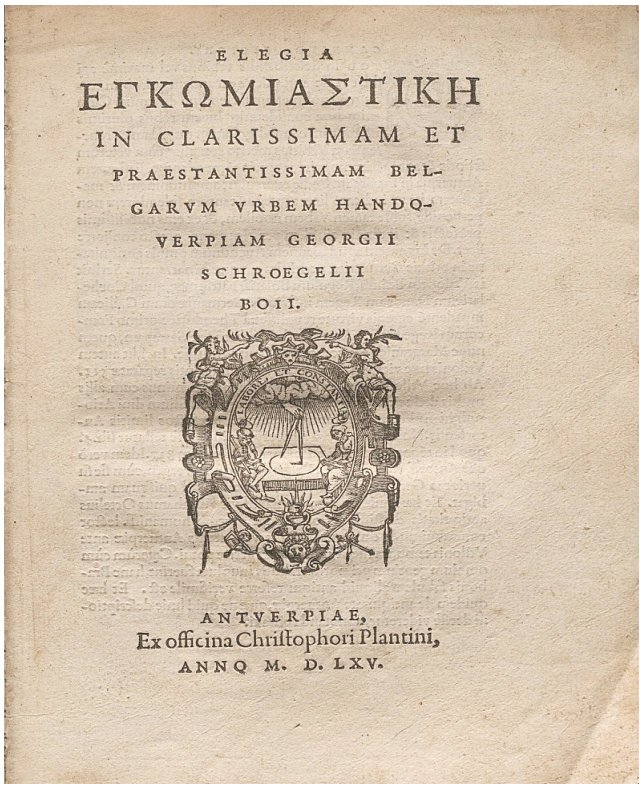
ELEGIA
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ
IN CLARISSIMAM ET
PRAESTANTISSIMAM BEL-
GARVM VRBEM HANDO-
VERPIAM GEORGII
SCHROEGELII
BOII.
ANTVERPIAE,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
ANNO M. D. LXV.

Figure 2: Titlepage of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 0911-1, Familie van Rhemen; Pamfletten., fol. A1r.

[45] See the summary of a lecture by Michiels, "Diligentia regum capitur industria", https://gvag.be/lezingen/2011/diligentia-regum-capitur-industria-vorstenspiegels-en-andere-boodschappen-aan-vorsten-en-burgers-in-het-antwerps-stadhuis/ (accessed 6 July, 2023).

One could explain Schrögel's code-switch as decorative.[46] The same aesthetic purpose underpinned another city encomium on the East-Frisian city of Emden by Willem de Volder [Gnapheus], published in 1557 and entitled *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. This title appeared at the top of the titlepage of the book (see figure 3) and was followed by a second, more elaborate Latin title: *In Aembdanae civitatis atque adeo totius Ultramasanae Frisiae laudem carmen panegyricum [...]*. The same layout with a code-switch and double title is used again at the start of the main text (fol. A4r). Here, the second title elucidates the first title, and the words *In [...] laudem carmen panegyricum* explain the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον*.[47] Although the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον* was not printed prominently on the title page of the book, but in a much smaller font than the preceding and following lines, the code-switch still catches the eye of the reader. The Greek characters on the title page were visually appealing to the reader, while their meaning is explained in the elaborate second Latin title. The title page even shows the explanatory function of Latin 'in action': a reader has added a marginal note glossing the eye-catching Greek with its Latin equivalent "encomium".

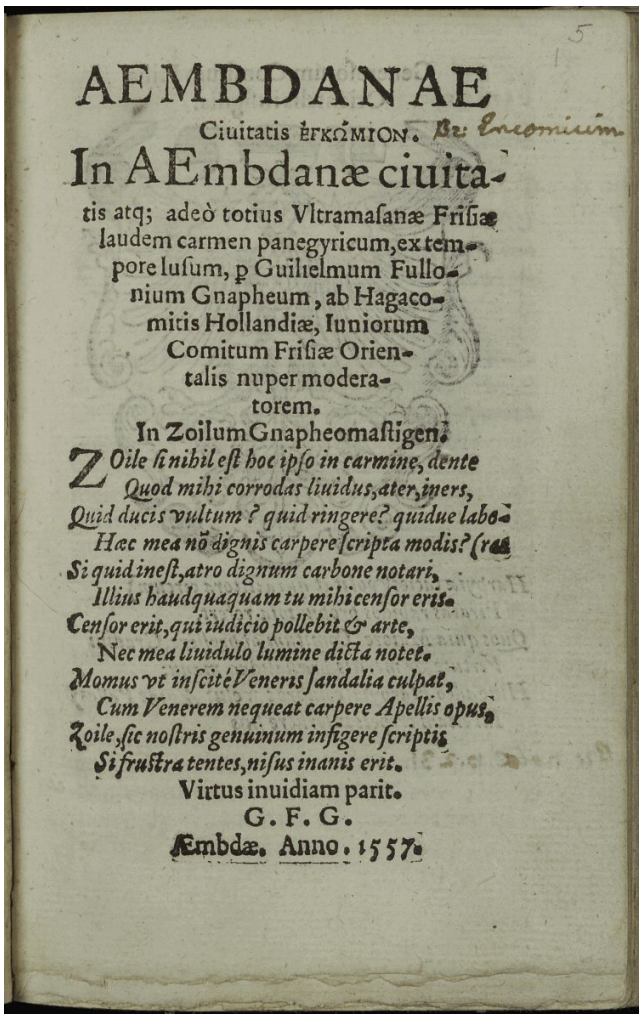
AEMBDANAE
Ciuitatis ἐγκώμιον. Bz Encomium
In AEmbdanæ ciuita-
tis atq; adeò totius Vltramaſanæ Friſiæ
laudem carmen panegyricum, ex tem-
pore luſum, p Guilielmum Fullo-
nium Gnapheum, ab Hagaco-
mitis Hollandiæ, Iuniorum
Comitum Friſiæ Orien-
talis nuper modera-
torem.
In Zoilum Gnapheomaſtigem.
Zoile ſi nihil eſt hoc ipſo in carmine, dente
Quod mihi corrodas liuidus, ater, iners,
Quid ducis vultum? quid ringere? quidue labo-
Hæc mea nõ dignis carpere ſcripta modis? (ra
Si quid ineſt, atro dignum carbone notari,
Illius haudquaquam tu mihi cenſor eris.
Cenſor erit, qui iudicio pollebit & arte,
Nec mea liuidulo lumine dicta notet.
Momus vt inſcitè Veneris ſandalia culpat,
Cum Venerem nequeat carpere Apellis opus,
Zoile, ſic noſtris genuinum infigere ſcriptis
Si fruſtra tentes, niſus inanis erit.
Virtus inuidiam parit.
G. F. G.
Embdæ. Anno. 1557.

Figure 3: Titlepage of Willem de Volder's *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. Emden, Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Theol. 8° 0265 H, p. 261.

The code-switch in the title of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is however not merely decorative, but also functional. In this way, Schrögel emphasized the genre of the text, specifying the broad designation of 'elegy' as a laudatory text, and more specifically a city encomium. Next, the prominent Greek word in the title indicated the language of the main poem of the publication. The appearance of Greek words in titles often indicated the presence of Greek in a text. The title of Erasmus' *Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον id est Stultitiae Laus*—in the first place a pun on the name of his friend and addressee Thomas

[46] Korhonen, *To the Glory That Was Greece*, 133–34; Lamers and Van Rooy, "*Graecia Belgica*," 457.

[47] It is curious that de Volder uses both a Latin term (*In laudem*) and a Greek term (*panegyricum*) in his clarification of the Greek word *ἐγκώμιον*.

More[48]—prepared the reader for the many code-switches from Latin to Greek in Erasmus' work. This title of course indicates a different level of Greek presence in the text: whereas Erasmus' title merely announces code-switches to Greek in a Latin text, the main text of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is written entirely in Greek.

A Greek code-switch in title does not, however, guarantee the presence of Greek in the volume: de Volder's encomium on Emden for example doesn't contain any Greek word, so the code-switch in the title is purely decorative. Schrögel's title contains no Latin counterpart that explains the Greek word, contrary to de Volder's second Latin title or Erasmus' double Greek-Latin title *Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον id est Stultitiae Laus*. The reader of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* is supposed to understand the Greek code-switch in the title, and so the reader can expect this imprint to contain Greek text. The presence of Greek in the book is confirmed to the reader by the separate, Greek title of the main poem: *Εἰς τὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, καὶ πάντων τῶν Βελγῶν λαμπροτάτην πόλιν τὴν Ἀνδωβερπαίαν ὕμνος* (fol. B1r; "Hymn to the most magnificent and brilliant city of all Belgians, Antwerp"). This Greek title signals to the reader that the Latin, introductory part of the book is finished and the Greek main text now begins. This solely Greek title for the Greek main poem is very uncommon since in the Low Countries the usual practice seems to have been to attach Latin titles even to Greek poems.[49] There are exceptions, especially for longer texts, notably Nicolaes van Wassenaer's epic poem *Harlemiad* (1605) about the siege of Haarlem in 1572, that had a Greek title: "*Ἁρλεμιὰς ἢ Ἐξήγησις τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς πόλεως Ἁρλεμίης, γενομένης τῷ ἔτει αφοβ*" and a corresponding Latin one for its translation: "*Harlemias sive Enarratio obsidionis urbis Harlemi, quae accidit anno 1572*."

4.2 Introductory letter

The first text in the book is a Latin prose letter to the reader, titled "*Candido lectori*". This letter does not reflect on Schrögel's choice of language explicitly, but the letter complements the information provided in the main Greek poem and prepares the reader for it.

In this opening letter, Schrögel provides the necessary historical background on the city of Antwerp "as is customary in descriptions of cities."[50] For "an inquiry into the history of a city lends it dignity and respect," which is of course the purpose of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.[51] By his own acknowledgement, his source was the magnum opus *Annales ducum Boiariae* of the Renaissance historian

48 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 119.

49 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 52–55.

50 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A1v. "Quod in describendis urbibus vel maxime agi solet ut de antiquitate earundem primo inquiratur, id nobis etiam faciendum duximus." (ll. 1–3) "What is usually done in descriptions of cities, to inquire at first into their ancient history, we reckon we ought to do ourselves as well."

51 Sig. A1v. "Cum enim haec consideratio lucem rebus plurimis afferat, tum etiam dignitatem quandam et reverentiam Urbibus merito conciliat, cum veterum scriptis et ante acti temporis memoria commendantur." (ll. 3–7) "Because this reflection sheds light on several things, it even deservedly acquires some dignity and respect for cities, when they are recommended by the writings of ancient authors and the memory of an earlier time."

Johannes Aventinus, which was printed in 1554, but written 30 years earlier. Schrögel's letter reports some real historical events that shaped the city of Antwerp to the reader: the appointment of Schrögel's countryman Odilo of Bavaria as governor of Antwerp in 511, and the pillaging of the city by Vikings in 837. Aventinus did not discuss Antwerp's legendary past, and Schrögel "could not find anywhere what the status of Antwerp was before the era of Odilo".[52] Schrögel covered the factual information, derived from printed books which the reader could also consult, in the introductory letter, but left out information for which he could not find a source, namely the mythical origin story of Antwerp, the legend of Brabo. This lack of information left room for literary imagination, so Schrögel saved this story for the main poem. He only mentions it at the end of the letter, whetting the reader's appetite. This way, the Latin letter serves the Greek main text and complements the poem by presenting the key background factual information about the city.

4.3 Elegy to the city council

The second Latin prefatory text is a 90 line poem in elegiacs, covering five pages (fols. A2r–A4r). The title clarifies that this elegy was addressed to the city council, or as Schrögel tended to call them, the 'Senate': "*Augusto senatui clarissimae et nobilissimae Belgarum urbis Handoverpiae perpetuam felicitatem*" ("I wish the venerable senate of Antwerp, the most brilliant and most noble city of the Belgians, everlasting happiness!"). In this preliminary poem, Schrögel explained his motivations in writing the encomium: he was hoping for a reward and appealing to possible sponsors. This elegy also sought to bolster the author's credibility, and further prepare the reader for the Greek poem.

After greeting the members of the Antwerp city council, Schrögel praised the city for its staunch walls, declaring that its reputation as an economic center stretched to all corners of the world. Yet it was not the abundance of commodities available in Antwerp that enticed Schrögel to leave his native Bavaria: he was pursuing glory as a poet, and desired to get to know other nations, especially the Belgians and the renowned city Antwerp. He praised the *homo viator*, referring to two examples of ancient travelling scholars, Plato and Herodotus:

> Quid precor assiduus patriae conspectus inerti
> proderit et semper delituisse domi?
> Dii melius, non sic divini Musa Platonis
> censuit, aut Samii mens generosa senis. (37–40)[53]

Praising the *homo viator*, Schrögel emphasized his trustworthiness as an encomiast of Antwerp, having himself travelled a long distance to visit the city and seen

[52] Sig. A1v. "Quis vero status Antverpiae ante Utilonis tempora fuerit, nusquam reperire potui" (ll. 39–40).

[53] Sig. A2v–A3r, vv. 37–40. "I ask you, what good will be looking always on an indolent homeland / and constantly lurking at home? / Dear gods! The Muse of the divine Plato did not / think that way, nor the generous mind of the old man of Samos."

many other places on his way.[54] As he pointed out to the reader, he was in a position to compare several cities. This lends credence to his conclusion that Antwerp was truly the greatest city of all.

Further on in the Latin poem Schrögel draws attention to the main text again: "Protinus in tantas se coepit solvere laudes / Musa vocans Graias in sua vota Deas."[55] This distich announces the commencement of the main poem and raises expectations among the readers, mentioning briefly that the poem is written in Greek.[56] But before we reach the Greek poem itself, Schrögel first resorts to the modesty topos: the phrase "His licet exiguis elegis" (fol. A3v, v. 75; "In these elegiac verses, albeit scanty") trivialize the number of verses he wrote.[57] He also minimizes the quality of his verses: "Quicquid id est capias placida peto fronte, bonique / consule non aequis carmina scripta modis."[58] In the pentameter, Schrögel employs an allusion to Ovid to refer once more to the metre of the poem, elegiac distichs.[59] Rogers made use of the same allusion to Ovid in his liminary poem (see below).[60]

Schrögel's expression of modesty then turns into a plea to the city council. In quite evasive wording, Schrögel asks the senate to show its favor to poets, so they will write poems about the city.[61] This way, he indicates that he is seeking remuneration from the city council or one of its members. This function of the paratext, requesting sponsors, is not unique to the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. For example, the Latin poem *Stheno Sture* (1557) by the German author Henricus Mollerus was supplemented with two Greek poems, exhorting noblemen to sponsor poets in return for praise.[62] Mollerus' poem was a panegyric biography of Sten Sture, a relative of the Swedish king Gustav I and former ruler of Sweden. Mollerus dedicated the poem to the Swedish crown prince Erik, explaining that the praise of his forefather also pertained to him.[63] In the second Greek poem, Mollerus asks

54 E.g. "Sed pia cura fuit semotas visere terras, / ruraque; spectatis concelebrata viris." (sig. A2v; vv. 25–26) "But it was an honest concern to behold distant lands / and fields, celebrated by esteemed men". "Non mihi tam longas est dolor isse vias." (sig. A3r; v. 58) "It doesn't bother me to have come such a long way."

55 Sig. A3v, vv. 67–68; "Forthwith the Muse starts to give flow to many words of praise, / invoking Greek goddesses in her prayers".

56 The Greek poem indeed starts with an invocation of the Muses; Schrögel prays they may come to him, so he can sing the praise of Antwerp.

57 This topos is typical for dedications, see Lewis, "Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext," 6.

58 Sig. A3v, vv. 77–78; "Whatever this is, I ask you to accept it with gentle face and be / pleased with these poems written in unequal metres."

59 Ovid, *Tristia* II, 220: "imparibus legeres carmina facta modis?" "Should you read my songs, made in unequal measures?"

60 Some of the examples quoted in this paragraph correspond to elements in the statement of modesty at the end of the Greek poem, cited at the opening of this paper. The words "His licet exiguis elegis" corresponds to his Greek words Γράμματα μὲν τάδε παῦρ' (sig. D4v, v. 705; "these few words"), both downplaying the number of verse Schrögel had written. Schrögel expands upon the dismissive phrase "Quicquid id est" in the Greek text when he states that he lacks the poetic talent of Homer or Vergil.

61 "Et sacra Pieridum sectantes numina Vates / quaeso tuo dignos esse favore velis. / Sic tibi de lauri connectent fronde corollas, / vestraque victuro carmine gesta vehent." (sig. A3v, vv. 79–82) "Please, esteem the poets who pursue the holy powers of the Muses / worthy of your favour. / This way, they will weave you wreaths of laurel / and they will carry your deeds in a song of victory."

62 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 84–88.

63 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 82–83.

Erik personally to be generous to poets. This address apparently proved successful, as Mollerus was subsequently employed by the Swedish royal family.[64] In comparison to Schrögel's book, the language roles are inverted: Mollerus wrote a Latin poem and adressed sponsors in two Greek paratexts; Schrögel had a Greek main text and used a Latin paratext to appeal to sponsors for a reward.

4.4 Congratulations by Rogers

The last paratext preceding the city encomium is a laudatory epigram by Daniel Rogers on the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* (fol. A4v). To praise the author of a text is a typical function of liminary poems.[65] This specimen reveals Rogers' opinion on the choice of language.

> In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii.[66]
>
> Docta tuas laudes facundi Musa Graphaei
> ante dedit Latiis urbs generosa notis:
> nunc tibi Schrogelii laudes decantat easdem
> Pieris, imparibus vecta Pelasga rotis.
> Scilicet Aonio celebrandis carmine divis
> laudibus et meritis nata Thalia fuit.
> Dummodo tu facias dignum Respublicae laude,
> Pierii deerit non tibi turba chori.
>
> DANIEL ROGERIUS.[67]

In this short liminary poem Rogers addresses the personified city. He compares Schrögel's Greek encomium to the Latin one that Cornelis De Schrijver [Grapheus] had composed earlier. De Schrijver had been secretary to the city of Antwerp between 1520 and 1522 and again from 1540 until his death in 1558.[68] His first term as secretary ended because he was accused of heresy and interrogated by the Inquisition. After a recantation he was set free, but he lost his position. In 1540 he was rehabilitated and reinstated as secretary. De Schrijver wrote several Latin texts that in some way praised the city he worked for.[69] The one referenced

64 Akujärvi, "Neo-Latin Texts and Humanist Greek Paratexts," 88.

65 van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 51.

66 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A4v. Rogers included a revised version of this poem in MS Hertford 31188, fol. 106r. The revision is entitled "Ad Andoverpiam, de enkomiastica (sic) Elegia Georgii Schroegelii" and three of its eight verses are significantly revised.

67 "On the Elegiac Poem on Antwerp by Georg Schrögel of Bavaria // Earlier the learned Muse sung your praise / through the Latin characters of the eloquent Graphaeus, eminent city. / Now the Pierian goddess sings through Schrögel praise for you, again, / but this time it is a Greek muse, carried on unequal wheels. / Certainly, Thalia was born to celebrate gods / with Aonian poetry and deserved praise. / As long as you do what is worthy of praise, dear Republic, / you will not lack a Pierian choir. // Daniel Rogers."

68 Zilverberg, "Grapheus, Cornelis," 148–49.

69 During his first term, he organised the entry of Emperor Charles V in Antwerp in 1520, and described all festivities in his *De magnificentissimis urbis Antverpiae spectaculis, Carolo dudum imperatore designato, aeditis*, published in Antwerp by Michael Hillenius in 1519. In 1549, he orchestrated the arrival of Philips II, son

by Rogers is probably his *Urbis Antverpiae Preconium* ("Laudation of the city Antwerp"), a short panegyric of Antwerp in iambic trimeters.[70]

Rogers states in this celebratory poem that it is the duty of the Muses to sing praise in Greek verse. By implying that Schrögel brought the Muses back to their original task, i.e. making *Greek* poetry, he emphasizes that Schrögel's effort is impressive and that his Greek encomium is more exceptional than De Schrijver's earlier Latin laudation.

Like Schrögel in his elegy to the city council, Rogers cites Ovid to denote the elegiac metre of Schrögel's verse (v.4; "imparibus vecta Pelasga rotis", "a Greek muse, carried on unequal wheels"). Rogers quotes Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* I, 264: "praecipit imparibus vecta Thalea rotis", adding here that the Muse Thalia is Greek (*Pelasga*), to refer to Schrögel's Greek poem.[71] This image of the Greek Muse carried by unequal wheels returns in a second poem addressed to Schrögel, which was published in Rogers' *Oda Sapphica*:[72]

> Cum caneret digna Belgarum laude puellas,
> Schroegelius, Graiis has veheretque rotis:
> dicitur ornata Venus arrisisse caterva
> laudibus, et tantis succinuisse modis:
> Phoebus, ait, donet Lauri tua tempora fronde,
> ipsa dabo capiti myrtea serta tuo.[73]

The Ovidian image used in Rogers' poem in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was adapted in this poem in the *Oda Sapphica*: whereas in the earlier poem a Muse, the goddess that *initiated* the poem, was carried, now the Belgian girls, the *subject* of the poem, are carried on wheels. The qualification of the wheels as 'unequal' from Ovid's quote was altered, and the wheels are now 'Greek', again referring to the Greek main poem.[74] Rogers applauds Schrögel's description of the young women of

of Charles V. Again he published a description of all the spectacles accompanying this event: Grapheus, *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hispaniae principis, divi Caroli V caesaris F. anno M.D.XLIX. Antverpiae aeditorum, mirificus apparatus*, Antwerp, Gillis Coppens & Pieter Coecke, 1550.

70 This poem is included as a liminary poem in Grapheus, *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*, Antwerp, Joannes Grapheus, 1527, sig. A3v–4r.

71 "Thalea, carried on unequal wheels, teaches [...]" Corresponding to this citation of Ovid, Rogers also uses Thalia as metonymy for the Muses in v. 6.

72 Rogerius, *Oda Sapphica*, sig. B4r–B4v. This poem is preceded in the book by the poem I discuss hereafter, and is titled "eidem", i.e. "Georgio Schroegelio suo." Again, a (strongly) revised version by Rogers of this poem is preserved in MS Hertford 31188, fol. 106r. There the poem is entitled "De eadem elegia" and follows the revised version of Rogers' celebratory poem discussed just before this, mentioned in p. 43, n. 66.

73 "When Schrögel sang of the Belgian girls with appropriate praise / and carried them on Greek wheels, / Venus is said to have smiled, together with her embellished company, / because of the praises and to have accorded them in so many ways. / "Phoebus", she says, "shall crown your temples with laurel branches, / I will myself adorn your head with garlands of myrtle.""

74 Because this poem was part of the *Oda Sapphica*, intended as a supplementary part of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, the reader had already read the first instance of the image in Rogers' first laudatory poem and understood that the wheels signified the (elegiac) verses.

Antwerp.[75] According to the Englishman, the description was approved by the goddess of beauty and the god of poetry, so both the content of the encomium as well as the poetic technique itself deserve laudation. A particular aspect of the praise for Schrögel's verses was the fact that they were written in Greek (v.2; "Graiis rotis"), an aspect that Rogers also highlighted in the poem dealt with above.[76] These verses again congratulate Schrögel and focus on the language situation, but now also put the spotlight on an important subject of the city encomium.

The poem on Belgian girls is preceded in the *Oda Sapphica* by another celebratory poem by Rogers for Schrögel, which does not reflect upon Schrögel's choice of language. The description of the feminine beauty of Antwerp in the Greek poem holds the limelight in these verses as well.

GEORGIO SCHROEGELIO SUO.

Belgica tam cupida decantas corpora laude,
grande puellarum sic celebrasque decus,
ut tibi praesentem Paphiam fulsisse Dionem,
et tua sub pedibus colla habuisse putem.
Torserat haec veteres aliquando cura poëtas,
te quoque si torsit quo tuearis habes.[77]

Rogers once more lauds Schrögel's description of the girls of Antwerp by writing that the goddess Venus herself must have helped him in his effort.

The three Latin odes to Schrögel exist to support the Greek main text. They praise the author for his accomplishment, by stressing the fact that he wrote in Greek and that he surpassed an earlier encomiast of Antwerp, reinforcing Schrögel's case to secure a reward from the Antwerp city council. They also alert the reader to an important theme of the city encomium: the praise of the girls of Antwerp, preparing them to appreciate the Greek poem fully.

4.5 An absent paratext

The Greek encomium is not accompanied by a Latin translation. This presents us with an unusual situation. Nicolaes van Wassenaer's *Harlemias*, one of the few other extant long Greek poems from the Low Countries, is accompanied by a verbatim Latin translation to help his students understand the text.[78] Another

[75] Schrögel devoted a fair share of the attention in the Greek encomium to the 'feminine beauty' of Antwerp. Their description and praise spans across 64 verses (vv. 277–340, sigs. C1v–C2v).

[76] See p. 44. To indicate that Schrögel's poem was written in Greek, Rogers firstly called the Muse Greek, and in the second poem he called the wheels Greek.

[77] Rogerius, *Oda Sapphica*, sig. B4r. "To his Georg Schrögel // You extol Belgian bodies in song with such fond praise, / and you celebrate the grand grace of the girls in such a manner, / that I would think that Aphrodite of Paphos has supported you in person, / and has put her neck under your feet. / This pain of love has formerly tormented ancient poets, / if it also has tormented you, then you have something to protect yourself with."

[78] Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 57.

example of a Greek poem published alongside a Latin version is Johannes Vladeraccus' laudatory elegy on the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, published in 1582.[79] Although this is also a city encomium, Vladeraccus' ode differs greatly from Schrögel's: the Greek and Latin versions are much shorter, each running to only eighteen verses (in elegiac couplets). Furthermore they were not the main texts of the publication, but paratexts to a core Latin text, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus inscriptus*, a polemic text against Calvinists.[80] In his encomium, Vladeraccus praises his hometown 's-Hertogenbosch for remaining a Catholic city and being loyal to Philipp II.[81] The evidence suggests Vladeraccus first made the Latin version of the encomium, and then translated it into Greek: the Greek version closely follows the Latin text, but the Latin text contains some allusions to classical literature that were omitted in the Greek version. The last three couplets, for example, contain allusions to Vergil and Ovid:

> Hi te defendent: tamquam Marpesia cautes
> stabis ad insultus fortiter usque truces.
> Qualis frugifero dum Chaonis arbor in agro,
> stat contra ventos sola inimica graves,
> talis Silva Dei valido stas robore nixa,
> vertice frondoso sic redimita caput. (13–18)[82]

> οἵ σ' ἀναθαλπούσι στήσας μαρπήσσιος ὥσπερ
> πρὸς τ' ἐπιπηδήσεις πύματα πάντα φέρων.
> Οἷος δρῦς χλοερὸς ἀλδαίνων χάονος ἀγρῷ
> ἀντέχει ἀνέμοις μοῦν' ἀπόστοργος ἐών:
> τοῖος δρυμὲ θεοῦ στιβαρᾷ στήσεις ἀρετῇφι,
> ἐυπετάλῃ κορυφῇ στέμματα καλλᾶ στέγων. (13–18)[83]

The Latin words *Marpesia cautes* (l. 13) references Vergil's *Aeneid* VI. 471, but in the Greek version this becomes simply *μαρπήσσιος*.[84] Similarly, the phrase

[79] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C1v–2r.

[80] Verweij, *Vladeracci tres*, 20–21. This text first appeared in 1580 in a Dutch version under the title *Eenen poeetschen dialogus genaempt Calvinus*. This Dutch text was published under the pseudonym *Coppen Gielis van Utopia*. It is possible that the fervent catholic Vladeraccus wrote this Dutch text, but he certainly wrote the Latin translation, which was published two years later and featured his Latin and Greek encomium on 's-Hertogenbosch.

[81] Verweij, *Vladeracci tres*, 69.

[82] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C1v, ll. 13–18. "They defend you: like the Marpesian rock / you will bravely withstand insults, even harsh ones. / Just as a Chaonion tree stand in a fertile field / as sole enemy against the winds, / so do you stand, Wood of God, relying on a robust strength / with your head girded by a leafy crown."

[83] Vladeraccus, *Dialogus poeticus Calvinus*, sig. C2r, ll. 13–18. "They protect you, who stands like the Marpessus / against the assaults and bears all the worst things. / Just as a green, growing Chaonian oak in a field / withstands the winds, as only one untouched, / so you will stand, thicket of God, with strong power, / holding beautiful garlands on the leafy top of your head."

[84] Virgil's Aeneid VI. 471: "quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes." "[she changed no more] than if she stood in hard flint or Marpesian rock.". The word *μαρπήσσιος* only appears in the geographic dictionary Ἐθνικά of Stephanus of Byzantium (6th-century), this work was not known to Vladeraccus.

"Chaonis arbor" (i.e. an oak; l. 15) is borrowed from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X. 90. Vladeraccus had difficulties trying to reproduce this in Greek. Instead of a literal translation ("Chaonian tree"), he used the term δρῦς ("oak") and added the unattested word χάονος to translate "Chaonian", instead of the attested terms Χαόνιος or Χαονικός. These examples demonstrate that Vladeraccus composed the Latin poem first, using tags and phrases known from classical Latin literature, and then produced a Greek translation, which is printed after the Latin poem. He expected the readers to read to Latin version first. As such, Vladeraccus respected the common language hierarchy: his Greek encomium supplements the Latin.

By contrast, by not including a Latin translation at all, Schrögel lays the emphasis on his Greek encomium: the reader is supposed to understand the city encomium from the Greek text alone. This way, Schrögel stresses his impressive effort of writing a 24-page long Greek poem. But another element may have been a lack of time. The *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* was printed only one month before the inauguration of the city hall, and Schrögel had only been in Antwerp for six months. Writing a 24-page Greek poem must have consumed a lot of time.[85] If Schrögel was already short on time to finish the Greek poem, he could have decided to drop a Latin translation.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have shown that the Latin paratexts of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* were written to support the main Greek text and that in this way the traditional language roles were inverted. The remaining oeuvres of Rogers and Schrögel showcase, however, an example of the more common situation of a Latin main text with a Greek paratext.[86] Rogers' *Urbes* collection, mentioned above, contains 32 Latin encomia on English cities. Rogers' Latin poems were introduced by a Greek laudatory poem by Schrögel, and two Latin dedicatory poems by Rogers to other friends. Compared to the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, the authorship roles here are reversed: Rogers as main author and Schrögel as 'laudator'. In this instance, composed some ten years after the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, Schrögel adhered to the common practice. The emphasis Rogers laid on Schrögel's language choice in the laudatory poems of the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, combined with his own more typical choice in the later *Urbes*, indicate that Schrögel and Rogers were well aware of the inversion of the language hierarchy in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*.

4.6 The choice of a name for Antwerp

Schrögel uses a grammatical feature typical of Greek, the *spiritus asper* or rough breathing, to make the Latin name for Antwerp better resemble a folk etymology for the name of the city. The most common name for the city in Latin is *Antverpia*, but there is a second name: *Handoverpia*. Schrögel uses two names for Antwerp in Greek as well: Ἀνδβέρπη and Ἀνδωβερπαία.[87] The latter reflects a popular folk etymology of the city's name, which derived "Antwerpen" from the Dutch

[85] For the importance of delivering encomiastic poetry on time, and strategies of authors to achieve this, see: e.g. Schirg and Gwynne. "The 'Economics of Poetry'".

[86] van Dam, "Poems on the Threshold," 66; Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 55.

[87] The renderings Ἀνδβερπία (– – υ –) or Ἀνδωβερπία (– – – υ –), which would be closer renderings of the Greek names, would not fit in an elegiac distich, because of the metrical quantities of the suffix -ία (υ –).

words "hand" ("hand") and "werpen" ("to throw"). This folk etymology refers to the founding legend of the city, in which the giant Antigoon blocked ships on the river Scheldt, cut off the hands of sailors, and threw them in the river if they did not pay him. The Roman soldier Brabo rescued the city from this tyranny by cutting off Antigoon's hand and throwing it into the river in turn. Schrögel tells this story in an unusual way, in which Brabo becomes the giant and no saviour is mentioned.[88] At the beginning of the encomium, Schrögel explains that Antwerp was named after the throwing of the hands:

> Ἀνδβέρπῃ ἡ οὔνομ' ἔχει παρὰ αἰνοτυράννου,
> τοὔνομα ἐξ ἔργων ὅστις ἔδωκε πόλει.
> Τῶν γὰρ ἁλισκομένων ἐν Σκάλδῃ ἔνθα πλεόντων,
> χεῖρας τετμηκὼς, Σκάλδιν ἔσω ἔβαλε.
> Ἐκ τοῦ βεβλῆσθαι τὰς χεῖρας γοῦν ὀνομάσθη
> Ἀνδωβερπαία εὐρυάνασσα πόλις· (33–38)[89]

At the start of this passage, Schrögel uses the word Ἀνδβέρπῃ (33), without aspiration, reflecting the Latin name. At the end, after explaining the etymology, he uses Ἀνδωβερπαία (38), with an aspiration and inserted omega, to better express the Dutch word 'hand'.[90] Since Greek is able to add aspiration at the beginning of words, it serves as an intermediary between the two Latin versions of the name, better reflecting the Dutch folk etymology for the name of the city. Schrögel continues on the same lines when using a Latin name for Antwerp. He uses *Handoverpia* in the title of the imprint and in the titles of two Latin paratexts: the elegy to the city council and Rogers' celebratory poem.[91] In the first of these, he also refers to the citizens as *Handoverpaei* (sig. A2r, l. 8). He uses the name *Antverpia* only in the introductory letter, focusing on factual information. Outside of this letter, where there was more room for imagination, Schrögel uses the Latin name that reflected the folk etymology, based on a fantastic story told in the Greek poem.

[88] It is an interesting question why Schrögel changed the story in this way, a question upon which I cannot elaborate further in this paper. I presume he, being a stranger, misunderstood the local legend. Could it be that his altered version was not corrected, because nobody controlled the content of the poem, since it was written in Greek?

[89] Sig. B1v; ll. 33–38 "Antwerp got its name from a terrible tyrant, / that gave her the name through his deeds. / For there on the river Scheldt, he arrested sailors, / cut of their hands, and threw the into the river Scheldt. / So after the throwing of the hands, / the wide-ruling city Antwerp was named."

[90] In the Greek text, the spiritus is not printed in capital letters. My reconstruction of the names for Antwerp is based on the latin(ized) names as they appear in the book: there is *Antverpia* and *Handoverpia*, but never *Hantverpia* or *Andoverpia*. Further on in the Greek poem, Schrögel uses both Greek names for Antwerp.

[91] Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. A2r; A4v. In his revised manuscript version of this congratulatory poem, Rogers changed the title from 'In Elegiam Handoverpianam Georgii Schroegelii Boii' to 'Ad Andoverpiam, de enkomiastica (sic) Elegia Georgii Schroegelii', not maintaining the aspiration. See p. 43, n. 66.

5 Latin–Greek transfer in Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*

Whereas the majority of the surviving evidence for ancient Latin–Greek code-switching is from authors who had Latin as their mother tongue, this is obviously not true of any of the early modern examples. For them, Latin was a second language, which they as native speakers of a vernacular had to acquire, and Greek a third language. Furthermore, they learned Greek through the paradigm of Latin.[92] As a result, linguistic features of Latin crept into the Greek usage of early modern authors. Linguistic transfer occurred on many levels including prosody, morphology and syntax. Schrögel's poem includes some instances of this kind of Latin influence on Greek.

Firstly, there are a few lexical transfers. One case occurs when Schrögel, illustrating how Antwerp surpasses all other cities, compares the city to amaranths blooming in gardens.[93] The name of the flower is derived from the Greek adjective *ἀμάραντος*, 'unfading' or 'not decaying'. The word normally takes the neuter form *τὸ ἀμάραντον* (sc. *ἄνθος*) when made into a noun.[94] In Latin, however, this flower takes a masculine form: *amarantus* (sc. *flos*).[95] Schrögel projected the gender of the Latin noun onto the Greek one, calling the flowers *ἀμάραντοι* (v. 396).[96] Further Latin influence at the lexical level can be found in the expression *τάφρους αἰπεινοὺς* ("deep trenches"):[97] the adjective *αἰπεινός* means "high" or "lofty" and is used to describe mountains or cities.[98] Schrögel uses it here in the sense of "deep", probably as a semantic loan from Latin *altus*, which can signify both "high" and "deep".

Schrögel's Greek poem also features several examples of syntactical transfer from Latin. A recurring example is the use of dative in Greek where we would expect the ablative in Latin, a case that does not exist in Greek.[99] In the expression Ἐκ *χαλκῷ* [.] *τειχεσιπλήττῃ*, for instance, Schrögel uses the dative, which is very uncommon with *ἐκ* in classical Greek.[100] He was probably thinking of the Latin use of the preposition "ex" with the ablative case to indicate the material

92 Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 109–10.

93 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. C3v. Ἠὺτ' *ἐνὶ χλοεροῖς ἀμάραντοι τηλεθόωσι / χόρτοις ἀμβρόσιοι κρᾶς ὄν ἀειρόμενοι* (vv. 393–394) "Just as immortal amaranths in green pastures bloom, / lifting their heads ..."

94 E.g. Dioscorides, *De materia medica* IV, 57; Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* I, 229.

95 E.g. Tibullus III, 4, 33; Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 439. Sometimes *amaranthus* in early modern Latin.

96 See note 93 above for the full line. There is only one attested ancient instance of the masculine *ὁ ἀμάραντος*, by Artemidorus in his *Oneirocritica* (1.77).

97 Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. B2r. "Τ*άφρους αἰπεινοὺς ἑκατὸν πόδας ἠδέ τι πλεῖον, / καὶ πλατέας τόσσους πλείονας ἠδὲ πόδας.*" (ll. 57–58) "[Antwerp] has trenches a hundred feet deep or more, / and even more feet in width."

98 Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 41.

99 See the discussion of this problem in the introduction to the special issue on code-switching of this journal (issue 9) in Barton and Van Rooy, "Introduction," 16–17.

100 Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 498: *ἐκ* is only used with the dative in Arcado-Cypriot inscriptions. Schrögel, *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, sig. B2v: "Ε*κ χαλκῷ βαλάνους τειχεσιπλήττῃ*," (l. 94) "Bullets made of wall-hitting bronze". Schrögel once uses *ὑπό* with the uncommon dative on sig. B1v. "Η *πασῶν πόλεων περίεστιν ὑπ' οὐρανῷ ἄλλων*," (l. 27) "She surpasses all other cities under the sky", though here he has an Homeric precedent. This passage alludes to Homer, *Iliad* IV, 44 ("*αἳ γὰρ ὑπ' ἠελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι*;" "The [cities] under the sun and starry heaven"), but Schrögel might also have been thinking of the Latin phrase "sub caelo".

something is made out of. Secondly, Schrögel uses the dative for a direct object, recalling a Latin verb that has an object in the ablative.

> Νόσφι φόρου καρποῦσθαι ἐᾷ καρποῖσι Λυαίου·
> καὶ δώροις γλυκεροῖς καρποτόκου Ἀμαίας· (611–12)[101]

Normally, *καρπόω* would have a direct object in the accusative.[102] Here, there are two objects in the dative. This is a transfer from Latin: *utor* and *fruor* both have an object in the ablative. With no ablative available in Greek, Schrögel uses a dative. Thirdly, Schrögel uses a dative to express a specification, mirroring the use of the ablative in Latin.

> Μηδὲ ἀφαυροτέρους τοῦ τειχολέτου Ἀχιλῆος
> τυτθὸν τῷ κάρτει, ἢ κρατερῇ κραδίᾳ. (511–12)[103]

In Greek, the accusative is most common to express a specification, but the use of the dative does also occur. Schrögel uses the dative *τῷ κάρτει, ἢ κρατερῇ κραδίᾳ*. This example of transfer of Latin to Greek is particularly striking, since the Greek accusative of specification (or respect) was often used in classical Latin poetry, as a marker of high style. Schrögel disregarded this well-known transfer of Greek to Latin, and chose the less common construction of the dative of specification over the accusative in his Greek text, inspired by the Latin usage of the ablative, which in Greek usually gets replaced by the dative.

Lastly, some examples of Latin-to-Greek transfer occur in the formation of verbs. Schrögel makes a mistake in choosing the voice of the verb in the phrase *ἀποσχήσουσίν* [...] *κλείειν*.[104] In Greek, *ἀπέχω* should be in the middle rather than active voice in order to have the meaning of "desisting from".[105] An explanation for this error could be that Schrögel thought of the Latin verb *abstineo*, but because Latin lacks the middle voice, he might not have realised he should use the middle voice for *ἀπέχω*.

Schrögel sometimes puts verbs in the wrong mood. In a passage where he talks about the lawyers of Antwerp, Schrögel praises them for their excellent knowledge of law. Several indirect questions are dependent upon the verb *ἴσασιν* ("they know"). Three couplets further on, he uses both the indicative and subjunctive mood in one couplet.

> Οἵτινες ἴσασιν τοῦ Παπινιανοῦ ἀρίστου
> Βαρτόλου, ἠδ' ἄλλων βιβλία τῶν νομικῶν.

[101] Sig. D3r, ll. 611–612. "She allows them to profit tax-free from the fruits of Lyaeus [Dionysus], and of the sweet presents of fruit-bearing Amaea [Demeter]." These verses mean that the foreign merchants in Antwerp are exempt from taxes on wine and grain.

[102] Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* 880.

[103] Sig. D1v, ll. 511–512. "They are not weaker than Achilles, destroyer of walls, not even a little, in strength or in their strong hearts."

[104] Sig. D4r, l. 673. "They will stop singing."

[105] Liddel and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 188.

[...]
Καὶ πότ' ἐλευθέριος παῖς αὐτεξούσιός ἐστιν,
ἢ πότ' ἀπαλλαχθῇ κηδεμόνων φυλακῆς. (525–26; 533–34)[106]

In the hexameter, Schrögel correctly uses the indicative mood *ἐστιν* in the indirect question, but in the pentameter we find *ἀπαλλαχθῇ* in the subjunctive mood. The use of a subjunctive verb in an indirect question is a transfer from Latin. The series of indirect questions depending on *ἴσασιν* continues for six more verses, and Schrögel keeps on writing the verbs in the subjunctive mood.[107]

Although Schrögel inverted the contemporary language hierarchy by centring Greek rather than Latin verse, Latin still asserts its presence in some aspects of the main Greek text. It is clear that Schrögel learnt Greek through Latin, and this order of language acquisition is reflected in the transfer of certain Latin elements into his usage of Greek. Latin, because of its central status among learned men, applies pressure onto Schrögel's Greek text.

6 Schrögel's motivation for writing in Greek

After analyzing how the Latin–Greek code-switching occurred in the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*, I shall consider briefly the reasons why Schrögel code-switched this way in his book. The choice for Greek was fitting for the inauguration of Antwerp city hall. As mentioned, Rogers praised Schrögel in his liminary poems for surpassing Cornelis De Schrijver. De Schrijver was an official of the city, so his laudatory texts were perhaps commissioned directly by his employer. Schrögel's poem was certainly not commissioned. However, he was clearly hoping to secure a reward from the city for his composition. Alongside his elegy addressed to the city council, he praised the councilors of Antwerp several times in the Greek encomium, for example:

Ναὶ πόλι εὔποτμος καὶ πάντῃ ὀλβίη ἐσσί,
εἵνεκα τοιούτων εὐσεβέων ἀνέρων.
Οἵτινες οὔ σε φυλάττουσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
κάλλη ἐγείρουσιν φαίδιμα καὶ ζάθεα. (195–98)[108]

Ἄνδρες βουλευταὶ ὑμεῖς εὐδαίμονες ἐστέ,
εἵνεκα τοῦ σκήπτρου τοσσατίης πόλεως. (587–88)[109]

At the end of the Greek poem, quoted at the start of this paper, Schrögel justified his effort to the council members, while humbly minimizing his achievement.

[106] Sig. D1v; ll. 525–526, 533–534; "They know the books of the best Papinianus, of Bartolus and other jurists. [...] And [they know] when a freeborn child is in their own power, or when it is freed from the custody of its guardians."

[107] *ἰσχύῃ* (536); *λάβῃ* (538); *βεβαιώσῃ* (539); *δηλήσῃ* (540).

[108] Sig. B4r, ll. 195–198. "Verily, city, you are prosperous and in every way blessed / because of these dutiful men. / For they not only protect you, but they also / erect other glistering and sacred beautiful buildings."

[109] Sig. D2v, ll. 587–588. "Dear councillors, you are fortunate / because of the scepter of such a great city."

Considering Schrögel's goal of obtaining remuneration, it is surprising that Rogers mentioned only De Schrijver and not also Melchior Barlaeus. Just three years earlier, in 1562, that Antwerp-born poet published his *De vetustissima Brabanticae gentis origine, sive Brabantiados libri V*, which had a Latin hexameter poem in praise of Antwerp ('Urbis Antverpiae encomium') annexed to it.[110] Just like Schrögel, Barlaeus also placed a Latin elegiac poem addressed to the 'senators' before his encomium. As a reward for this and other compositions, Barlaeus received a stipend from the city council for the advancement of his talent.[111] It would seem that Barlaeus offered a better example of the goals Schrögel had in mind while writing his *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* than De Schrijver.

In comparison, Schrögel had several disadvantages: he was neither a native of Antwerp like Barlaeus, nor an official like De Schrijver, and moreover he had only been in Antwerp for six months at the time of publication. In order to secure a reward, it was thus necessary to make himself remarkable. In addition to the fact that his encomium appeared as a publication in its own right, and not—as was the case for De Schrijver and Barlaeus—as an appendix or addendum to another text, Schrögel's poem was also written in the less common and more prestigious classical language, Greek. Writing his encomium in Greek served in this way as cultural capital for the author, distinguishing himself, as a recent migrant, from these local authors in his quest for a reward by the Antwerp city council.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed the Latin–Greek code-switching and language hierarchy in Georg Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. The titles and paratexts show that the *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική* occupies a particular position in the production of occasional poetry in the Low Countries, since Greek is its main language with Latin used chiefly for paratextual material. In Schrögel's work, the placing, style and content of the Latin texts all serve to support the central Greek poem, inverting the usual language hierarchy found in similar publications. The paratexts complement the information of the main poem, prepare the reader for its content and steer their attention, and praise Schrögel's accomplishment and language choice. In the Greek poem, he gave an etymology for the name of the city of Antwerp, and in the Latin titles he used the name that corresponds best to this etymology.

Latin however asserts its presence in the main text through pressure on Schrögel's usage of Greek. Linguistic transfer from Latin into Greek is visible on many levels: in Schrögel's lexicon, syntax and phraseology. The code-switching chiefly takes place on a large level, between entire texts, but the intrasentential code-switch in the title of the publication and the linguistic transfer from Latin to Greek indicate that it also functions on a more local level.

In writing his city encomium, Schrögel hoped to obtain some remuneration from the Antwerp city council members. For this, Schrögel had to compete with

[110] Barlaeus, *Brabantiados libri V*, K8r–L7v.

[111] Katona, *Melchioris Barlaei de raptu Ganymedis liber*, 13.

earlier, better-connected poets who had written similar praises of the city and had been rewarded for their poems. He tried to surpass these poets by choosing to write in Greek, and in this way inverting the language hierarchy.

List of figures

Figure 1. Façade of the Antwerp city hall. Photograph by G. Lanting, from Wikimedia Commons, accessed 22 July, 2024, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=48274298. License CC-BY-SA-4.0.

Figure 2. Titlepage of Schrögel's *Elegia ἐγκωμιαστική*. Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 0911-1, Familie van Rhemen; Pamfletten., fol. A1r. Reproduced with permission of the Gelders Archief.

Figure 3. Titlepage of Willem de Volder's *Aembdanae civitatis ἐγκώμιον*. Emden, Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Theol. 8° 0265 H, p. 261. Reproduced with permission of the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek.

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Note

This essay is the last in a set of three articles that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are "Nondum satis ἀκριβῶς pertractata: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Johannes Amos Comenius' Correspondence" by Marcela Slavíková (pp. 5–27) and "Inverting the Hierarchy: Greek and Latin in a sixteenth-century poetical encomium of Antwerp" by Adriaan Demuynck (pp. 29–57).

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Greek and "The Lady of Christ's College": Latin–Greek Code-Switching in John Milton's *Prolusion VI*

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the Latin–Greek code-switching in arguably the most famous passage of all Milton's *Prolusions*: the autobiographical section in which Milton addresses his peculiar nickname as the "Lady" (Domina) at Christ's College, Cambridge. Milton's transitions from Latin into Greek are not simply ways of heightening the erudite register of the Latin oration; rather, Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching is part of a wider rhetorical strategy for conveying change, transition, and transgression especially with respect to gender and masculinity. This article scrutinizes the allusive texture of Milton's forays into Greek in *Prolusion VI* and explores what this can reveal about the young Milton's self-representation. Despite the prominence of Greek in the autobiographical section of *Prolusion VI*, the specific role that Greek plays in one of the most significant and challenging revelations that he ever made about himself has not previously been an object of study.

***

1 Introduction

The correspondence between a young Dutchman called Jan de Vos (ca. 1608–1636) and his father, the famous humanist Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), contains a description of the great enthusiasm for Latin–Greek code-switching at Cambridge around the time when John Milton (1608–1674) probably delivered *Prolusion VI* (ca. July 1631).[1] Jan de Vos arrived at Peterhouse College,

[1] For advocates of the July 1631 date of composition (rather than 4 July 1628), see Campbell, "Milton and the Water Supply of Cambridge"; Shawcross, *Rethinking Milton Studies*, 182, n. 1; and Jones, "Ere Half My Days': Milton's Life, 1608–1640," 10.

Cambridge in November 1628 and, according to Nicholas Wickenden's summary of Jan de Vos's letters to Vossius, his "first impression of Cambridge men was that they were very learned; often, he alleged, they used more Greek than Latin in their conversation."[2] *Prolusion VI* is especially invested in linguistic code-switching and it concludes with Milton announcing that he will "hasten from Latin to English" ("à Latinis ad Anglicana transcurro") before reciting the English poem "At a Vacation Exercise":

> Hail native Language, that by sinews weak
> Didst move my first endeavouring tongue to speak.[3]

In *Prolusion VI* Milton publicly acknowledges the nickname given him by his college peers when he states that "some have recently called me 'Lady'" ("a quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina").[4] The mystery surrounding why Milton was nicknamed "Domina" by other students at Christ's College, Cambridge is a long-standing source of debate. Milton's widow, Elizabeth Mynshell (1615–1693) told the antiquarian John Aubrey (1626–1697) that "when a Cambridge scholler [...] he was so fair that they called him the Lady of Christ's College."[5] The standard interpretations given for this nickname are either that it stemmed from Milton's youthful looks or that it was intended to connect Milton with Virgil, who was nicknamed "Parthenias" (the Virgin) in Naples according to Donatus.[6] Douglas Trevor argues that Milton "struggled while at Cambridge against conventional stereotypes regarding manliness" and that, in acknowledging his nickname, he

[2] Wickenden, "A Dutchman at Cambridge," 97. See also Wickenden, *G.J. Vossius and the Humanist Concept of History*, 10; Rademaker, *Leven en werk van Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)*, 236; and Romburgh, *"For My Worthy Friend Mr Franciscus Junius"*, passim. For Jan de Vos's fall from grace at Cambridge, see Vossius, *Gerardi Joan. Vossii et clarorum virorum ad eum Epistolae*, 100. He had to give up his fellowship at Jesus College when it emerged that he had married in secret a woman called Prudence Greene on 23 February 1632. Jan de Vos left Cambridge in disgrace in 1633 and, after joining the Dutch East India Company, died in India in 1636.

[3] "At a Vacation Exercise", 1-2, Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 289. The Cambridge salting ceremony (the multilingual "Vacation Exercise") consists of the Latin *Prolusion VI*, the English poem, and a (lost, though presumably English) prose text. For discussion of Milton's transition to English in the context of the Christ's College statutes, see Sugimura, *"Matter of Glorious Trial"*, 21–22.

[4] Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 281–282. All quotations and translations are drawn from Hale's edition of *Prolusion VI* and "At a Vacation Exercise" (Hale, 239–293). All other translations are my own unless otherwise stated. All quotations and translations from classical texts are from the Loeb Classical Library editions unless otherwise stated. On the psychological significance of the nickname the "Lady" for the young Milton, see especially Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, 85–86; and Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World*, 40–72.

[5] Darbishire (ed.), *The Early Lives of Milton*, 10. Mynshell's remarks date from half a century after Milton's student days at Cambridge, but less than a decade after the publication of the *Prolusions* in 1674, since Aubrey composed the *Brief Lives* in 1680–1681. On the date of composition of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, see Bennett, "'Many Excellent od Notes': Annotating John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*." See also Bennett (ed.), *John Aubrey: Brief Lives*, vol. 2, 1616–33.

[6] See Aelius Donatus, *Life of Virgil*, trans. by Wilson-Okamura, n.p. The connection between "the Lady of Christ's" and the account of Virgil's youth in Aelius Donatus's *Vita Vergili* was first put forward by Gordon Campbell in "Milton and the Lives of the Ancients." For discussion of "the Lady of Christ's" and Donatus's statement that Virgil was called Parthenias in Naples, see McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, 158.

"goes on to defend his putatively feminine sensibility."[7] A careful examination of Milton's use of Greek passages from Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* describing the mockery of the Roman orator Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (114–50BC) and the Athenian orator Demosthenes (384–322BC) for effeminacy (as well as in Erasmus's versions of those accounts in the *Apophthegmata* and the *Adages*) support this interpretation. The relationship between Greek and the transgression of gender norms emerges as a crucially informative element of Milton's own Latin–Greek code-switching in this passage of *Prolusion VI*.[8]

Although much scholarly ink has been spilled on Milton's college nickname, the effects of his creative transitions from Latin into Greek in *Prolusion VI* have not been studied before. Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching is by no means neutral. It is part of a wider rhetorical strategy for conveying subversive, carnivalesque effects, especially at moments of transition. In her study of linguistic code-switching in literature, Natalie Hess finds that code-switching generates a "state of creative in-betweenness" and that it is often employed to reflect "themes of alienation, transition and liminality."[9] Both Milton's *Prolusion VI* and a contemporary college oration by James Duport (1606–1679) shift from *romanitas* and *latinitas* into Greek in order to convey non-Roman (and, therefore, non-Latin) characteristics. In both examples, the close proximity of linguistic and moral codes is expressed by the orations' Latin–Greek code-switching itself.[10] Whereas Duport's mockery of power-hungry popes draws upon examples of Latin–Greek code-switching in Roman political discourse denouncing tyranny, Milton's oration draws upon Ovid, Aulus Gellius, and Erasmus, focusing on grammatical gender and resulting in comically destabilizing effects. This article does not attempt to derive a single, general rule for the use of Greek in seventeenth-century Cambridge orations, but the comparison between Duport and Milton is intended to highlight the different effects which such Latin–Greek code-switching could produce.

2 Duport's Oration on the Gunpowder Plot and Milton's *Prolusion I*

John Hale contextualises Milton's Latin–English code-switching by comparing *Prolusion VI* with the works of Milton's Cambridge contemporaries such as the Latin–English macaronic verse of Thomas Randolph (1605–1635) performed in 1632 when Randolph was the University Praevaricator: the performer of a comedic set piece based on the topic of a disputation.[11] At this period, Latin–English

7 Trevor, "Milton and Female Perspiration," 189.

8 On Milton and effeminacy, see Daniel, "Dagon as Queer Assemblage." See also Hodgson, *The Masculinities of John Milton*; and Martin (ed.), *Milton and Gender*.

9 Hess, "Code Switching and Style Shifting as Markers of Liminality in Literature," 5 and 17.

10 On Duport, see Monk, "Memoir of Dr. James Duport, Regius Professor of Greek, and Dean of Peterborough"; and O'Day, "Duport, James (1606–1679)."

11 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 188. For discussion of macaronic verse in Cambridge salting ceremonies, see Hale, 187–192. See also Moul and Calzi, "Anglo-Latin Macaronic Verse." For other comparisons of Milton's *Prolusion VI* and Randolph's works, see Richek, "Thomas Randolph's Salting (1627), Its

macaronic verse is often associated with ribald themes such as Randolph's "licentious hexameters."[12] This article contextualises Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching in *Prolusion VI* by examining other specimens of Latin–Greek code-switching in orations performed at Cambridge from the same period, namely James Duport's oration on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot (ca. 1632–ca. 1640) and Milton's *Prolusion I* on whether day is more excellent than night (ca. 1625–ca. 1629). These are the most appropriate points of comparison: although Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching shares some features with Randolph's Latin–English macaronic verse, its technique differs considerably from the wider sample of Latin–Greek macaronic verse in English manuscript sources discussed by Victoria Moul and Giulia Li Calzi.[13]

Duport's vitriolically anti-Catholic oration written for the annual commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot is remarkable for its frequent Latin–Greek code-switching. It is a good comparison for Milton's text and has not been edited before. This oration is preserved only in the commonplace book of Anthony Scattergood (1611–1687) of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it is labelled as "Orõ J. Dup.".[14] Although the precise year of composition for Duport's Gunpowder Plot oration is uncertain, Scattergood's commonplace book covers the period between 1632 and 1640 when both he and Duport were members of Trinity College, and the oration almost certainly dates from the same period. Milton, too, composed several Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot—five epigrams and one epyllion—which William Poole argues may have been "written as Cambridge tutorial exercises in 1626 for the anniversary of the plot."[15]

In his speech, Duport mocks popes who strive for tyrannical power and likens them to Tarquin, Caligula, and Nero. He adapts specimens of Greek direct speech sourced from Suetonius's *Life of Caligula* and *Life of Nero*, alluding to Caligula and Nero's spoken Greek—uttered precisely at moments of their greatest despotism and immorality—and weaves Greek phrases into his portrayal of power-hungry popes:

> hoc etiam illi alio in sensu optarûnt; quod et eundem Caligulam dixisse refert Suetonius **εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς** Pop: Ro: unum jam habent supremum caput, unum principem et moderatorem; Atque utinam unum solùm! **Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη**. Caesarem Pompejo parem, Rege domino suo Papae aequalem ferre non possunt; Monitore itaque

Text, and John Milton's Sixth Prolusion as Another Salting"; Freidberg, *Certain Small Festivities*; and Marlow, *Performing Masculinity in English University Drama, 1598–1636,* 141–156.

12 Ibid.

13 Moul and Calzi, "Anglo-Latin Macaronic Verse," 26.

14 British Library, MS Add. 44963, fol. 160. Scattergood's transcription of Duport's oration runs from fols. 160–177. For more details of Scattergood's commonplace book, see Davies, "Dr. Anthony Scattergood's Commonplace Book" and Poole, "The Literary Remains of Alexander Gil the Elder (1565–1635) and Younger (1596/7–1642?)," 185, n. 46. See also Poole, "More Light on the Literary Remains of Alexander Gil the Younger (1596/7–1644)."

15 Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost,* 23.

> Tarquinio Superbo, Romano Póntifice, Summa papavirum capita sunt discutienda. Notum illud Neronis **ἐμου ζῶντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί**.[16]

In juxtaposing the Roman pontiffs' desire to be the "supremum caput" with the ambitions of Tarquin, Nero and Caligula, Duport modifies Suetonius's account that Caligula quoted Homer out loud in Greek: "Let there be one lord! One king!" (εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς). Duport also adapts Suetonius's report that, as Rome burned, Nero cried out in Greek "while I live, may the earth be consumed with fire!" (ἐμου ζῶντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί). In the context of Duport's speech, Nero setting fire to Rome evokes the plotters' attempt to blow up the House of Lords.[17] Duport modifies Suetonius's own Latin–Greek code-switching in his account of the following conversation:

> Sed nec populo aut moenibus patriae pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi: **ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μειχθήτω πυρί**, "Immo," inquit, "**ἐμοῦ ζῶντος**," planeque ita fecit.[18]

In their recent study of Latin–Greek code-switching in Suetonius, Olivia Elder and Alex Mullen find that Suetonius's "use of Greek across the *Life* [*of Nero*] is a way to frame criticism of Nero's behaviour" and that generally, throughout Suetonius's *Lives*, Greek "was used to contribute to his (negative) portrayal of the emperors."[19] Duport is sensitive to this effect: by adapting two striking examples of direct speech in Greek from Suetonius's *Lives*, Duport links the depravity of the Roman emperors at the height of their megalomania to the Roman pontiffs' ambitions for power. [20]

16 "Indeed, they also wished this, in another sense, that is, what Suetonius reports the same Caligula to have said: **"Let there be one lord! One King!" [*Iliad* 2.204–205]**. The people of Rome already have one supreme head, one prince and ruler. And may there be only one! **"It's no good to have more than one king" [*Iliad* 2.204]** They cannot tolerate a Caesar equal to Pompey, nor an equal to the King their Lord the Pope. Therefore, with Tarquin the Proud as the leader of prayers, as the Roman Pontifex, the tallest heads of the *pope*-ies must be struck off. This was acknowledged by Nero: **"while I live, may the earth be consumed with fire!""** (British Library, MS Add 44963, fols. 166–167). Duport alludes to a famous anecdote attributed to Tarquin who cut down the heads of the tallest poppies as a secret signal to his son, Sextus, that he must kill the chief men among the Gabii. See Livy, *History of Rome* 1.53–4. At the top of fol. 167, Scattergood has written "papavirum" [Pope-man] rather than "papaverum" [of the poppies]. This appears to be Duport's Latin pun rather than an erroneous transcription by Scattergood, hence the translation "*pope*-ies".

17 Metadata on this Greek sample in *Nero* 38.1 can be found in the online database "Code-Switching in Roman Literature," `https://csrl.classics.cam.ac.uk/detail.php?id=1086` (accessed 15 September, 2022).

18 Suetonius, *Nero*, 38.1. "But [Nero] showed no great mercy to the people or the walls of his capital. When someone in the *lingua franca* [i.e. Greek] said: "**When I am dead, let earth be consumed by fire,**" he rejoined "Nay, **rather while I live**," and his action was wholly in accord." Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, trans. by Rolfe, vol. 2, 148–9. I have changed Rolfe's "general conversation" to "*lingua franca*" which seems to be the more accurate meaning of "sermo communis" in *Nero* 38.1.

19 Mullen and Elder, *The Language of Roman Letters: Bilingual Epistolography from Cicero to Fronto*, 244 and 242.

20 Suetonius's use of Greek in the *Lives* was also discussed by early modern commentators. In his commentary on Suetonius, the Swiss humanist Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563) highlights Suetonius's Latin–Greek code-switching and reflects upon code-switching in the vernacular. Using Suetonius as a precedent, Glarean argues that code-switching should be permissible also in the vernacular. See Glarean, "Præfatio,"

It is important to distinguish the use of Greek in writing from the use of Greek in speech. Duport's adaptation of examples from Suetonius's Latin–Greek code-switching suggests that he was aware of the negative connotations that Suetonius applies to the use of Greek in an oral, moral, and Roman context in the *Lives*. As we will see in *Prolusion VI*, Milton draws upon a controversial instance of *spoken* Greek within a markedly Roman context. Although the frequent Latin–Greek code-switching in Cicero's letters demonstrates the deep familiarity with Greek among the Roman elites, James Noel Adams and Simon Swain emphasise that, in Ancient Rome, "Greek was not permissible in public discourse" because "the political consciousness of the Romans would not tolerate the expression of ideas in another language."[21] Indeed, Cicero acknowledges the sharp criticism he once faced for speaking publicly in Greek in *Verrine Orations* 2.4.66.[22] In *Epigrams* 10.68, Martial mocks Roman women who speak Greek out loud in Rome.[23] As Peter Toohey observes, in one epigram Martial mocks the linguistic transgression committed by "a quintessentially Latin woman adopting Greek rather than her own Tuscan or Latin language."[24] Duport's allusion to instances of Roman emperors speaking in Greek similarly is intended to suggest the moral and religious deviancy of the papacy. Duport is not subverting the traditional association of Hellenic study with Protestantism—after all, *qui Graecizabant, Lutheranizabant*—but rather Duport's rhetorical use of Latin–Greek code-switching is closely informed by the taboo on speaking Greek publicly in Ancient Rome.

Just as Duport's Greek allusions have a specifically oral context, Milton also employs Greek in an overtly spoken context in *Prolusion I* and especially in *Prolusion VI*. When mocking his dumbstruck auditors, Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching emphasises their muteness:

> quanto nudiores Leberide conspexeris, & exhausta inani vocabulorum & sententiunculorum supellectile, **μηδὲ γρῦ φθέγγεσθαι**, perinde mutos ac ranuncula Seriphia.[25]

in *C. Suetonii Transquilli XII*, 115: "if it is permissible to mix Greek with Latin (indeed, often among those who do not understand Greek), then why is it not permissible to add words from the Celtic language when speaking German—two languages which are no less ancient than Latin—among those who understand it?" (si licet Graeca immiscere Latinis, saepe etiam apud non intelligentes Graeca: cur non liceat inserere Celtica ac Germanicae non minus vetustae linguae verba, apud intelligenteis?). For discussion of Glarean's lectures on Suetonius, see Grafton and Leu, "*Chronologia est unica historiae lux*." Swiss humanists including Glarean, Vadian, Gessner, and Bibliander discussed the possibility of an ancient language family of German and Celtic, on which see Metcalf, "Konrad Gesner's Views on the Germanic Languages." For Gessner and Glarean on the Celtic language (*lingua Celtica*), see Poppe, "The Celtic Languages in Conrad Gessner's *Mithridates* (1555)." See also Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600–1800,* 192.

21 Adams and Swain, "Introduction," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, 17. On Cicero's Latin–Greek code-switching, see Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching." See Cicero, *De officiis,* 1.31.111–112.

22 Cicero, *Verrine Orations*, trans. by Greenwood, vol. 2, 460–461. See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.15. See also Adams, "'Romanitas' and the Latin Language"; and Ramsay, "Roman Senatorial Oratory," 132.

23 Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 20. See also Juvenal, *Satire VI*, 185–197.

24 Toohey, "How Good was Latin?," 256. See also Watson and Watson (eds), *Juvenal: Satire 6*, 136

25 "You will find them even more bare than a serpent's slough, and when they have exhausted their meagre supply of words and little maxims, **they utter not even a grunt**, being just as speechless as the little

Hale cites several classical sources for Milton's use of the Greek phrase "they utter not even a grunt" (*μηδὲ γρῦ φθέγγεσθαι*) including Aristophanes *Wealth* 17, Demosthenes *Orations* 19.39, and Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 7.26.[26] However, Milton is primarily and ironically employing the self-same supply of "words" (*vocabulorum*) and "little maxims" (*sententiuncularum*) which he mocks his dumbstruck listeners for having exhausted: namely, Erasmus's *Adages*.

When Milton mocks members of his student audience for being "emptier than a sloughed skin" (*nudiores Leberide*), he has sourced this expression from Erasmus's adage "blinder than a sloughed skin" (*Caeciores leberide*), and Milton has borrowed one of the versions of this adage that Erasmus lists: "emptier than a sloughed skin" ("*γυμνότερος λεβηρίδος*, id est Nudior leberide").[27] The Miltonic editor Merrit Hughes cites Juvenal's *Satires* 6.565 and 10.170 for Milton's allusion to the Seriphian frogs, but Juvenal only mentions the Greek island of Seriphos rather than the Seriphian frogs specifically. Milton is again probably drawing on Erasmus's supply of "little maxims" rather than making a specific allusion to a classical author.[28] With respect to the adage "a frog from Seriphos" (*Βάτραχος ἐκ Σερίφου*), Erasmus explains that it can be applied to silent men and those who are unskilled in speaking or singing.[29] Erasmus himself employs this Greek expression in a letter from 26 October 1517 to Guillaume Budé (ca. 1468–1540). When he complains of his philhellenic correspondent's delay in replying to an earlier letter, Erasmus engages in Latin–Greek code-switching:

> Quid sibi vult, mi Budaee, tam subitum silentium, qui paulo ante me non epistolis sed voluminibus obruebas? **Περὶ τοῦ Βασιλέως, περὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου** quanti pridem tumultus! nunc **οὐδὲ γρῦ**.[30]

Here, Erasmus's motivation for referring to the king and bishop in Greek was probably to ensure greater secrecy about the politically delicate matter at hand in this letter.[31]

Milton uses Erasmus's *Adages* (as well as Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*) elsewhere in the *Prolusions*. For example, he employs a scatological adage—"the Augean stables" (*Αὐγείου βουστασία*)—in his mockery of the scholastic curriculum at Cambridge in *Prolusion III*, the theme of which is "Against the Scholastic Philosophy" ("Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam"): "cum vero plus semper viderem

Seriphian frogs." *CW* 12:120–1. I have modified the Columbia edition's translation of *Leberide* as "bean pod" to "snake's slough", and "empty" to "bare".

26 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 117.

27 ASD II.1:138; CWE 31:282.

28 Hughes (ed.), *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, 596, n. 3. Milton quotes (in Greek) from *Orphic Hymns* 77.7–11 and Hesiod's *Theogony* 123–125.

29 ASD II.1:504–6; CWE 31:410.

30 "What calls for such a sudden silence, my dear Budé? Not so long ago, it was not letters, but volumes, with which you inundated me. What a tumult of news there was lately **concerning the king** and **concerning the bishop!** Now, **not a grunt.**" Allen 3:112. My translation.

31 On the use of Greek in Latin epistolary exchanges for the purpose of secrecy, see Van Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, 116–119; and Rummel, "The Use of Greek in Erasmus' Letters," 67–68.

superesse, quàm quod legendo absolveram, equidem inculcatis hisce ineptiis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum Augeæ Bubile, fœlicemque prædicavi Herculem, cui facilis Juno hujusmodi ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam."[32] Milton's handling of this specific adage when criticising the scholastic curriculum is very similar to a near-contemporary university oration, the inaugural lecture at the University of Oxford delivered on 25 October 1626 by Matthias Pasor (1599–1658), in which Pasor evokes the Augean Stables in his demands to reform the scholastic curriculum at Oxford.[33]

The tone and language of Milton's Greek-inflected mockery of his speechless audience in *Prolusion I* is reminiscent of another humanist's denigration of an audience. In response to the University of Oxford's attempt to prohibit the teaching of Greek in 1518, Thomas More wrote a letter in which he derides the Greekless and ignorant cleric at Oxford who warns his parishioners of the dangers of Greek learning. More states that the preacher was ignorant "about Greek—of which he did not understand **a single word**" ("aut postremo de Graeca lingua, cuius **οὐδέ γρῦ** intelligit").[34] Neil Rhodes observes that More's use of this Greek tag carries with it a "contemptuous" tone within the otherwise fully Latinate letter. Likewise, Milton's use of Greek in the *Prolusions* sometimes bears a disdainful tone as he mocks his university auditors for their over-reliance on Erasmian compendia like the *Adages*.[35] It is *Prolusion VI,* however, which particularly underlines Milton's use of Greek in an oral context as a method of highlighting change and transgression.

3 *An* → *ἄν*: Linguistic and Ovidian Transformation in *Prolusion VI*

Milton jocularly asks his fellow students at Christ's how he, the "Lady" (*Domina*), could possibly have become the "Father" (*Pater*): the name for the master of ceremonies at a university salting. After questioning how "I have so suddenly become a Father" ("tam subito factus sum Pater"), Milton engages in Latin–Greek code-switching when he offers several ludicrous explanations:

[32] "[When, as always happened,] I saw that more remained to read than I had yet completed, how often I wished to clean out the Augean stables instead of having these fooleries forced upon me; and I declared Hercules a happy man, to whom good-natured Juno had never set an exhausting hardship of this kind." *CW* 12.160–161. For the Erasmian adage, see CWE 33:201.

[33] Pasor, *Oratio pro Linguae Arabicae Professione*, sig. A4: "in order to clean out the Augean stable of Papish superstitions and for washing away the filth of the scholastics' sophistries, the Oriental soap [i.e. Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic languages] is needed, as well as pure water from the springs of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments" (ad expurgandum sc. Augiae stabulum superstitionum Papatus, et eluendum sordes Sophisticae Scholasticorum opus erat smegmate Orientali, et aqua limpida fontium Hebraeorum et Graecorum V. et N. Testamenti). As stated on the title page of this Oxford oration, Pasor was a Professor of Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg who was given special permission to lecture on Arabic at Oxford. For discussion of Pasor's oration and the Augean Stables, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning*, 99. On inaugural orations at early modern universities, see Walser-Bürgler, *Oratio inauguralis* (forthcoming). See also *Of Education* (1644): "an old errour of universities not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grosnesse of barbarous ages" (*CPW* 2:274).

[34] Thomas More qt. and trans. by Rhodes in *Common*, 39, n. 40.

[35] Rhodes, *Common*, 39.

> An denique ego a deo aliquo vitiatus, ut olim Caeneus, virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλαχθείην ἄν?[36]

Milton alludes to the story in *Metamorphoses* 12 in which Neptune rapes Caenis before offering to fulfil any request as compensation. Caenis asks Neptune to turn her into a man and, as a result, Caenis becomes Caeneus:

> 'Magnum' Caenis ait 'facit haec iniuria votum,
> Tale pati iam posse nihil; da, femina ne sim:
> Omnia praestiteris.' [37]

Milton's evocation of Caeneus also recalls how the centaurs taunt Caeneus for being "hardly a man" (*vixque viro*) in *Metamorphoses* 12.500 and a "half-man" (*semimari*) in *Metamorphoses* 12.506, just as Milton tells his audience to "notice how stupidly, how thoughtlessly they have taunted me [...] I wish they could as easily stop being asses as I could stop being a woman!" ("videte quam insubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint [...] Verum utinam illi possint tam facile exuere asinos quam ego quicquid est feminae").[38]

Here, as Brendan Prawdzik observes, Milton "imagines himself as a female victim of rape."[39] When Milton asks whether he has "accepted [his] masculinity as payment for the rape" ("virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium"), the phrase "stupri pretium" has a legal connotation. The word *stuprum* very often means 'rape' and "stupri pretium" refers broadly to the payment or recompense for sex.[40] In Roman law, anyone who offered compensation in exchange for a *stuprum* was committing a criminal offence. For example, in *De adultera*, Ulpian states that "he also is punished who takes a **bribe** [to conceal] a **sexual violation** which he has discovered" ("plectitur et qui **pretium** pro comperto **stupro** acceperit").[41] Elsewhere, *pretium* refers to a payment or reward rather than a bribe. In Ovid's *Ars amatoria* 1.10.63, the speaker says "it isn't giving, but being asked for a **reward**, that I

[36] "Or have I been violated by some god, as Caeneus was of old, and accepted my masculinity as payment for the rape, to be suddenly altered from female into male?" Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 281–282. I have altered Hale's translation slightly, changing "deed" to "rape" and "won" to "accepted." "Pactus sum" evokes the idea of entering into a (marriage) contract or agreement. See Lewis and Short, s.v. "paciscor."

[37] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12.201–203. "Then Caenis said: 'The wrong that you have done me calls for a mighty prayer, the prayer that I may never again be able to suffer so. If you grant that I be not woman, you will grant me all." Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Miller, vol. 2, 194–5. See also *Heroides* 5.143–144.

[38] *CW* 12:240–241.

[39] Prawdzik, *Theatrical Milton*, 31. See also Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, 83–113; and Turner, "Milton Among the Libertines."

[40] See especially Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* 4.1.76–77: "O, do ye read, my lord, what she hath writ? / 'Stuprum. Chiron. Demetrius'." Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by Waith, 149. On *stuprum* and its legal definition, see Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 122; Fantham, "'Stuprum': Public Attitudes and Penalties for Sexual Offences in Republican Rome"; and Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of Femininity*, 61–66. On the importance of acknowledging the legal context of certain Latin words and phrases in Milton's Latin prose, see Chapman, "Defending Milton's *Pro se defensio*."

[41] *Digest*, 48.5.30.2. Qt. and trans. by McGinn in *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*, 174, n. 50. See also Paul, *Digest* 47.11.1.2.

disdain and despise" ("nec dare, sed **pretium** posci dedignor et odi") and in Catullus 110.2, regarding the payment of prostitutes, the speaker states that "they get their **price** for what they purpose to do" ("accipiunt **pretium**, quae facere instituunt").[42] In Joannes Petrus Lotichius' (1598–1669) 1629 commentary on Petronius's *Satyricon*, Petronius's remarks on a prostitute at a brothel in Campania—"by this time the madam had already got an *as* for the use of a room" ("iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat", *Sat.* 8.4)—are glossed as follows: "id est, stupri pretium exegerat" ("that is, she had demanded payment for sex").[43]

Together with the reference to Ovid's Caeneus, the process of Milton's Ovidian transformation from "Lady" (*Domina*) to "Father" (*Pater*) is reflected linguistically by an extraordinary example of Latin–Greek code-switching. The position of the Latin particle *An* at the beginning of the sentence and the extremely peculiar position of the Greek particle ἄν at the end of the sentence—"**An** denique ego [...] ἀλλαχθείην **ἄν**"—structurally conveys Milton's figurative transformation where the Latin *An* becomes the Greek ἄν. This compliments the multiple transformative processes in gender and language—from female to male, and from Latin to Greek—at play in Milton's response to his nickname.

After Milton questions how he could have changed gender—"how should I be suddenly altered from female to male?" ("ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλαχθείην ἄν?")—he continues to focus on male and female (grammatical) genders in the next sentence.[44] He declares:

> A quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina. At cur videor illis parum masculus? Ecquis Prisciani pudor? Itane propria quae maribus femineo generi tribuunt insulsi grammaticastri?[45]

Milton evokes the Tudor grammarian and Hellenist William Lily (ca. 1468–1522) and the sixth-century Latin grammarian Priscian. Hale observes that "Milton echoes a tag from Lily's *Grammar* ("propria quae maribus" etc.), to the effect that grammar would collapse if gender were so fluid."[46] Although this kind of slightly

[42] Ovid, *Amores*, trans. by Goold, 362–3; Catullus, trans. by Cornish and Mackail, 176–7. See also *Heroides* 5.143; Propertius 4.5.29; and [Ps.-]Seneca, *Octavia* 132.

[43] Lotichius (ed.), *T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*, 69. See also Adams, "Words for 'Prostitute' in Latin."

[44] Although Milton is not quoting from a specific Greek text, the language is potentially reminiscent of the sophistic wrangling between Socrates and Strepsiades about masculine (ἄρρενα) and feminine (θήλεα) grammatical genders in Aristophanes *Clouds* 658–694. With respect to Milton's use of the verb "ἀλλαχθείην," see Euripides, *Bacchae* 54–55: "I have **taken on** mortal form / And changed my appearance to that of a man" (εἶδος θνητὸν **ἀλλάξας** ἔχω / μορφήν τ' ἐμὴν μετέβαλον εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν). Euripides, *Bacchae*, trans. by Kovacs, 16–17.

[45] "For some have recently called me "Lady." But why do I seem barely a male to them? Have they no respect for Priscian? Do these witless grammar-bunglers attribute to the feminine what is properly masculine?" I have altered Hale's "unmanly" to "barely a male" in his translation.

[46] Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 283, n.35. With respect to Milton's reference to the Latin grammarian Priscian, it is interesting to note that Duport too, in a poem on Restoration actresses, associates Priscian with gender confusion between men and women: "Player is not a name for women, nor is actor, if there be credit in grammar and in Priscian; surely it is proper that only men be actors" ("Nec femininum nomen hypocrita, / Nec histrio, si Grammaticae fides, / Et *Prisciano*; nempe solos / Esse viros decet histriones." "In Roscias nostras, seu Histriones Feminas," ll. 1–4). Qt. and trans. by Vozar in "Alcaics on Restoration Actresses by the Cambridge Classical Scholar James Duport," 84–5.

risqué grammatical joke is very common, one could argue that Milton takes advantage of Latin and Greek grammatical conventions in both defending his masculinity and vindicating his feminine nickname.[47] This is because, in addition to the allusion to the tag "propria quae maribus" ("that which belongs to males") from Lily's *Grammar*, Milton's allusion to Lily also brings to mind the Tudor grammarian's definition of the "Epicene" (*Epicoenum*) gender in which "both sexes are embraced under the sign of one gender" ("sub unâ generis notâ utrumque sexum complectimur").[48] One reason Milton gives for why his "manhood" (*virilitatem*) is being questioned is because "I have never had strength to go in for drinking-competitions" ("scilicet quia scyphos capacissimos nunquam valui pancratice haurire").[49] As Alexandra Shepard observes, in seventeenth-century Cambridge, "undergraduate drinking practices involved calculated displays of excess as trials of strength and a measure of manhood."[50] *Plus ça change* …

When mocking those who tauntingly call him "Domina" as "witless grammar-bunglers" (*insulsi grammaticastri*)—that is, unintelligent, inferior grammarians—the rare word "grammati**castri**" punningly evokes the verb ***castrare***, "to castrate," thus belittling both their intelligence and their manhood.[51] Milton makes ribald and coarse jokes throughout *Prolusion VI*, such as when he remarks that a college peer "might unwittingly blurt out some riddles to us, not from his Sphinx but from his sphincter" ("et aenigmata quaedam nolens effutiat sua non Sphinx sed Sphincter anus").[52] Such risqué humour is conventional for the ludic nature of the genre and occasion.

4 Dionysia and "The Lady of Christ's College"

After Milton "utterly repudiate[s] whatever relates to 'Lord' or 'Lady'" ("quicquid hoc "Domini" aut "Dominae" est a me longe amolior atque reiicio"), he defensively provides precedents from antiquity of Greek and Roman orators who were called similar names to show, on the contrary, "how I rejoice to be linked with such great men by the common bond of a shared insult!" (exultemque gaudio me tantis viris eiusdem opprobrii societate coniunctum!).[53] Milton characterises "Domina" as an "opprobri[um]"—a strong term which can be translated as a "reproach," "insult," or "abusive word"—and states that both Hortensius and Demosthenes

47 See Moul, "Grammar in Verse," 128. There are several examples of this kind of grammatical joke in John Owen's popular Neo-Latin epigrams.

48 Lily, *A Short Introduction of Grammar*, 12. Note too Milton's juxtaposition of "male" and "female" which are joined together in "propria quae **maribus femineo**." On Lily's *Grammar* and gender, see Pittenger, "Dispatch Quickly," 404–5; Smith, "Latin Lovers in *The Taming of the Shrew*"; and McGregor, "'Run Not Before the Laws."

49 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 282–283.

50 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 281–2; and Shepard, "Student Masculinity in Early Modern Cambridge, 1560–1640," 69.

51 The earliest uses of the word *grammaticaster* are recorded in John Dee's *Monus Hieroglyphica* and William Camden's *Brittanica*. See Plautus, *Mercator* 272–276.

52 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 211. I have slightly altered Hale's translation.

53 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 284–285. Hale astutely notes that "Dominus" was the equivalent term for Cambridge's "Pater" at the Inns of Court (*Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 284, n. 30). I have adapted Hale's translation.

were also subjected to similar nicknames, presumably referring to Dionysia and Batalus respectively.[54] In the *Adages*, Erasmus includes an adage simply titled "Βάταλος εἶ" and explains that this was Demosthenes' nickname: "Olim in effœminatos per contumeliam dicebatur. Plutarchus ostendit id cognominis Demostheni puero inditum fuisse, & ab inimicis probro obiectum."[55] To turn the potentially humiliating nickname of "Domina" into what the Dutch call a *Geuzennaam*—a derogatory name reclaimed as a badge of honour and empowerment—Milton insists that he regards it as a sobriquet that "is rightly a matter of honour to me" ("id quod ego iure optimo mihi vertam gloriae").[56]

Milton also quotes the Latin–Greek code-switching of the Roman orator Hortensius's retort to Lucius Torquatus after he publicly ridiculed Hortensius for being effeminate and called him "Dionysia"—the name of a famous female dancer and singer in Rome—during Publius Cornelius Sulla's trial in 62 BC:

> Namque et ipse Demosthenes ab aemulis adversariisque parum vir dictus est. Q. itidem Hortensius omnium Oratorum post M. Tullium clarissimus, "Dionysia Psaltria" appellatus est a L. Torquato. Cui ille, "Dionysia," inquit, "malo equidem esse quam quod tu, Torquate – ἄμουσος, ἀγροδίατος, ἀπρόσιτος."[57]

Hortensius switches from Latin into Greek to accuse Torquatus of being "tasteless, boorish, crass" (ἄμουσος, ἀγροδίατος, ἀπρόσιτος). Erasmus's version of this anecdote in the *Apophthegmata* very closely follows that of Aulus Gellius in the *Attic Nights* 1.5.3:

> Hortensius orator ob cultum mundiorem, ac gesticulationes in dicendo molliores, crebro male audiebat in ipsis etiam iudiciis. Sed quum Lucius Torquatus, homo sub agrestibus & infestivis moribus, quum apud Concilium de causa Syllæ quereretur, non iam histrionem illum diceret, sed gesticulatricem, Dionysiamque notissimæ saltatriculæ nomine compellaret: tum voce molli demissaque Hortensius, Dionysia, inquit, Dionysia malim equidem esse, quàm quod tu Torquate ἄμουσος, ἀγρίαιτος, ἀπρόσιτος, id est, inelegans, agrestis, aditu difficilis.[58]

[54] Lewis and Short, s.v. "opprobrium," II.

[55] "You're a regular Batalus, was said in old days by way of insult to effeminate men. Plutarch shows that the nickname was given to Demosthenes as a boy, and used to his discredit by his enemies." ASD II.2:36; CWE 32:11. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4.3–4; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 174–175; and Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 131–132.

[56] Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 282–283.

[57] "For Demosthenes himself was called 'too little of a man' by his rivals and opponents. Hortensius, too, second only to Cicero among Roman orators, was called 'Dionysia, a singing woman' by L. Torquatus. Hortensius replied: 'I would rather be this 'Dionysia' than what you are, Torquatus—tasteless, boorish, and crass,'" Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 282–283.

[58] Erasmus, *Apophthegmata*, 6.325. "The orator Hortensius was often the subject of taunts even in the law-courts on account of his modish dress and the rather effeminate gestures he used when delivering his speeches. But Lucius Torquatus (a boorish and unattractive character), during the investigation into Sulla's case before the council, did not merely describe Hortensius as an actor but called him a female mime artiste, addressing him as "Dionysia": the name of a notorious, female dancer. At this, Hortensius remarked in a sweet and gentle voice, "Dionysia? I would rather be a Dionysia than what you are, Torquatus, vulgar,

In response to this exchange, Craig Williams observes that it is "worth noting that Hortensius caps his retort in Greek (as if to highlight the contrast between rough Roman and refined philhellene) and delivers the whole in a noticeably effeminate way."[59] Why does Milton compare himself with Hortensius: an orator who had a reputation for stylistic transgression and unmanliness?[60] Regarding Hortensius's Greek retort, Catharine Edwards stresses how extreme this statement is in its Roman, Latinate context as a debunking of Roman *virilitas* itself: "a soft voice, a rare one, that spoke for sophistication, philhellenism and even the feminine. This may be as close as a Roman text ever comes to suggesting virility need not be the ultimate virtue."[61] In *Lingua* (1525), Erasmus contrasts Roman *brevitas* and *virilitas* with effeminate Greek rhetorical training when he praises Cato the Censor as a "real old Roman" (*viro mero Romano*) who was "not debauched [literally "made effeminate"] by an indulgence of Greek-style training" ("nec ullis graecanicarum artium deliciis effoeminato") with all its unmanly and "silly chattering" ("inepta garrulitas").[62] Milton's appropriation of Hortensius's Greek riposte serves to vindicate his feminine nickname by confuting the standard of manliness espoused by "these spiteful people" (*hos lividos*) who call him "Domina" on account of some divergence on his behalf from their view of masculinity.[63] It is difficult to tell what the reason for this may have originally been. It may simply be based on his complexion—he looked "so fair", to quote Mynshell, "that they called him the Lady of Christ's College"—or, as Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns theorize, it may have been "because his manner or appearance was youthful or effeminate."[64]

Towards the end of *Prolusion VI*, Milton states: "nec ad vinorum genera eos nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixero, sit ***ἀπροσδιόνυσον***, & nihil ad Bacchum."[65] Here, Milton is preparing to name the "fine rascals" (*lepidos nebulones*) among his audience one-by-one after the names of different vintages of wine and "after the ten Aristotelian Categories" ("ad praedicamentorum numerum nominatos"). His use of the Greek word "ἀπροσδιόνυσον" puns on its literal meaning of "nothing to Dionysus" (i.e. the god of wine).[66] There are two textual traditions to Gellius' account of Hortensius's Greek retort. The edition of Aulus Gellius which Milton most likely consulted at Cambridge is Ludovicus Carrio's 1585 edition

boorish, and surly." Erasmus, *Des Apopthegmes à la Polyanthée*, vol. 2, 1405; CWE 38:686. I have slightly adapted Knott and Fantham's translation.

59 Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 156. For discussion of Cicero's criticism of Hortensius's "Asianist" rhetorical style, see Berg, *The Politics and Poetics of Cicero's Brutus*, 20–43.

60 Dugan, *Making a New Man: Ciceronian Self-Fashioning in his Rhetorical Works*, 122.

61 Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, 97. See also Keulen, *Gellius the Satirist*, 115.

62 CWE 29:269. See also Parker, "On the Tongue," 448.

63 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 284–285. On Milton's use of the term "manliness" and related terms in his English prose, see Hausknech, "The Gender of Civic Virtue."

64 Campbell and Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought*, 60. Ad loc., Campbell and Corns explain the potential class element behind "Domina": "in this context he is deemed to be a lady in the sense of being married to a lord."

65 "Nor do I enjoy naming them [Milton's "sons"] after different kinds of wines lest whatever I should say be ***mal à propos***, and nothing to do with Bacchus". Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 284–285.

66 See *CPW* 1:285.

published in Paris by Henricus Stephanus. One textual version of Hortensius's Greek response is quoted above, but the alternative textual version of it is "ἄμουσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνυσος" ("a stranger to the Muses, to Venus, and to Dionysus"); this is the version given in most modern editions of the *Attic Nights*, including John Rolfe's edition in the Loeb Classical Library series.[67] However, this alternative Greek response of Hortensius's appears to have been first recorded by Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671) in his 1651 edition of the *Attic Nights*, approximately two decades after Milton composed *Prolusion VI*.[68] Although it is tempting to conjecture that Milton had his eye on the alternative version of Hortensius's Greek retort in this last example of Latin–Greek code-switching in *Prolusion VI*, the alternative Greek response found in Gronovius's edition of Gellius was apparently not available to Milton and his use of the word must for now be taken to be merely a remarkable coincidence.

Aulus Gellius also uses Latin–Greek code-switching in his Latin account of the jibes directed towards Demosthenes, which Milton quotes from in *Prolusion VI*. The scene in question takes place in Athens, therefore everyone was speaking Greek; nevertheless, the Roman author Aulus Gellius retains the Greek jibes on Demosthenes' effeminacy in his Latin work. It is striking that Latin–Greek code-switching is employed in an oral context and applied to the markers of unmanliness and effeminacy—namely, women's clothing:

> Demosthenen traditum est vestitu ceteroque cultu corporis nitido venustoque nimisque accurato fuisse. Et hinc ei **τὰ κόμψα** illa **χλανίσκια** et **μαλακοὶ χιτωνίσκοι** aemulis adversariisque probro data, hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum verbis non temperatum, quin parum vir[.][69]

Aulus Gellius's Latin–Greek code-switching is not neutral but deliberately signals to his Roman readers Demosthenes' departure from *virilitas*.[70] It is clear that Milton has this exact passage in mind because he closely paraphrases Aulus Gellius's statement that "he was taunted by his rivals and opponents [...] alleging that he was no man" ("**aemulis adversariisque** probro data [...] quin **parum vir"**) in his recollection of how "Demosthenes himself was called 'too little of a man' by his

[67] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.5.3, trans. by Rolfe, 28–29.

[68] Gronovius (ed.), *Auli Gellii noctes Atticae. Editio nova et prioribus omnibus docti hominis cura multo castigatior Amstelodami*, 11. On the transmission and textual history of the *Attic Nights*, see Holford-Stevens, *Gelliana.* For detailed discussion of all of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of *Attic Nights*, see Holford-Stevens*, Gelliana*, 289–313. On the importance of avoiding textual anachronism (that is, quoting a classical text from an edition which did not yet exist), see Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 5.

[69] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 1.5.1. "It is said that Demosthenes in his dress and other personal habits was excessively spruce, elegant and studied. It was for that reason that he was taunted by his rivals and opponents with his **"exquisite, pretty mantles"** and **"soft, pretty tunics"**; or that reason, too, that they did not refrain from applying to him foul and shameful epithets, alleging that he was no man." Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, trans. by Rolfe, vol. 1, 28–29. See also Swain, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Antonine Rome." For discussion of this passage, see Keulen, *Gellius the Satirist*, 114.

[70] On Aulus Gellius and contemporary readers in Rome, see Howley, *Aulus Gellius and Roman Reading Culture*.

rivals and opponents" ("ipse Demosthenes ab **aemulis adversariisque parum vir** dictus est").[71]

5 Conclusion

Michael Lieb remarks upon the singularity of Milton's college nickname and how deeply the young Milton took it to heart: "The Lady of Christ's was an identity through which Milton became known to others and as a result of which he was made to struggle with the whole notion of femininity such a designation implied."[72] Although Milton may have embraced the nickname "Domina" on account of Virgil having reportedly had a similar nickname in his youth (which therefore contributed to the burgeoning poet's Virgilian self-fashioning), the notion that Milton's peers in the late 1620s or early 1630s started calling Milton "Domina" as a way of honouring Milton as a future Virgil would be, in the proper sense of the word, preposterous. When Milton asks how he has been "suddenly altered from female into male?" ("ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλαχθείην ἄν?"), his Latin–Greek code-switching throughout *Prolusion VI* is strongly influenced by the way Greek direct speech is handled by Roman and Renaissance authors. Just as Suetonius's Latin–Greek code-switching informed Duport's when denigrating the moral transgressions of the popes, Milton's similar code-switching in the autobiographical passage of *Prolusion VI* is closely informed by the use of Greek words by Aulus Gellius and Erasmus in their accounts of the insults directed at Hortensius and Demosthenes. Like Hortensius's controversial Greek utterance in the Roman courtroom, Milton's use of Greek when delivering *Prolusion VI* at Christ's College signals a linguistic deviation from both *latinitas* and the supreme Roman virtue of *virilitas*. Partly through his Latin–Greek code-switching, Milton ultimately defends his own masculinity while embracing rather than rejecting the appellation "Domina."

71 Hale (ed.), *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, 282–283. See Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," 66; and Reekmans, "Verbal Humour in Plutarch and Suetonius' Lives."

72 Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, 85.

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