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Latin and the Vernaculars in Early Modern Europe

ed. Trine Arlund Hass & Johann Ramminger

Preface

The Latin/vernacular bilingualism of early modern culture is a phenomenon which only in recent years has begun to attract serious scholarly attention. The dynamics of the multilingual culture of early modern Europe go from rivalry to cross-fertilisation, from an agenda of defence of Latin – or matter-of-fact statements of the superiority of the Latin language – and newly found assertiveness of the vernaculars to concerted bilingual strategies of propaganda and outreach. The studies assembled in this volume throw spotlights on a diverse array of factors in play in the multilingual culture of early modern Europe.

The Italian humanists of the Quattrocento trying to come to grips with the bilingualism of their culture had to develop a theoretical framework and a Latin terminology for the relationship between Latin and the *volgare*, since – even though some humanists believed that ancient Rome had already been bilingual – such phenomena were discussed, if at all, only indirectly in classical literature. Ramminger's contribution examines the spectacular rise in the fifteenth century of the central terminus technicus, the word *vernaculus*, also used in the title of this collection. A century later, the situation had changed dramatically. In the literary landscape of sixteenth-century Italy Latin was inexorably receding against Tuscan in the hierarchy of languages. Laureys brings forward the little known *Pro lingua Latina* of Gabriel Barrius, which tries to shore up support for Latin by emphasizing both its international importance, its preeminence over all other languages as the language of the Christian faith, and (by arguing for a muted form of Ciceronianism) its versatility.

Despite its theoretical loss of status, Latin was not easily replaced, and all over Europe a dazzling variety of bi- and multilingual dictionaries tried to link rapidly evolving vernaculars to the semantic norms offered by Latin. Adams and Zeeberg throw a light on the complexities of Danish-Latin dictionary production of the Renaissance, the bewildering variance of the information offered, and discuss modern strategies to make a coherent database out of a mass of bilingual entries which are neither consistently spelt nor arranged in compatible systems. Due to the asynchronous spread of Latin humanist culture, the literary landscape of early sixteenth-century Europe is rather uneven. When Renaissance humanism arrived in Denmark, Paulus Helie, a Danish intellectual and translator of Erasmus, was in the vanguard of the new cultural and literary movement. His contribution to Danish Renaissance culture is put into relief by Rübner Jørgensen's analysis of Helie's adroit combination of strands of medieval and classical Latin lit-

erary traditions. At the same time in France, as shown by Ford, the ambience of the *Pléiade* is characterized by a strong influence of Italian vernacular Petrarchist poetry on a literary production proceding in Latin as well as French. The functional difference between Latin and the vernacular is nowhere as evident as in parallel publications of similar content. A spectacular example is the *Imago Primi Saeculi* and its Dutch adaptation, the *Afbeeldinghe*, published in celebration of the first centenary of the Society of Jesus. The differences in content and presentation between the Latin *Imago* and its Dutch adaptation are the subject of Tjoelker's contribution, which focuses on their use as rhetorical instruments for Jesuit propaganda.

The threefold Roman, Celtic, and Anglo-Norman past of the British Isles offered considerable challenges to the establishing of a unified cultural identity. One of the most successful attempts was William Camden's *Britannia*, a 'wikipedia' before the word. Eatough discusses the framework offered by Camden which reconciles Roman traditions and the traces left by later inhabitants of the British isles, and integrates them into a consolidated view of the social fabric of contemporary Britain. The trilingual identity of sixteenth-century Ireland serves as the background for Sidwell's examination of Dermitius O'Meara's epic poem *Ormonius*, which weaves together Gaelic vernacular traditions, the influence of the English-speaking culture of the politically dominant stratum of society and the force of the literary tradition of Latin epic poetry. Certainly, in the competitive environment of transnational European culture, literary artefacts in the vernacular could only play a role if accessible in Latin translation. The unabated importance of Latin as a vehicular language well into the seventeenth century is thrown into relief by Harris and Nic Cárthaigh who showcase Latin translations of Old Irish poetry through which Irish emigrés attempted to bolster their claims concerning the richness of the vernacular Catholic Irish culture.

The articles contained in this volume are based on papers presented at the conference "The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe", hosted by the University of Aarhus, held at the Sandbjerg conference centre, 17.–20.5.2007, and organized by Marianne Pade (Aarhus).

Other aspects of the interaction between Latin and the vernacular were treated by several papers read at the conference which are not published here for a variety of reasons. Amongst these were Hans Carl Finsen (Aarhus): "Du Bellay, La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse (1549)", Andrew Laird (Warwick): "Latin and Mexican Identity: Indigenous and creole cultures 1550–1680", Ruth Monreal (Hamburg): "Basic Nahuatl for Seventeenth Century Travellers. On the Linguistic Information Given in De Laet's *Orbis Novus* (1633)", Claudia Schindler (Hamburg): "Gastfreundliche Indianer, erfinderische Chinesen, ahnenstolze Japaner: Zum Bild der

Fremden in der neulateinischen Lehrdichtung", Lene Schøsler (Copenhagen), "The Rise and the Fall of the French -ant-Construction. The importance of (alleged) Classical Imitation for the Survival of a Construction", and Cathy Shrank (Sheffield): "Learned 'cottacyon'. Latinate learning in sixteenth-century English cheap print".

Further papers illustrated a broad range of topics from neo-Latin literature and early modern culture: Christoph Brandhuber (Salzburg): "*Nulli parcit honori* – Latin Baroque Epitaphs in Salzburg", George Hinge (Aarhus): "Linguistic consciousness in Erasmus Desiderius' *De conscribendis epistolis* and *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*", Heinz Hofmann (Tübingen): "The Shield of Aeneas in the Hands of Columbus. Weapons and their Decorations in the Old and New World", Ruth Kritzer (Salzburg): "How the *urbs* looked like – advising the public of Roman antiquities", Cristina Neagu (Oxford): "The influence of the Flemish school of illumination over the English book market – Horenbout, Dürer and Cardinal Wolsey's commissions for 'Cardinal College' ", Gerhard Petersmann (Salzburg): "Ancient history and historical figures at the *Alma Mater Benedictina Salisburgensis*".

The conference was part of the "Texts & Contexts" series of conferences which explore the factors influencing the composition and reception of Latin texts in the Early Modern Age. Previous conferences have been held in Lampeter–Cork, Salzburg and Tübingen. The conference was generously supported by the University of Aarhus and the The Danish Council for Independent Research: Humanities.

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Trine Arlund Hass & Johann Ramminger, editors of Renæssanceforum 6

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HUMANISTS AND THE VERNACULAR:

Creating the Terminology for a Bilingual Universe

By Johann Ramminger

Initially humanists who wanted to discuss the contemporary language of the Italian peninsula had to use the terminology inherited from Dante and medieval Latin, designating it as lingua vulgaris *or* materna. *However, the term* lingua vulgaris *(commonly used/plebeian speech) implied a stylistic judgment which was not always welcome — the language of Dante or the poets of the dolce stil nuovo could hardly be called 'plebeian'. The situation changed with the discovery of Cicero's* Brutus *in 1421, whose comments on the* sapor vernaculus *(native refinement) of the inhabitants of Rome offered humanists a broader theoretical framework. The first to pick up Cicero's observations were Biondo and Bruni, in a discussion in 1435 about whether the populace of ancient Rome had spoken Latin or an idiom similar to modern day volgare. The word* vernaculus *soon became the standard term amongst Italian humanists for the latter and, at the end of the Quattrocento, for other languages such as French and German. At that time we also find the first examples in the Latin of humanists outside of Italy. Finally,* vernaculus *develops into an Italian word and enters the lexicon of other languages, arriving in English around 1600.*

In the Italian humanists' language universe several registers of Latin competed with each other and with the dialects of the Italian peninsula (which in the following collectively will be called *volgare* or Italian). From early on humanists asked after the origin of the *volgare* and tried to map a path between present-day Italian and whatever they perceived as the linguistic realities of ancient Rome. The obvious similarities between Latin and the *volgare* suggested that Latin was either the ancestor or a close cousin of Italian; still, the assumption that – just as now everybody learned Italian at home – in antiquity all layers of society had spoken Latin, was contradicted by the fact that acquiring an elegant Latin nowadays demanded a lengthy educational process which neither now nor in antiquity would have been attainable by a large segment of society. On the contrary, the parallel existence of Latin and Italian spheres in contemporary literature and society suggested the feasibility of similar bilingual arrangements in antiquity, and some hu-

manists tried to deduce arguments for such a bilingualism from the ancient authors. The inquiry into the linguistic situation of ancient Rome was part of a general discussion about the hierarchy of contemporary Latin and the various forms of the volgare, respectively – a discussion which is commonly called the *questione della lingua*.[1]

While the *questione* itself has generated a large amount of scholarship, the terminology applied by the humanists has provoked less interest, probably because it seems to be fairly uniform. The following paper will focus on one terminological innovation introduced by humanists, the word *vernaculus*, which, while absent in late medieval and early humanists discussions of language, came to occupy a prominent position within the Latin terminology in the course of the fifteenth century, and at the turn of the century entered the lexicon first of Italian, then of other European 'vernaculars' (notably English), where it survives until today. While the discussions surrounding the relative position of Latin and the *volgare* will inevitably be present in the following, no attempt will be made to present a coherent picture of the *questione* itself.

Dante

At the intersection of medieval and humanist considerations about the origin of the *volgare* stands Dante, who composed two works concerning the historic development and present state of the *volgare*, the *Convivio* in the vernacular (1304–1307) and the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1304–1305, henceforth *Dve*)[2] in Latin. Both were interrupted by his work on the *Commedia* and remained unfinished.

The *Dve* traces the origins of the *volgare* back to the dispersion of man at Babel, whence Dante through a series of triadic subdivisions arrives at the *lingua del sì*, the language which uses *si* for 'yes', and thus at the Italian vernaculars. With sometimes selfdeprecating irony Dante discusses the local variants of the *lingua del sì*, amongst which the Roman dialect is regarded as the ugliest, a *turpiloquium*. At the top Dante posits a *vulgare aulicum*, a mode of speech which only a friend and he himself have mastered, although the Florentine *volgare* comes close. Latin in this context is a stable secondary system: where the *lingua vulgaris* follows usage and therefore changes continously, Latin is an artificial system of rules, a *gramatica*, existing in parallel with the vernaculars.[3]

[1] Fundamental is now Coseriu & Meisterfeld 2003, 117–148 (on Dante), 149–237 (on Italian humanists, incl. copious bibliography). A shorter survey can be found in Marazzini 1993, 231–329, on Dante pp.233–237, on the humanist debate before Bembo pp.237–241.

[2] All quotations from the *Dve* are taken from Dante 1997.

[3] cf. Giustiniani 1979.

The *Dve* remained unacknowledged and probably unknown by humanists until the sixteenth century, when it was discovered by Giorgio Trissino in Padova and printed in an Italian translation in 1529; it has been discussed lately whether Leonardo Bruni knew the work[4]: if so, the knowledge has not left any unequivocal traces.

At the core of the terminology used by Dante is (*lingua*) *vulgaris* as the technical term denoting the Italian dialects.[5] The Latin *vulgaris* could only with difficulty avoid negative connotations ('worthless', 'uncultured'); the narrower technical sense had its pendant in the Italian word *volgare*, which unlike its Latin counterpart had no negative implications.[6] The result was an ambiguity in the use of *vulgaris* as a linguistic term, which is best expressed by Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459) in the *Vita Dantis* (1440): "vulgares, ut aiunt, non vulgares poetae" (poets in the so called volgare, but not worthless poets; 39).[7] Thus, if Dante avoids the pejorative connotations of *vulgaris* in the *Dve*, this is clearly a deliberate restriction; elsewhere he uses the word in its traditional sense including the connotation of inferiority:

> Et per hoc patet, quod Comedia dicitur presens opus. Nam si [...] ad modum loquendi [*sc. respiciamus*], remissus est modus et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris in qua et muliercule communicant
>
> (From this it is clear that the present work can be called comedy. For if we consider [...] the mode of expression, it is lowly and humble, since it is the speech of the masses in which even womenfolk converse).[8]

Alternatively, Dante uses *maternus* both in Latin[9] and Italian[10], which came without the negative connotations.

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[4] Mazzocco 1993, passim, esp. pp. 24–38; but cp. the sceptical review of Parker 1995, 620.

[5] Note the beginning of the *Dve* (1.1): "Cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentie doctrina quicquam inveniamus tractasse" (Since I find that no one, before myself, has dealt in any way with the theory of eloquence in the vernacular; tr. Botterill in Dante 1997, 3).

[6] Battaglia, 1961–2002, XII 986–988 (volgare): 987 § 5, the only example with possibly negative connotations quoted by Battaglia is from Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vite* "nello ornato et elegante latino, e non nello idioma volgare" (in ornate and elegant Latin and not in the idiom of the people).

[7] Quoted from Manetti 2003, 42.

[8] Dante 1979, 620–621, no. 13 § 31 (letter to Cangrande). The translation closely follows Gilbert 1962, 204, and the Italian translation in Dante 1979.

[9] *Dve* 6.2 "proprium vulgare [...], idest maternam locutionem" (his own volgare, i.e. the mother tongue).

[10] In *Purgatorio* 26, Guido Guinizzelli, the Bolognese poet of the *stile nuovo* (fl. 1230–1270), points to Arnaut Daniel (fl.1180–1200), the Provençal troubadour (26.115–17): "'O frate', disse, 'questi ch'io ti cerno | col dito', e additò un spirto innanzi, | 'fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno'" ('O brother', he said, 'he whom I point out to you', and he pointed at a

Salutati

The terminology used by Dante is fairly representative of early humanism as well. Salutati uses *vulgaris* as a firmly established technical term for the language of the Italian peninsula (*De fato*, 1396–1399):

> Nam cum sicut difficillimum sit latinitatis elegantiam in vulgare quoppiam transferendo servare, sic etiam et e contra vulgare quamvis mediocriter cultum nunquam vertatur in latinum servando parem ornatum
>
> (As it is very difficult to retain the elegance of Latin in a translation into whatever form of volgare, so even a moderately elegant form of volgare will not retain equal beauty when translated into Latin).[11]

but also generally for any vernacular language:

> nimis etate nostra eloquentie studia negliguntur et iam reges et principes non latine, sed gallice vel suis vulgaribus scribunt
>
> (In our age the study of eloquence is neglected too much, and kings and princes do not write in Latin any more, but in French or their own vernacular languages).[12]

In a rare example he applies it to modern Greek to distinguish it from classical Greek: "Ceterum scio quod de greco in grecum vulgare et de hoc in aragonicum Plutarchum [...] interpretari feceris" (I know that you have had made translations of Plutarch from Greek into vernacular Greek and thence into Aragonian).[13]

Besides *vulgaris*, Salutati also uses *maternus*, when he compares Dante to Vergil and Homer:

> sentio tamen alium recte, nisi fallor, tam latiali quam greco preferendum Homero, si latine potuisset, sicut materni sermonis elegantia, cecinisse
>
> (I believe, however, that with good reason somebody else would be preferred to the Latin as well as the Greek Homer, if he could have sung as elegantly in Latin as in his mother tongue).[14]

With the choice of *maternus* Salutati subtly hinted at the fact the both Homer and Vergil had sung in their mother tongues – and calling either

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soul in front of us, 'was a better smith of the mother tongue'). Beside Dante, the earliest examples for ital. *materno* meaning 'in volgare' are *eleganza materna* (Boccaccio) and *materno sermone* (F. Villani); see Battaglia, 1961-2002, IX 932-33 (materno): 933 §5.

[11] Salutati 1985, 192.

[12] Salutati 1891–1911, I 77 (*epist*. 2.9, from 1369).

[13] Salutati 1891–1911, II 301 (*epist*. 7.11, from 1392 ?).

[14] Salutati 1891–1911, III 491 (*epist*. 12.7, from 1401). The allusion is to Dante, cf. Novati in Salutati 1891–1911, III 491 n. 2.

poet's language a socially inferior *lingua vulgaris* would have been awkward (*graecum vulgare* in any case designated modern Greek). Still, the *lingua materna*, especially of his Italian contemporaries, for Salutati was not necessarily a very cultured idiom; all too often it was used because it made small demands on the speaker:

> nec contendo quod illud genus loquendi non possit etiam eleganter artificio quodam regi; sed indignor potius quod minor labor esse videatur maternam sequi dicendo rudem inscitiam quam scolasticam disciplinam
>
> (I do not want to claim that that way of speech [i.e. the *volgare*] could not be governed by elegance and artifice; but I find it upsetting that it is considered less effort to have one's speech follow the clumsy ignorance of the mother tongue than scholarly learning).[15]

The recovery of Varro and Cicero

In the context of humanist Latin, *vulgaris* (besides the ingrained ambiguity) came with a further blemish: its technical sense in the examples cited above was not classical.

Classical Latin had no terminology for the coexistence of two distinct languages similar to Latin and *volgare*, even though some mentions of dialectal variation could provide fodder for the humanists. I only mention Asinio Pollio's famous jeer at Livy's – elusive – *patavinitas* (Paduan dialect) reported by Quintilian (*Inst*. 1.5.56); Pollio's malicious comment presupposes the existence of such local variations in the general population; but if they existed at all in the Latin of the elite, they never became obvious enough to be diagnosed, and indeed Pollio's comment is no more than the snobbish application of a Greek literary cliché.[16] In another case of dialectal Latin (transmitted in the *Historia Augusta*), the later emperor Hadrian provoked derision in the senate with his uncultered accent in a speech during his quaestorship.[17]

Without an inherent judgement of quality Romans distinguished between foreign and local origin within various areas, using *vernaculus* for the latter,[18] as in the following quotation from Pliny (*Nat*. 14.25): "hactenus potissima nobilitas datur [*uvis*] peculiaribus atque vernaculis Italiae; ceterae advenere" (So far we assign the chief distinction to the vines peculiar and in-

[15] Salutati 1891–1911, I 77 (*epist*. 2.9, from 1369).
[16] Latte 1940, see also Syme 1959, 50-51, Syme 1939, 485, and Walsh 1961, 267–70.
[17] *Hist. Aug. Hadr*. 3.1; see Travis 1953, 175, and McCartney 1927.
[18] On the complex semantic development of *verna* and *vernaculus* in classical Latin see, beside the classical lexica, also Starr 1942.

digenous to Italy. The remaining kinds have come from abroad).[19] Pliny continues the discussion with grapes from Greece and France. *Vernaculus* here means 'of local or domestic origin' as opposed to 'imported from elsewhere'.

In this meaning it could also be applied to language, as was attested in two texts which came to the humanists' knowledge in the early fifteenth century. One is a passage in Varro's *De lingua Latina* (5.1.3) where he discusses *vernacula verba* in Latin: "neque omnis origo est nostrae linguae e uernaculis uerbis" (our language is not exclusively based on indigenous words), and he explains this further in 5.12.77: "Aquatilium uocabula animalium partim sunt uernacula, partim peregrina. foris mur⟨a⟩ena, quod μύραινα graece, [...]. uernacula ad similitudinem, ut surenae, pectunculi, ungues" (Of the names of water animals some are indigenous, some foreign. From abroad come *muraena*, 'moray', which is μύραινα in Greek, [...]; indigenous words point out a likeness, as *surenae* [not identified], *pectunculi* [scallops], *ungues* [razor-clams]).[20]

The difference here is in origin, not in accessibility or intelligibility. Both kinds of words, *vernacula* as well as *peregrina*, are equally comprehensible in Latin, and they are also equally good Latin. Varro's *De lingua Latina* was transmitted in a manuscript from Cassino; the text – although not unknown to earlier humanists – became more widely disseminated after the ms. entered the Biblioteca S. Marco in Florence in the early Quattrocento.[21]

A passage in Cicero's *Brutus* had an even bigger impact on the humanistic discussion about the role of the vernacular in classical antiquity and in the Italian humanists' linguistic universe. Cicero, too, used *vernaculus* to denote local origin, but differently from Varro, Cicero in the *Brutus* implied a stylistic judgement:

> Tum Brutus: Quid tu igitur, inquit, tribuis istis externis quasi oratoribus? Quid censes, inquam, nisi idem quod urbanis? Praeter unum, quod non est eorum urbanitate quadam quasi colorata oratio. Et Brutus: Qui est, inquit, iste tandem urbanitatis color? Nescio, inquam; tantum esse quendam scio. Id tu, Brute, iam intelleges, cum in Galliam veneris; audies tu quidem etiam verba quaedam non trita Romae, sed haec mutari dediscique possunt; illud est maius, quod in vocibus nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanius. Nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet sed etiam in ceteris. Ego memini T. Tincam Placentinum hominem facetissimum cum familiari nostro Q. Granio

[19] Rackham 1968, 210.
[20] Kent 1938, 75, with modifications.
[21] Brown 1980, 456.

> praecone dicacitate certare. [...] Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo (170–172).
>
> Then Brutus: "What status do these non-Roman orators have?" "What do you think", I say, "not the same as the ones from the city? Except that their speech lacks a certain tinge of urbanity." And Brutus: "What is this color of urbanity?" "I don't know. But it does exist. You will understand this when you come to Gaul; you will hear words not used in Rome – but these you will be able to forget again. The other is more important: In the voices of our orators there is simply a more urban ring or sound, and this is recognizable not in orators only but in others, too. I recall hearing Titus Tinca of Piacenza, a very amusing man, engaged in a competition of wit with my friend, the herald Quintus Granius. [...] Tinca, although being quite hilarious, was overwhelmed by Granius with a sort of native refinement."[22]

The point Cicero makes is that there exists an especially elegant way of expression proper to urban Rome which, even though it defies exact definition, sets Roman speech apart from its lesser, provincial cousins.

Incidentally, it should be noted that an analogous case was described in Holy Scripture. A passage from Matthew, of course well known to humanists (26:73), attested to dialectal variation in spoken Hebrew.[23] At this point I know of no humanist reaction to this.

Cicero's *Brutus* was not known in the Middle Ages. It was only discovered in 1421 in Lodi near Milan; the famous codex Laudensis is now lost, but several copies were made, and we know that Flavio Biondo was in the possession of the text at an early date.[24]

Biondo – Bruni 1435: introduction of *vernaculus*

It may be that the discovery of the *Brutus* provided a stimulus to humanist discussion about the *volgare* and its origin, which crystallized some years later, in March 1435, in a debate amongst members of the papal chancery in Florence; the participants were Biondo Flavio, Antonio Loschi, Poggio

[22] The translation follows Hendrickson 1971, with modifications.

[23] *Matthew* 26:73 "et post pusillum accesserunt qui stabant et dixerunt Petro vere et tu ex illis es nam et loquella tua manifestum te facit" (Surely you are one ot them, for your accent gives you away; *Vulgata* 1994, 1570, tr. *Bible* 1980, 972). Note the commentary of Jerome: "Non quod alterius sermonis esset Petrus aut gentis externae – omnes quippe Hebraei erant et qui arguebant et qui arguebatur – , sed quo unaquaeque prouincia et regio habebat proprietates suas et uernaculum loquendi sonum uitare non possit" (not because Peter spoke a different language or was a foreigner – since all were Hebrews, accusers as well as accused – but because every province and region had its properties and cannot avoid a local sound); Hieronymus 1969, 262, ch. 4 ll. 1452–1456.

[24] The story of the discovery of the Laudensis has often been told, see e.g. Yon 1964, CXCVII. Westman 1980, XVII. Reeve 1996, 39 and 243 n. 25, and McLaughlin 1996, 230.

Bracciolini, Andrea Fiocchi, Leonardo Bruni and Cencio Rustici.[25] They discussed the language of ancient Rome. Biondo gives his version of the discussion in his letter *De verbis Romanae locutionis*, addressed to Bruni, in April of the same year:

> Magna est apud doctos aetatis nostrae homines altercatio et cui saepenumero interfuerim contentio, materno ne et passim apud rudem indoctamque multitudinem aetate nostra vulgato idiomate, an grammaticae artis usu, quod latinum appellamus, instituto loquendi more, Romani orare fuerint soliti
>
> (There is an huge discussion in learned circles nowadays, and one which I have often taken part in, as to whether Romans delivered their speeches in our mother-tongue, i.e. the idiom common in our days in the ignorant masses without learning, or employed a regularized manner built on the use of grammar which we call Latin).[26]

Biondo maintained that the Romans had had a monolingual culture, albeit allowing for variations depending on social status and other factors, so that public speeches – which had to be understood by all – could have been delivered in Latin.

Bruni responds with the tract *An vulgus et literati eodem modo per Terentii Tulliique tempora Romae locuti sint* (Whether the common people and the men of letters spoke the same language in the times of Terence and Cicero, *epist*. 6.10).[27] He shifts the debate from public speeches to language use in general: "Ego autem, ut nunc est, sic etiam tunc distinctam fuisse vulgarem linguam a litterata existimo" (I believe that just as now, also then there was a *volgare* different from the language of literature), that is, some kind of *volgare*, not necessarily the same as in Bruni's time.

Both Biondo and Bruni built their theories on the traditional terminology, using both *maternus* and *vulgaris* to designate the mode of speech of the uneducated. The newly discovered conceptual framework of the *Brutus*, however, provided the possibility to describe the *je ne sais quoi* of urban Roman eloquence both classical and contemporary more precisely. Cicero's *vernaculus* was introduced into the debate by Biondo, when he argued

> [...] Latinitatem litteratam, de qua totiens dixi, unicum fuisse idioma romanae multitudini, quae et syllabarum brevitatem longitudinemque in versu sentiret ac urbanitatis sonum saporemque vernaculum et oppidanum genus dicendi internoscere posset

[25] See the introduction by Delle Donne 2008. I also found the overview given by O'Rourke 2006, 52–94, very useful.

[26] Biondo 2008, 5, §8.

[27] Bruni 1741, II 62-68.

> (that the often-mentioned written Latin was the only idiom of the Roman population, who could feel long and short syllables in verse and were able to distinguish urban sound and native-tasting words form the small-town way of speaking).[28]

Biondo uses the Ciceronian phrase *vernaculus sapor* once more when he tries to disprove the argument that Latin grammar was too complicated for the ordinary people. Vestiges of the old ways of speech could still be heard in Roman women:

> Eas [*i. mulieres Romanas*] saepenumero adverti, mutua salute obvianti data redditaque, bonam valetudinem ceterasque domus condiciones verbis magna ex parte litteratis vicissim interrogantes, maiorem, ut existimo, quam quae a nostrorum paucis servari possit, urbanitatis et gentis romanae vernaculi saporis proprietatem elegantiamque adhibere
>
> (I have often seen Roman women greeting each other mutually, asking after each other's health and the state of the household in rather refined words and showing in my opinion a greater elegance, urbanity and typical Roman way of speech than even a few of our own townswomen could master).[29]

The vernacular elegance of Roman speech (*vernaculi saporis* [...] *elegantia*[...]) and the *litterata verba* for Biondo show the descendence of present day volgare from the Latin of antiquity. The observable linguistic competence of contemporary Roman women is important for Biondo, since he had specifically centered the discussion on the *sermo maternus*, the language learned from the mothers. Consequently, it appeared plausible to Biondo that Roman children of antiquity had at home learned the inflected Latin literary language instead of the allegedly primitive utterances of the present day *volgare*.

In his response Bruni, too, finds the eloquence of Roman women remarkable: "Denique etiam hodie mulieres romanae iudicio meo elegantissime loquuntur" (Finally, in my opinion nowadays, too, Roman women speak most elegantly).[30] Bruni had witnessed a quarrel between two women, which he sums up thus:

> Haec illa [*sc. matrona Romana*] puro nativoque romano proferebat sermone, ita ut admodum sim equidem delectatus, cum et verba nitorem gravitatemque sententiae et pronunciatio ipsa vernaculam quandam haberet suavitatem

[28] Biondo, *locut*. 20.5.
[29] Biondo, *locut*. 22.4.
[30] Bruni, *ep*. 6.10, ed. Tavoni 1984, 216–221: 221.

> (This the woman said in pure and native Roman dialect, in a way which was sheer pleasure, because the words were splendid and had a dignity of expression, and the pronunciation itself had a certain local sweetness).[31]

The *volgare* Bruni hears in the streets of Rome is by no means a primitive mode of communication, but rather an attractive (*suavis*) and regionally established (*vernaculus*) way of speaking. Unlike Biondo, Bruni does not regard this as evidence that the *sermo maternus* once had been the inflected system of the Latin of litterature. What the present-day eloquence of the Roman women showed for Bruni, was that the speech of mothers and nurses could lay in the children the foundation of an elegance of expression, which could be useful in a refined *volgare* as well as in Latin. The ensuing debate saw most of the humanists agreeing with Biondo; among the few who followed Bruni was notably Lorenzo Valla.

Even though humanists could not agree on the precise nature of the *sermo vernaculus* mentioned by Cicero, they were in accord as to the word itself. The exchange of letters between Biondo and Bruni had established *vernaculus* as a category of a characteristic local way of speaking, and the word remained in the Latin terminology used by subsequent authors.

Developing the Ciceronian Model

Biondo and Bruni had spoken of the *vernaculus sapor* or *vernacula suavitas*, the distinctive local tinge of the *volgare*, thus following the Ciceronian model closely. The strictly classical usage found few later adherents, such as Andrea Bussi, who spoke of the *vernaculus nitor*, the splendor proper to a language and inimitable by a translator; even as late as the turn of the century Battista Guarini affirms that the figures of speech 'proper to Greek' made translation difficult.[32]

In the wake of the Ciceronian example, humanists seem to have felt that *vernaculus* had none of the semantic limitations which had restricted the

[31] *ibid*.

[32] Giovanni Andrea Bussi, in the preface of 1469 to the *Noctes Atticae*, explains that the Greek words in Gellius had not been translated in his edition, "quia arduum in primis est, aut verius impossibile, omnem alterius lingue cultum vernaculumque nitorem ac gratiam exprimere" (mainly because it is difficult or in reality impossible to translate the elegance and proper splendour and charm of another language); Bussi 1978, 24, no. 3 (1469). In the same vein, Battista Guarino in a letter from 1494 talks about the typical figures of Greek style, which even Cicero had failed to render adequately in Latin: "cum et facilitatem componendi et dicendi brevitatem et verborum proprietatem et vernaculas sermonis graeci figuras [...] difficile sit interpretari" (because it is difficult to translate the ease of composition, conciseness of speech, precision of expression and the typical figures of Greek); Guarino 2002, 240.

usefulness of *vulgaris*, and it soon took over many of the functions of the latter. It not only came to designate a local propriety *of* a language of wider diffusion, but was transfered to the language *itself*.

Valla used *vernaculus* for the (non-Latin) idiom of individual speech communities in an inaugural oration from 1455 where he lamented the fragmentation of Italian law, asking rhetorically: "nonne singule pene civitates suum ius civile vernacula lingua condiderunt?" (Does not nearly every single city already have its own civil law in its local language?).[33] And Bartolommeo Platina observes in *De honesta voluptate* from 1467, concerning the *carpanus grossus*, the carp: "Hos Mantuani bulbaros lingua uernacula uocant"[34] (These the inhabitants of Mantua call *bulbaro* in the local dialect).[35]

In these examples *vernaculus* designates the local idiom of a given town or region, a usage still complying with what can be found in classical authors. But in a rapid semantic expansion, after the Biondo-Bruni controversy *vernaculus* became the comprehensive designation for the 'vernacular', the general phenomenon of a language other than and often competing with Latin. It does not seem to have unduly disturbed humanists that this newly popular usage was no more classical that the same had been with *vulgaris*.

Valla

Already Valla, when he was drafting the *Elegantiae* in the 1440s, felt the need to give a definition of the newly coined expression *lingua vernacula*:

> Vernaculus, vernacula, vernaculum, quod est domi nostrae vel in nostra patria natum – lingua vernacula, quod vulgo dicunt 'lingua materna' –; dictum est a 'verna', quod est 'servus domi nostrae natus', id est, ex nostra ancilla
>
> (Vernaculus, -a, -um, born in our house or country, – e. g., *lingua vernacula*, commonly [*or* in the volgare*?*] called *lingua materna* –; derived from *verna*, a slave born in our house, i.e. from a female servant).[36]

I will leave open the question of the exact meaning of *vulgo* ('commonly' or 'in the *volgare*'). What is important in the context of *vernaculus*, is that Valla explicitely equals *lingua vernacula* and *lingua materna*, thus again taking up the points made by Biondo and Bruni about the role of language

[33] Valla 1994, 198.

[34] See Battaglia, 1961-2002, II 437: "Bùlbaro 'Carpa', Deriv. dalla voce dialettale mantovana *búlbar*, di origine incerta."

[35] Platina 1998, 456 (10.53).

[36] *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*, 1.5, ed. Valla 1999, I 72.

acquisition at home in early childhood. The derivation of *vernaculus* from *verna*, slave, in the *Elegantiae*, allowed Valla to make an important socio-linguistic point: it defined the *lingua vernacula* not only as a local or regional variant phenomenon, but also as the speech of the uneducated.

Valla presented his views on the Latin language question in greater detail in his polemic against Poggio in the *Apologi*. Poggio, one of the participants of the discussion of 1435 on the side of Biondo, wrote his own account fifteen years after the event.[37] He felt that there was absolutely no reason why small children should not have been able to learn Latin, "cum ab ipsa infantia barbarorum filii cum materno lacte vernaculam linguam discant" (since the children of barbarians learn their native language with their mothers' milk) – these being languages, Poggio adds, which even a grown-up humanist might find difficult to pronounce.

Valla ridicules Poggio's argument in the *Apologus secundus*. If all the children had grown up speaking like Cicero, excellence in eloquence would not have been praiseworthy, because

> si omnes latinum sermonem a matribus nutricibusve discebant, ergo omnes norant, quemadmodum nunc in omnibus civitatibus fieri videmus de sermone vernaculo
>
> (if all had learned Latin from their mothers and nurses, all would have known it, just as is now the case in all towns with their local dialect).[38]

Vernaculus = generally *Italian*

In the second half of the fifteenth century *vernaculus* became the comprehensive term for *volgare*, when it was not necessary or possible to distinguish between the individual dialects:

Thus Angelo Decembrio in the *De politia litteraria* (c. 1462) rejects the assumption that *sequester* means *sequax* 'following', because in Italian (*vernaculo sermone*) the verb *sequestrare* means 'to confiscate, to impound':

> Sequester [...] non pro sequaci, quamvis a sequendo deductum. Quo magis miror a litteratis errari, cum ab Italis etiam vernaculo sermone id sequestrari praedicent, quod apothecae more seu pignoris vel depositi causa distinetur, quoad iure civili dirimatur
>
> (*sequester* does not mean '*sequax*' [following], even though it is derived from *sequi* [to follow]. All the more I am surprised by this error of the educated, because Italians in their native language, too, use *se-*

[37] Poggio 1984, 239, §5.
[38] Valla 1972, 525.

> *questrari* to design something which is put aside as security or deposit, until a case is decided in court).[39]

Perotti

The first one trying to integrate the newly expanded usage of *vernaculus* with classical usage, was Valla's pupil Niccolò Perotti in his *Cornu copiae*, published posthumously in 1489. The passage is from the commentary to the third epigram of Martial's *Liber epigrammaton* (written in the late 1470s):

> Item uerna, seruus domi natus [...] . Ab hoc uernaculus fit; dicitur autem uernaculum quicquid domi nostrae nascitur. Vnde uernaculam linguam dicimus uulgarem, hoc est domi natam, et uernaculum morem domesticum. Vernaculum etiam pro proprio et peculiari capimus. Plynius: "Potissima nobilitas datur [*sc. uvis*] peculiaribus atque uernaculis Italiae". [...]
>
> (Also *verna*, a slave born at home ... . Thence is derived *vernaculus*; we call *vernaculus* everything originating from our home. Therefore we call *lingua vernacula* the common language, that is the one born at home, and the *mos vernaculus* a domestic custom. *Vernaculus* is used also for 'proper' and 'special', as in Pliny: "In highest esteem we hold our own grapes which are proper to Italy").[40]

Perotti – apparently without being aware of the passage from either Cicero's *Brutus* or Varro's *De lingua* – attempted to put the specialized meaning into a larger context. Charlet, the editor of the passage, noted in the *apparatus fontium* that Perotti's definition of *verna* and its derivatives was quite similar to Valla's. There is, however, one important difference: when Perotti thirty years after Valla had formulated his definition took over a large part of it, he substituted *lingua vulgaris* for Valla's *lingua materna*. Perotti ruined what in Valla was a coherent definition; the changes he introduced reflected the fact that in the thirty years since Valla had written the *Elegantiae*, the usage of *vernaculus* as a *terminus technicus* had significantly encroached upon the semantic territory of the older term *lingua vulgaris*. Thus the central part of Perotti's definition: "uernaculam linguam dicimus uulgarem, hoc est domi natam" avoids absurdity only if we understand *vulgaris* as the equivalent of Italian *volgare*, even though Perotti otherwise abstains from using *vulgaris* in this sense (although he does use the adverb *vulgo*).[41]

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[39] Decembrio 2002, 262 (3.27.78).

[40] *Cornu copiae*, 3.224, ed. Perotti 1989–2001, III 84.

[41] *Cornu copiae*, 2.393: "Est enim proprie uulgus [...] ignobilior multitudo. [...] Vnde uulgarem dicimus uilem ac communem" (*Vulgus* is the primitive masses. *Vulgaris* we use for 'vile' and 'common'); Perotti 1989–2001, II 149.

From the time the *Cornu copiae* was written onwards, *vernaculus* could be used completely synonymously with *vulgaris*. When Filippo Beroaldo in the *Annotationes Centum* from 1488 talks about the *camelopardalis*, he explains:[42] "Hoc est illud animal quod Italici lingua uernacula gyrapham appellant" (this is the animal which the Italians in the vernacular call *giraffa*; *Annotationes Centum*, 14.1).[43] Clearly, *vernaculus* here has become a collective term for the dialects of the Italian peninsula. The word *giraffa* is attested in Italian texts since the thirteenth century; *lingua vernacula* is unspecific, since the animal can hardly have been commonly known and is probably attested only in few variants of the volgare.

Equally, when Poliziano in the *Miscellanea* (1489) talks about the poetry in *volgare* of Lorenzo de Medici, he avoids the 'vulgar', i.e. negative, connotations of the word *vulgaris*: "Sed et uniuersam [*sc. fabellam de Adonide et Venere*] pulcherrime numeris uernaculis complexus [...] Laurentius Medices" (The whole fable of Venus and Adonis was beautifully treated by Lorenzo de Medici in his vernacular verses; *Miscellanea*, 11.4).[44]

Bembo regards the *volgare* already as a unified system, when in a letter from 1513 to Gianfrancesco Pico he talks about the use to be drawn from "(*auctoribus*) cum Latinis, tum Graecis, tum certe etiam vernaculis, ut sunt nonnulli excellentes in ea lingua viri" (Latin as well as Greek and of course also vernacular authors, as there are some excellent writers in that language; Bembo, *Epistula*, 1.31).[45]

To designate the common elements of the language of the Italian peninsula theorists since the 1480s also use *Italicus*; the first one seems to have been Bartolomeo Benvoglienti in his work *De analogia* (1481).[46]

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[42] Beroaldo 1995, 70.

[43] When Poliziano a year later, in 1489, claims the priority for this identification, he avoids the innovative *vernaculus*, but uses *vulgo* instead (*Miscellanea* 3.2): "Nos olim iam publica praelectione dictauimus uideri eum de chamelopardali, quae uulgo girafa dicitur, sentire" (A long time ago I said in a public lecture that I believe that Horace here means the *chamelopardalus*, called *girafa* in the volgare); Poliziano 1553, 228.

[44] Poliziano 1553, 236 (paragraph numbers from Poliziano 1982); the reference is to Lorenzo de Medici's *Canzoniere*, 136.

[45] Bembo 2007, 84–85, tr. Duvick, modified.

[46] See Coseriu & Meisterfeld 2003, 191: "dictiones [...] tum italice tum latine" (Italian and Latin words), on Benvoglienti *ibid*. 182–191. A notable example of *Italicus* can be found in Sabellicus, preface to the eleventh Ennead (1504) of his *Enneades sive Rapsodiae historiarum*, quoted from Coseriu & Meisterfeld 2003, 180: "Italicus sermo neque ille est qui olim fuit, nec ab eo omnino diversus, sed barbaris vocibus plus minusve adulteratus, ut haec aut illa regio fuit externis gentibus magis obnoxia" (The Italian language is not the one it once was, nor is it altogether different; it has been adulterated more or less with barbarian words, depending in the degree of exposure to foreign influence of the different regions).

From the end of the Quattrocento, in the Latin of the Italian peninsula *vernaculus* was firmly established as a linguistic *terminus technicus*. For the Latin of the late sixteenth century we have a reliable source in the first edition of the *Dizionario della Crusca* from 1612. Its Italian is the result of an intricate compromise between the archaizising postulates going back to Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* and the exigencies of contemporary Florentine patriotism. The Latin explanations of the *Dizionario* reflect the vocabulary of an educated contemporary reader; they aim for clarity, but have no stylistic agenda. We find the word *vernaculus* in three entries of the *Dizionario*:

> DIVOLGARIZZARE. volgarizzare. Lat. *vertere, vernacula lingua exprimere*.
>
> VOLGARE. Sust. linguaggio, idioma vivo, e che si favella. Lat. *lingua vernacula, sermo*.
>
> VOLGARMENTE, e VULGARMENTE. In volgare, comunalmente. Lat. *vulgò, lingua vernacula*.[47]

In these definitions it is easy to see where the attractiveness of the term *vernaculus* lay: The existence of two distinct Latin terms allowed a disambiguation: the ambiguity of the Latin *vulgaris* was avoided by reducing *vulgo* to mean only 'commonly, generally'; the ablative *lingua vernacula* replaced *vulgo* for the technical meaning 'in the *volgare*'.

Vernaculus = language other than Latin

At the end of the fifteenth century the meaning of *vernaculus* rapidly expanded to signify any European language other than Latin. In an example from 1492 Ermolao Barbaro still tries to reconcile the new meaning 'vernacular' with the classical 'local, regional, typical': "Quod autem paulo post Carban Torathe scribitur, extat hodieque sed Carpentoracte nominatur, et barbari Galliarum sermone vernaculo Carpentras" (Somewhat later this town is called Carban Torathe, it exists still today under the name Carpentoracte, and the barbarians call it in the native language of Gaul Carpentras; *Castigationes Plinianae*, I 3.54.2).[48]

Often it can only be inferred from the context which language (other than Latin) is actually meant, as in the following example from the introduction to the French version of the statutes of the Knights of St. John (1493):

> verum quia variis vernaculis linguis commilitones nostri pro genitalis [progenitalis *ed*.] soli more utuntur nec latine familiares existunt [...],

[47] *Crusca* 1612.
[48] Barbaro 1973–79, I 96.

> necessum fuit volumen stabilimentorum lingua latina editum in vernaculam linguam vertere
>
> (but because our comrades speak different vernacular languages according to their birth place and are not familiar with Latin [...], it was necessary to translate the book of statutes published in Latin into the vernacular).[49]

As becomes clear from the context, the 'vernacular' language in this case is French (*huiusmodi stabilimentorum volumen in gallicanam linguam versum*, *ibid*.). *Vernaculus* is also used as a synonym for 'French' in an example from 1495 taken from the French theorist and publisher Guillaume Guerson:

> Cum hiis enim figuris alie hoc tempore adduntur scilicet hamate, que lingua vernacula dicuntur crochees, et dramate, que etiam lingua galica dicuntur fusees
>
> (To these figures nowadays others are added, the socalled *hamate*, which in the vernacular are called *crochees*, and the *dramate*, which in French are called *fusees*).[50]

One of the earliest examples from the Germanic area comes from Jakob Wimpfeling's *Adolescentia* (Strassburg 1500):

> Itidem mihi facere videntur fratres Ioannis episcopi Vangionum, qui [...] non [...] otio vacant, sed optimis litteris vel in vernacula lingua strenue indulgent
>
> (The same behaviour is shown by the brothers of bishop Dalburg, who are not idle, but show great zeal for the letters, albeit in the vernacular).[51]

The 'vernacular' here is presumably some form of German. Soon the new meaning of *vernaculus* was firmly established also in the Latin of humanists outside the Italian peninsula, as we see from a letter written by Erasmus in 1514 where he mentions the advice by a friend, the prior of the Augustinians of Gouda, to pursue a bishop's service rather than life in the monastery, "because he knew my mind and the ways of his little brethren" (addens se nosse et animum meum et suorum fraterculorum mores); Erasmus adds "nam iis utebatur verbis lingua vernacula" (those were his words in the vernacular).[52]

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[49] *Stabilimenta* 2007, 65.

[50] Guerson c. 1495, d.iii[v], cited from *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*, URL: http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/GUEUT_TEXT.html (12.12.2009).

[51] Wimpfeling 1965, 224; cp. also *ibid*. n. 50. I found the quotation originally in Drücke 2001, 25.

[52] Erasmus 1906–1948, I 571 (*ep*. 296).

Transition into other languages

By the turn of the century, we find the first examples of *vernaculus* in the sense 'in the vernacular' entering languages other than Latin. The transition to the Italian *vernacolo* can be traced to the verse translation of Columbus' *Letter about the newly found islands* composed in 1493 by Giuliano Dati (1445–1524), *La storia della inventione delle nuove insule di Channaria indiane*, where the Latin phrase appears inserted into a vernacular context:

> Queste cose alte, degne, magne e mire,
> che se tu leggi, tu le trouerrai
> in uernacula lingua & in latino [...].
>
> (Such things, lofty, worthy, august, and wondrous, you will be able to read here in the vernacular and in Latin)[53]

In this text the *vernacula lingua* is synonymous with *volgare*, as we can see in the colophon of the same text (printed in Florence 1495): "Finita lastoria della inuentione delle nuoue isole dicannaria indiane [...] tradocta di latino inuersi uulgari" (End of the history of the discovery of the Indian Canary islands translated from Latin into vernacular verses).

Still, since *vernacolo* was a new word in Italian, not everybody was comfortable using it. Antonio de Ferraris in the preface to his *Esposizione del Pater Noster* (1504–8) calls Italian the *parlar vernaculo*, adding "as others call it": "Intendo dunque secondo 'l mio parlar patrio o, secondo che altri dicono, vernaculo esponer a VS. la orazione domenicale."[54]

A hundred years later the word reached English. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the earliest example is from William Barlow's (d. 1613) *A defence of the articles of the Protestants religion*. Barlow warns the reader against some representatives of the "Romish clergy":

> Yet these writ in Latine, & so the learned alone, if wauering, might be peruerted; [...] but of late, a vernacular pen-man, an Abyßian Locust [...], hauing translated them into English [...] hath scattered them abroad in our vulgar tongue, that so the meanest idiote [...] might hardly escape without daunger or infection.[55]

Another, from 1661, is from Joseph Glanvill's (1636–1680) *The vanity of dogmatizing*:

> Only to give an hint more of this verbal emptiness [of the philosophic principles of peripateticism]; a short view of a *definition* or two will be current evidence: which, though in *Greek* or *Latin* they amuse us,

[53] vv. 36–38, Dati 1957, 36.
[54] quoted from Battaglia 1961–2002, XXI 788.
[55] Barlow 1601, 2.

> yet a *vernacular translation* unmasks them; and if we make them speak *English*, the cheat is transparent.[56]

In these examples there appears an opposition between Latin and English, i.e., between the arcane language of theology or philosophy and the commonly known language of everyday use. The difference between the two is not geographical – the "Romish clergy" against whom Glanvill warns, are "homeborne fugitives"[57] – but a disparity in accessibility, emphasizing the contrast between the commonly known vernacular and the esoteric Latin.

As we have seen, the evolution of the meaning of *vernaculus* in early modern Latin is closely connected with the complex shift of the status of Latin in Italian society and the increasing prominence (and coalescence) of the vernacular idioms of Italy and Europe in general: in Cicero the word had designated an especially attractive segment of Latin, the language of urban Rome; it was transferred by Biondo and Bruni to the Italian spoken by admittedly uncultured segments of society in Rome (in parallel with the language spoken by the same strata of society in antiquity). Then it was applied to the dialects of Italian towns around the peninsula, was transferred to mean 'Italian' as opposed to Latin, and finally 'any modern language other than Latin'. At the end of this trajectory it entered other languages and came to signify regional idioms as opposed to Latin as the language of international communication and of the educated.

In our days Latin has for a long time ceased to be a significant means of international communication. Still, many of the humanists' arguments referring to local prestige, to regional identities as articulated through a common language have not lost their relevance. We are the heirs not only of a conceptual framework, but also of a terminology which promoted a cultural continuity, reaching from the inter-regional and international Latin culture of the Quattro- and Cinquecento to the present day where the exigencies of efficient international communication (conducted in our days mostly in English) often appear to threaten regional and national identities which articulate themselves through local and regional vernaculars.

[56] Glanvill 1661, 156.
[57] Glanvill 1661, 1.

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A Little Known Plea in Defense of Latin:

Gabriel Barrius's *Pro Lingua Latina* *

By Marc Laureys

To date, Gabriel Barrius has been remembered almost exclusively as historian of his native region Calabria. In his De antiquitate et situ Calabriae*, published in 1571, he produced the first full-fledged historical-geographical study of this area of Italy, which in Barrius' eyes had received insufficient attention from his great predecessors in the field of historical geography, Biondo Flavio and Leandro Alberti. Barrius, however, also raised his voice in an entirely different discussion, namely the defense of Latin against the growing importance of the volgare in sixteenth-century Italy. After Romolo Amaseo had set the tone in two orations* De Latinae linguae usu retinendo*, held at Bologna in 1529, many others followed suit and tried to maintain a privileged status for the Latin language against what they perceived as the threat of the vernacular tongue. In his treatise* Pro lingua Latina *(published first in 1554 and again in 1571), Barrius too develops a long and sustained plea in favor of Latin. Although he does not belong to the most important and best known supporters of Latin, his work merits nonetheless attention on account of the broad range and variety of his arguments, in which not only linguistic and literary, but also historical, educational, and religious facets are taken into consideration.*

Today Gabriel Barrius is remembered almost exclusively as historian of his native region of Calabria.[1] In 1571 he published in Rome a large treatise *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae*, the first full-fledged historical-geographical study of this province of Italy, which in his view had received insufficient attention from his predecessors in the domain of historical geography, Biondo Flavio and Leandro Alberti. Along the lines set by the pioneers in this field of scholarship, Barrius provided a detailed account of the political and cultural history as well as the geography of Calabria. His exposition remained for a long time to come a standard work of reference — a status

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[1] For a brief bio-bibliographical introduction see Codazzi 1964.

confirmed by a new edition (Rome, 1737), procured by Thomas Acetus and enlarged with an introduction about the author and his work, additional material and corrections culled from a working copy of the author (now *BAV*, Vat. Lat. 10908), as well as a set of *animadversiones* by Sertorius Quattrimanus (printed from the manuscript, bound in the copy of *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* now preserved at the *Biblioteca Angelica*, GG.3.35); both Acetus and Quattrimanus were fellow Calabrian *litterati*, who, like Barrius in his time, developed their career to an important extent in Rome.[2]

In his introduction Thomas Acetus gathers a few biographical data about Barrius, which have not been substantially enriched since then. Barrius was born in the town of Francica in Calabria in the early years of the sixteenth century. A misreading of the adjective denoting his birthplace, *Francicanus*, erroneously made him into a Franciscan friar, *Franciscanus*, in some biographical accounts. Almost nothing is known for certain about his education, but at some point he was ordained as a priest. We do not know when exactly he moved from his native region to Rome, but it is in Rome that he published his writings, first in 1554 his monograph *Pro lingua Latina*, along with two companion pieces *De aeternitate Urbis* and *De laudibus Italiae*, then in 1571 a revised version of these treatises and his already mentioned work about the geography, history and antiquities of Calabria. In Rome Barrius belonged to the entourage of Guglielmo Sirleto, *custos* and later Cardinal Librarian of the Vatican Library. Being a fellow Calabrian, Sirleto may have played a role in bringing Barrius to Rome. Another important humanist, with whom Barrius maintained friendly ties, documented in a number of letters, is Pietro Vettori, who was also associated with Cardinal Sirleto. After the publication of his two books in 1571, Barrius left only a few sporadic traces and probably died within the following decade. All through his life he kept an unassuming profile and never rose to any position of importance. His social status and financial resources always remained quite modest. He clearly struggled to find the funds required to finance his publications and only with some effort found the necessary sponsors, as he reports in the preface to each of his works. In the preface to the first edition of his *Pro lingua Latina*, we even hear that he had difficulties to make ends meet, so much so that he was not able to buy any books and was forced to borrow

[2] The 1737 edition also includes a division of the text into chapters (with appropriate titles added), a chronological synopsis and several indices. Previously, the work had been reprinted in Schottus 1600, col. 993–1218, Graevius 1704–1723, IX pars 5 [1723], and Jordanus 1735, col. 119–346 (with an interesting assessment of the work by the editor in his preface to the reader).

them.[3] In fact, his rank was so inconspicuous that his *opus magnum* on Calabria was for some time attributed to his patron, Cardinal Sirleto, rather than to himself.[4]

What strikes the reader of *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* immediately, is the glowing passion with which Barrius describes his native region. Exuberant praise for Calabria, its qualities, assets, and achievements permeates the entire treatise and reaches almost lyrical heights in an impressive passage from the introductory book.[5] Particularly interesting from the viewpoint of literary and intellectual history is the long section towards the end of the work, devoted to the great men of letters from Calabria; one finds included there, e.g., a remarkable appraisal of Pomponio Leto.[6] Barrius's local patriotism becomes on a least one occasion even quite aggressive, namely when he accuses Paulus Manutius and his son Aldus junior of plagiarism, because they allegedly published a treatise of Janus Parrhasius (from Cosenza in Calabria!) under their own name.[7] Barrius repeated this accusation in a letter to Pietro Vettori, written from Rome in 1577; there Barrius maintained that he acted also in the name of Cardinal Sirleto, emphasizing that neither of them could tolerate work of Calabrese authors to be stolen and claimed by others. At the same time Barrius asked Vettori to seize the denounced books and send them to Rome, so that Sirleto could store them away in the Vatican Library; Barrius would cover all the costs involved.[8]

Another telling, not to say provocative, passage that has caught the eye of many a reader and has often been quoted to characterize Barrius's cast of mind appears at the opening of book two of *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae*. There he inveighs against earlier authors who have dealt with Calabria and

[3] See Barrius 1554, fol. 3[v].

[4] The matter is clarified once and for all by Thomas Acetus in the introduction to his edition of the work (Barrius 1737, XII–XIII): he condemns the attribution as utter nonsense, since Cardinal Sirleto had no need to publish someone else's work under his name and the *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* contains several references to Barrius's other writings. Acetus surmises that Sirleto may have provided Barrius with information or material about Calabria; he points out that Sirleto mentioned a study *De rebus Calabris* of his own in his treatise *De emendationibus Breviarii Romani* (I have not been able to verify this indication).

[5] See Barrius 1737, 42–48 (lib. 1, cap. 20), entitled *De Calabriae ubertate ac felicitate*.

[6] See Barrius 1737, 410–411 (lib. 5, cap. 19).

[7] See Barrius 1737, 83–84, in a chapter entitled *De viris Consentinis sanctitate, doctrina ac dignitate conspicuis* (lib. 2, cap. 7).

[8] Bandinius 1758–1760, II 108–111. Towards the end of his letter Barrius mentions where he lives (111): "Ego in insula Tiberina habito, Cardinalis in palatio" (I live on the Tiber Island, the Cardinal in the Vatican palace). Quattrimanus explained that the whole issue rested on a confusion on the part of Barrius: see Barrius 1737, 99.

targets in particular such authors who composed their writings in the vernacular. In an emotional outburst he even invokes evil upon any person who would dare to translate his (Barrius's) own works into a vernacular tongue. Books written in the vernacular should in his opinion perish along with their authors, because the vernacular is appropriate merely for ordinary folk and by no means a fitting medium for serious discussions; only Latin, conversely, is suited for scholars and able to bring about eternal glory. At the end of his statement he duly refers to his earlier treatment of this matter in his monograph *Pro lingua Latina*.[9] This cross-reference, however, even if especially apt here, has a larger bearing. In the preface of *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae*, Barrius makes clear that the subject matter and themes of all his works are closely related to each other.[10] In fact, in the dedication letter of the first edition of *Pro lingua Latina* (addressed to the then Bishop Antoine Perrenot) Barrius also speaks about the completion of his monograph on Calabria, which implies that he prepared these two books at the same time:

> But I will also publish as soon as possible the book I have written about the history and geography of Calabria, if I can find the support of some reliable benefactor. For I need to go to Calabria, which in my judgment must be praised on many grounds as the part of Italy that is most renowned for all its facts and men, in order to investigate certain locations, whose names have changed, lest I happen to fall into the same errors, into which several more recent historians have fallen, and so that I survey the region, in that I describe all details in orderly and painstaking fashion, and may convey its beauty. [11]

Praise is the constant leitmotiv: the praise of the Latin language, the praise of Rome, the praise of Italy, and the praise of Calabria are each developed from the same perspective, according to the same method, and out of the same motivation. Barrius's ultimate incentive on every occasion is the "communis omnium studiosorum utilitas et delectatio, non tantum patriae charitas et amor" (common benefit and pleasure of all scholars, not merely affection and love for my homeland).[12]

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[9] See Barrius 1571a, 81–83 (= Barrius 1737, 50–51), especially 82 (51).

[10] See Barrius 1571a, 1–2 (= Barrius 1737, 1).

[11] Barrius 1554, fol. 4$^{r–v}$: "Librum vero, quem de antiquitate et situ Calabriae conscripsi, si mihi certi cuiuspiam moecenatis non defuerit adiumentum, primo quoque tempore in lucem proferam. Nam necesse est ut me in Calabriam, quam et rebus omnibus et viris clarissimam Italiae partem pluribus nominibus merito laudandam esse censui, conferam, ut loca quaedam, quorum nomina immutata sunt, vestigem, ne forte eosdem in errores incidam, in quos incidere nonnulli recentiores rerum scriptores, utque regionem perlustrem cum vel singula seriatim ac minutatim scribam, eiusque formam impressurus sim."

[12] See Barrius 1571a, 2 (= Barrius 1737, 1).

Barrius certainly presented his views on the Latin language with the same vigour and with an equally strong conviction as his feelings for Calabria. No wonder, then, that Barrius in the dedication letter of the first edition speaks with some bitterness of the criticism and opposition, even hatred and contempt he encountered during the preparation of his work:

> Even among those, who seemed to have great affection both for me and the Latin language, there was no lack of people who attempted to deter me from this so honourable undertaking. Yes, they even ridiculed me for pursuing a flying bird, as the saying goes, because I promised to demonstrate that there once existed in ancient Rome both a Latin and vulgar tongue, just as they each occur now. And although these people should have encouraged and helped me with such an outstanding project and such a necessary work, that I have set out to write in favour of the Latin language, particularly in these present times, in which it meets with such disdain, these people – I say – who were considered Latin from the starting-pen to the finish, so to speak, have opposed not so much me, who am frail and mortal, but the Latin language itself, which is eternal and for which I have very willingly undertaken so many wearisome efforts. And with so many inconveniences, so many nightly labours, so many efforts, so much time spent in sweating I earned not fame, which I definitely never strove after, even though it is the reward of true virtue, not financial gain, which I never hoped for, but immense envy and contempt.[13]

In the second, revised edition from 1571, these unpleasant experiences are recalled to memory in an accompanying letter, addressed to a Calabrian nobleman, Dominicus Tramodianus.[14] The front matter of this second edition also includes a letter sent to Barrius by Tramodianus in 1556: Tramodianus compliments Barrius on his work and encourages him to publish a

[13] Barrius 1554, fol. 3$^{r–v}$: "Ceterum non defuerunt vel ex iis, qui et me et Latinam linguam multum amare videbantur, qui me ab hoc tam honesto instituto deterrere conati sint. Quinetiam me, quod apud Romanos et Latinum et vulgarem sermonem olim, ut nunc uterque est, extitisse ostensurum fore pollicerer, quasi volantem, ut dicitur, avem sectantem deridebant, cum nihil mihi fuerit potius quam ut id ostenderem. Et cum ipsi ad tam egregium facinus tamve necessarium opus, quod in favorem Latinae linguae his praesertim temporibus, queis adeo negligitur, scribere sim adorsus, cohortari me et adiuvare debuissent, ipsi – inquam – qui Latini habebantur a carcere, ut dicunt, usque ad metam, non quidem mihi, qui caducus et mortalis sum, sed Latinae ipsi linguae, quae aeterna est, pro qua tot sudatos labores obivi non invitus, adversati sunt. Et tot incommodis, tot vigiliis, tot laboribus, tot sudoribus non gloriam, quam certe ambivi nunquam, licet ea sit verae virtutis fructus, non quaestum, quem nunquam speravi, sed ingentem mihi invidiam comparabam et contemptum."

[14] See Barrius 1571b, fol. +2^{v}–3^{r}.

revised version, which he hears is already under way.[15] The fact that Barrius needed fifteen more years to bring out his new edition again points to the various stringencies he had to face throughout his career.

The subject matter itself of his book, namely the status and use of Latin with respect to the vernacular, had given rise to intense debates throughout the Renaissance. In Italy the debate surrounding the origin and rise of the *volgare* and its relationship to Latin started in Dante's times and lasted well into the nineteenth century. In this complex set of problems, which came to be known as the *Questione della Lingua*, three main questions can be distinguished: (1) the status and use of Latin vs. the vernacular, (2) the status of Tuscan within the *volgare*, and (3) the normative value of classical (Trecento) vs. modern (contemporary) *volgare*.[16] After a period of relative neglect, the epoch-making writings of the *Tre Corone*, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, enjoyed a renewed interest around the beginning of the sixteenth century. Pietro Bembo maintained that the rules of literary Italian should be distilled from the works of these three authors and, therefore, needed to be construed according to the principles of literary imitation. Several Florentine scholars radically opposed this theory and insisted that the modern Tuscan idiom should be the basis of literary *volgare*; in the view of, e.g., Giambattista Gelli literary Italian was identical with contemporary Tuscan. In the course of the Cinquecento other positions were adopted as well, questioning Tuscan or any other regional dialect as exclusive norm for the literary *volgare* and variously favoring a Classical linguistic basis, as in the case of Girolamo Muzio, or a modern literary usage, as in the case of Gian Giorgio Trissino or Lodovico Castelvetro, among others.[17]

A different reaction came from the side of the Latinists, who objected in general against a supremacy of the *volgare* in whatever form and defended the superiority of the Latin language in its pure, Classical appearance.[18] Romolo Amaseo, Professor of rhetoric at the University of Bologna, set the tone in two famous orations *De Latinae linguae usu retinendo*, held in 1529 at Bologna before Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V.[19] In these orations Amaseo launched a direct attack against Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*, published four years earlier (although composed in the first years of the sixteenth century!), and exalted the Latin language as the only

[15] See Barrius 1571b, fol. +2^{r}.

[16] See Hall 1942, 3–7. Even though somewhat dated on specific topics, Hall's discussion of the entire question is still quite valuable on account of its lucid presentation and clear focus on the essential issues. One of the most extensive treatments is Vitale 1978.

[17] See Hall 1942, 13–21.

[18] For a general overview of this position in the sixteenth century see Cian 1911.

[19] They were published posthumously in *Orationum volumen*, Bononiae 1564. On these orations see the remarks of Kristeller 1990, 139–140.

linguistic medium fit for learned communication and able to reach an international cultivated audience. Since only Latin – Amaseo maintained – can claim formal perfection and a universal dimension, only Latin should be adopted for public and official speech and documents as well as in the context of literature and scholarship, whereas the vernacular can at best be drawn upon for daily practical use in the private sphere. Amaseo's ideas became stock arguments in the defense of the supremacy of Latin throughout the Cinquecento and were rehearsed by several humanist scholars after him, such as Francesco Florido Sabino,[20] Carlo Sigonio,[21] and Uberto Foglietta.[22] Genuinely new arguments hardly ever appeared in these later treatises. Foglietta, however, made the interesting point that Latin should be adopted as sole medium of international communication also on commercial grounds: the common use of Latin would favour international trade, so that Latin would take up the role that Arabic already played in the Islamic world.[23]

Although Barrius's *Pro lingua Latina* has scarcely received any attention from modern scholars, it fits perfectly into this general line of reasoning about the status and use of Latin and merits consideration in this context. In the three books of his *Pro lingua Latina*, totalling 428 pages, Barrius discusses all facets of the rise, development, and ensuing prestige of the Latin language. From a historic survey of the ever expanding dominance of Latin he develops a sustained plea for its continued use in the present and the future, especially in the face of the rising influence of the vernacular, and Tuscan in particular, which Barrius perceives as a threat to the pre-eminent position of Latin. The three books are not subdivided into chapters or paragraphs, and neither do they present a clear and systematic structure. It is, therefore, not easy to summarize Barrius's discussion, because the development of his main arguments is constantly interrupted by observations on minor issues and problems. Some of the central thoughts and ideas, moreover, are picked up, recapitulated and discussed from different angles a number of times throughout the treatise.

[20] *Apologia in M. Actii Plauti aliorumque poetarum et Latinae linguae calumniatores*, Lugduni 1537. As the title indicates, this work deals to a large extent with the more specific issue of the status of Plautus (mainly in comparison to Terence).

[21] *De usu linguae Latinae retinendo*, an oration held in 1556 and published in *Orationes septem*, Venetiis: Zilettus 1560. See especially De Santis 1995.

[22] *De linguae Latinae usu et praestantia*, Romae: Josephus de Angelis 1574. See especially Gara 1996. The treatise was reprinted in Hamburg in 1723, along with explanatory notes and an interesting *Dissertatio de linguae Latinae cultura et necessitate* (pp. 1–51), written by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim.

[23] See Gara 1996, 193.

A passage from the preface to the first edition can serve as a useful starting point to capture the tenor and direction of Barrius's defense of Latin. One of the reasons, he says, why he encountered so much opposition and hostility against his work, was his thesis that among the Romans there had always existed a *Latinus sermo* and a *vulgaris sermo*.[24] This strict separation between a *Latinus sermo*, i.e. a stable language, bound by grammatical rules, which must be learnt through study, and a *vulgaris sermo*, i.e. a fluctuating language, not regulated by grammatical precepts, but rather assimilated spontaneously, is developed in detail and consistently upheld by Barrius throughout his treatise as the guiding principle of his entire account. With this twofold concept Barrius harks back to the medieval notion of the parallel existence of a *lingua artificialis*, formally structured according to grammatical rules (and for this reason often called *grammatica*), and a *lingua naturalis*, variable and congenital.[25] In the course of his treatise he adopts the adjective *Latinus* quite often for both categories, in combination with other qualifying adjectives, so that it appears that Barrius is thinking of two linguistic subsets or registers within one language, namely Latin, rather than two different languages.[26] In Barrius's view, now, this situation of *diglossia* (in the sense given to this term by Charles A. Ferguson)[27] had continued from ancient Roman times down through his own era. This theory, which had remained unchallenged in the early Renaissance and had been espoused most notably by Dante and Petrarch, was fundamentally criticized for the first time in a famous debate, held in Florence in 1435 by a number of humanists from the entourage of Pope Eugenius IV.[28] There Biondo Flavio and Poggio Bracciolini posited that in ancient Rome there existed only one language, namely Latin, used both by educated people and common folk in their oral and written communication. Leonardo Bruni, for his part, maintained the until then traditional viewpoint that the language of ordinary people had always been different from that of the educated class. The theory of the parallel existence of two linguistic varieties was adopted by none other than Lorenzo Valla, but remained nonetheless a minority view among

[24] See Barrius 1554b, fol. 3$^{r–v}$.

[25] For various attestations and implications of this theory see Rizzo 2002, 15–27. I would like to underline my particular debt to Silvia Rizzo's research in understanding the context of Barrius's position in the debate about Latin and the vernacular.

[26] His terminological difficulty appears in the writings of earlier humanist authors as well. See Rizzo 2002, 91.

[27] See Ferguson 1959.

[28] This debate has been analyzed many times. For a recent assessment that takes into account all earlier discussions but also provides new insights, see Rizzo 2002, 75–82.

the humanists of the later Quattrocento.[29] The opposite assumption of the uniform character of Latin, which implied that Latin, in its form documented in the texts, had been in ancient times the native language of the Romans, was far more successful, in particular also with those scholars, such as Leon Battista Alberti, who defended the use of modern *volgare* and argued that a modern vernacular could be codified in grammatical rules just like the language spoken by the ancient Romans and, consequently, could be raised to the same status as Latin.[30] Over the following decades, Tuscan, in particular, would gain increasing prominence with respect to both Latin and the other Italian dialects and would become a major factor in the *Questione della Lingua*.

No wonder, then, that the advocates of the primacy of Latin during the Cinquecento, who witnessed an ever wider use of the vernacular in ever more areas of society as well as a concomitant rise of the prestige of *volgare*, were keen on emphasizing the qualitative difference between Latin and *volgare* and thus generally advanced the concept of a permanent *diglossia* ever since Antiquity. In Barrius's *Pro lingua Latina*, too, this idea provides the basis for the discussion of every specific topic. Of the various implications which this theory entailed, two in particular receive explicit attention from Barrius. First, there is the issue of the corruption of Latin. Those who argued for the uniform character of the Latin language in Antiquity held the view that Latin had been corrupted by the barbarian, especially Gothic, tribes after their invasion and the collapse of the Roman Empire. Among Italian humanists this 'Gothic thesis' enjoyed widespread popularity, not in the least for obvious nationalistic reasons: it fitted perfectly into their whole concept of the decay and subsequent rebirth of civilization.[31] Barrius, however, draws a different conclusion: in his opinion, the Goths

[29] For Valla's position see above all Rizzo 2002, 87–118, where she convincingly corrects earlier interpretations and illustrates his affinity to the medieval tradition.

[30] See Rizzo 2002, 78–79.

[31] It is from this perspective that Valla brings up the 'Gothic thesis' in his *Elegantiae* (Valla 1952, 610): "Nam postquam hae gentes semel iterumque Italiae influentes Romam ceperunt, ut imperium eorum ita linguam quoque, quemadmodum aliqui putant, accepimus et plurimi forsan ex illis oriundi sumus. Argumento sunt codices Gothice scripti, quae magna multitudo est. Quae gens, si scripturam Romanam depravare potuit, quid de lingua, praesertim relicta sobole, putandum est?" (For after these tribes [i.e. the Goths and Vandals] pressed time and again into Italy and conquered Rome, we took both their rule and also, as some think, their language, and very many of us perhaps descend from them. Manuscripts written in Gothic characters, of which large numbers are extant, serve as proof. If this tribe managed to corrupt Roman script, what should we think about the language, especially after the Goths have left offspring?). Valla is clearly not focussing on the relationship between Latin and the vernacular, but blames the Goths and Vandals rather for the breakdown of literary culture in the Late Roman Empire.

corrupted at the most the ancient *vulgaris sermo*, but had no influence whatsoever on the *Latinus sermo*, whose grammatical structure remained unspoiled. The unbridgeable distance that separated the *lingua artificialis* from the *lingua naturalis* saved it from any possible demise.[32] The other facet of this interpretation, namely the fact that modern *volgare* finds its origin in the natural language of the ancient Romans, is interestingly enough not pursued in depth by Barrius. This insight appeared for the first time in the writings of Lorenzo Valla, in his case applied to the modern Roman dialect, but was developed in detail and related to modern Italian as a whole only from the sixteenth century onwards.[33] Barrius, for his part, simply denied that Tuscan had evolved out of the ancient Roman vernacular. For him it was unthinkable that such bitter enemies of Latin as the Tuscans would speak a language historically linked to the ancient Roman idiom.[34] This statement is one instance among many, scattered throughout his treatise, which reveal a profound aversion on the part of Barrius against everything Tuscan.

A second, and in Barrius's eyes even more important, topic associated with the question what language was spoken in ancient Rome is the relationship between the language of uneducated people and that of the intelligentsia. Even the supporters of the uniform character of Latin usually agreed that within the Latin language there were different levels of quality, connected with different social strata in the population using Latin.[35] For the adherents of a situation of *diglossia* this qualitative hierarchy was of course plain and self-evident. The *Latinus sermo* was ennobled by grammar and therefore inaccessible to those who lacked education and formal training. Barrius repeatedly evokes the traditional antithesis between the role of nurses, from whom children learn their *vulgaris sermo*, and the teachers, from whom pupils and students acquire the *Latinus sermo*.[36] In the discus-

[32] See Barrius 1571b, 133–135 and 166–177.
[33] See Rizzo 2002, 104.
[34] See Barrius 1571b, 103–104.
[35] See Rizzo 2002, 81.
[36] Barrius highlights the superior status of the *ars grammatica* already early in the first book of his work; see e.g. p. 11: "Utique Latina lingua, sicut Graeca et Hebraea, ex arte grammatica, ut plenius ostendamus [*immo* ostendemus], constat, et quod arte constat, sine arte sciri non potest" (Surely the Latin language, just like Greek and Hebrew, is based on the theory of grammar, as we will show more fully, and what is based on theory, cannot be learned without theory); p. 12: "Nam grammatica non modo inter nobilissimas ingenuasque disciplinas recensetur, sed etiam primas obtinet atque fundamenta ad alias honestas disciplinas iacit earumque basis est quaedam, qua corruente corruunt et illae" (For grammar is not only reckoned among the most noble and distinguished sciences, but even holds pride of place and lays the foundations for other honourable disciplines and is in a way their cornerstone; when it breaks down, those others break down as well); p. 36: "Quid enim aliud est Latine loqui, quid Latinitas ipsa, nisi grammatica ars formulis praeceptisque

sion of this issue, however, Barrius more than ever reveals that he follows in the footsteps of Lorenzo Valla specifically. For Valla had insisted on the point that in Antiquity no differently than in modern times the *Latinus sermo* could be mastered only by studying the rules of grammar at school.[37] The lack of formal training and expertise, incidentally, was in Valla's eyes painfully documented in the writings of Poggio Bracciolini, which Valla castigated in violent invectives, especially his *Apologus*.[38] Precisely these notorious analyses of Poggio's Latin by Valla are referred to by Barrius to underscore the requirements of the *Latinus sermo*.[39]

Systematical study, then, was always necessary to reach a level of cultivation in speech and style that rises above the *vulgaris sermo*. Education and schooling are, therefore, dealt with at some length in *Pro lingua Latina*. In the introductory section of his treatise, Barrius complains about the deterioration of the standards of education in general and of the quality level of Latin style in particular, and provides an analysis of its causes: they range from a lack of parental guidance over a drop in the quality of school training to a lack of motivation and commitment on the part of the students themselves. Here is his opening statement, in an obviously Ciceronian dress:

> As I quite often pondered and let go through my mind the question what might be the reason why today, or rather since many years, our young boys despise and loathe Latin and Greek literature, in which not only the liberal arts, but also Roman law, by which humankind is governed, and even divine philosophy itself and all other fields of learning are written and the record of history is handed down to posterity, and why they only pursue vernacular literature, in more correct terms surely a blather and trifle of sorts, thus preferring metal slag over gold, three reasons above all came into my mind, one of which arises from the fault of the parents of the children, another from that of the teachers, and another from that of the pupils. [40]

quibusdam constans? Quare toto errant coelo atque delirant, qui Latinam linguam ex sola auctorum lectione sine grammatica adipisci putant quive Romanos olim Latine natura locutos Gothosque Latinam linguam corrupisse nugantur." (For what else is speaking Latin, what is pure Latinity itself but the theory of grammar based on certain rules and precepts? Those, therefore, who think to master Latin solely through reading authors and without grammatical theory and who babble about the Romans having once spoken Latin by nature and the Goths having corrupted the Latin language, get it all wrong and talk nonsense). Particularly in book two of his treatise he deals at length with the *ars grammatica* and insists that the *Latinus sermo* can only be acquired through study at school.

[37] See Rizzo 2002, 91–92.

[38] See in particular Rizzo 2004.

[39] See Barrius 1571b, 165.

[40] Barrius 1571b, 6: "Cogitanti persaepe mihi et animo volutanti quaenam esset causa, cur hac tempestate, immo vero abhinc multos annos, nostri adolescentes Latinas Graecas-

In order to corroborate these arguments Barrius draws a parallel with the situation faced and described in similar terms by Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century as well as Tacitus and Quintilian in the first century A.D.[41] Large segments of *Pro lingua Latina* consist of observations, rules, and guidelines to improve the oral and written proficiency in Latin, and above all to keep Latin speech and style free from detrimental influences of the *volgare*. The Latin language, however, could also be enriched in a positive, as opposed to a merely defensive, manner, e.g., by introducing new words, as Cicero himself had amply documented. On the issue of neologisms in Latin, a favorite topic of Renaissance humanists, which implied for them both the introduction of new coinages and the use of existing words in a meaning not attested in Classical Latin, Barrius pleads for a cautious innovation in Latin vocabulary and against a severe and utterly restrictive Ciceronianism, which would run against the spirit of Cicero himself.[42] In this sense, too, then, Barrius follows the lead of Lorenzo Valla, who had authoritatively argued for this approach in a famous exchange with Bartolomeo Facio. A key idea behind this attitude was the recourse to the *usus* or *consuetudo* of Classical authors as a criterion of linguistic purity: the rules and precepts of Latin language and style should be deduced not only from the rigid art of grammar, but also from the variegated literary usage documented in Classical literature. Although this principle, culled from the rhetorical treatises of Cicero and Quintilian, but also known from a famous passage in Horace's *Ars poetica* (70–72), had been clearly articulated by Leonardo Bruni, it was again Valla, who for the first time applied it on a broad and systematic basis, particularly in his *Elegantiae*. The range of authors, whose *usus* is relevant for Valla's analysis, covers the entire era of Classical Antiquity: the quotations in the *Elegantiae* reach from the earliest Roman writers down to Boethius and Priscian, even if evidence from Cicero and Quintilian holds pride of place. With this procedure and perspective Valla set standards that not only determined the mainstream theory of Latin style until the present day but also prove essential for Barrius's evaluation of Latin.[43]

que litteras, quibus non modo liberales artes, sed etiam Romanum ius, quo humanum genus regitur, atque etiam illa ipsa divina philosophia ceteraeque disciplinae omnes sunt scriptae et rerum gestarum memoria posteris prodita, despiciant atque abhorreant et vulgares tantum litteras, verius quidem nugas ac nenias quasdam scoriam auro praeferentes consectentur, tres potissimum causae succurrerunt in mentem, quarum una ex parentum puerorum, alia ex docentium, alia ex discentium culpa manat."

[41] See Barrius 1571b, 66–71.

[42] See Barrius 1571b, 333–334.

[43] For a succinct discussion of these central linguistic tenets of Valla's *Elegantiae* see, among others, Ax 2001, 46–54. Some important specifications on the precise understanding of the notion of *usus* in Valla are to be found in Rizzo 2002, 107–118.

Valla's legacy in the restoration of the principles of correct Latin, then, looms large over Barrius's *Pro lingua Latina*. In fact, Valla's authority seems more important than the contribution of any single advocate of Latin from the Cinquecento, of whom Barrius explicitly mentions or directly quotes not a single one. It is, therefore, not easy to define and clarify the precise intellectual context for Barrius's defense of Latin. His argumentation is of course colored in part by the nascent Counter-Reformation, which Barrius witnessed in Rome. This church political background already transpires in the preface to the first edition, where he declares to react with his work against the rise of the vernacular in general, but against translations of the Bible in particular.[44] In 1554 this observation could not but refer to the ongoing discussions about that issue at the Council of Trent. The problem of a modern translation of the Bible was dealt with at Trent during the sessions of February through April 1546; while the Council fathers never reached a clear-cut and well-defined position, subsequent popes, from Paul IV onwards, handled the possession and use of vernacular Bible texts in a very restrictive manner.[45]

Other notions, as well, that mark the Counter-Reformation perspective of the discussion and evaluation of Latin, are emphasized by Barrius. Already in the opening of his treatise, he calls to mind that Latin is one of the three holy languages, endowed with a divine status and everlasting prestige:

> And so those three languages, which surpass all barbarian languages just as the purest gold surpasses metal slag, were established by divine providence on the basis of grammatical theory, penetrated all islands and wandered throughout the entire world. Not only are they useful to men, but even utterly necessary, not only to the extent that human learning and the eminent and brave deeds of history were transmitted in written records but also that through these languages, as if through three suitable witnesses, divine law and the name of God was spread out over the whole world and the true and eternal God was acknowledged and worshipped by all nations. And for this reason even the Roman Empire was without any doubt established by divine providence, as I shall show, so that after the peace of Rome was granted to the entire world the author of that peace would become known to all nations by using the force and service of the Empire. Those who strive to abolish these languages or to cloud and obscure them, seem in a fit of insane madness not only to oppose virtue and work against the

[44] See Barrius 1554, fol. 3[r].
[45] See, e.g., Smolinsky 1998, 182–183.

> common benefit of men with a great mark of a thankless mind, but even to resist the power of God.[46]

This unique characteristic is later on associated particularly with Latin and further elaborated upon especially in sections of the first and third book. Here Barrius develops ideas that will be even more forcefully argued by other authors of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Significantly, Barrius rather avoids addressing the mutual relationships between the three traditional sacred languages and remains entirely silent about earlier Renaissance scholarship concerning the value of Greek and Hebrew letters. Instead, he limits himself to a comparison between Greek and Latin, only to demonstrate the supreme dominance of Latin language and literature throughout the world.[47] From Antiquity onwards, Latin had progressively exceeded the boundaries of its original territory, Latium, and gradually provided a powerful bond between the most diverse peoples. Barrius adduces testimonies from Cicero and Lorenzo Valla to demonstrate that respect for and mastery of Latin always served as a criterion for inclusion in or exclusion from the world of Roman civilization and its cultural heirs.[48] But, in addition, he also stresses the spiritual significance of Latin, which grew ever more important in post-Tridentine appraisals of Latin. Again, however, Lorenzo Valla had prepared the way for this particular direction. Departing from the main focus of his *Elegantiae*, Lorenzo Valla had underscored the intimate connections between the Latin language and the Roman Church as guardian of the Christian faith in his academic oration *In principio studii*, held at the Sapienza in 1455, less than two years before his death: the eternity of the Christian faith, watched over by the Roman Church, guaranteed the perpetuity of Latin.[49] This new dimension in the praise of Latin became a central argument during the Counter-Reformation: just as the holy charac-

[46] Barrius 1571b, 3: "Itaque istae ipsae tres linguae, quae barbaras omnes haud secus ac purissimum aurum scoriam praecellunt, divinitus ex arte institutae omnes peragrarunt insulas totoque orbe peregrinatae sunt. Quae non modo utiles sunt mortalibus, sed etiam perquam necessariae, nec eas tantum ob res, ut dogmata humana resque egregie fortiterque gestae monumentis traderentur, sed ut per eas tamquam per tres idoneos testes divina lex divinumque nomen per universum orbem diffunderetur et a cunctis nationibus Deus verus et aeternus agnosceretur et coleretur. Qua ratione vel Romanum imperium haud dubie, id quod ostendam, divinitus est institutum, ut universo orbi Romana pace reddita auctor pacis imperii utens opera ac ministerio cunctis gentibus innotesceret. Quas linguas qui tollere aut obnubilare confundereque nituntur, delirantes iam ac desipientes non solum magna cum ingrati animi nota virtuti reluctari et communi mortalium utilitati adversari, sed divino etiam numini resistere videntur."

[47] See Barrius 1571b, 74–86. For the status of Greek and the controversies surrounding Greek philology during the Renaissance see Saladin 2005.

[48] See Barrius 1571b, 93–96.

[49] See especially Rizzo 1994, 81–82.

ter of Rome as the capital of the Church Triumphant was ever more vigorously expressed and documented, the Latin language, too, was endowed with a sacred dimension that surpassed the confines of temporal history and gave it an inherent and timeless prevalence over all other languages.[50] Even if this unique distinction of Latin was not officially decreed at the Council of Trent, this tenet gradually acquired a quasi-dogmatic status in Catholic defenses of Latin down to the Apostolic Constitution *De Latinitatis studio provehendo* (*Veterum sapientia*), signed by Pope John XXIII in 1962 on the tomb of Saint Peter and promulgated in the midst of the deliberations at the Second Vatican Council.[51]

Barrius, too, firmly believed that Latin is the congenial bearer of the message of the Roman Church, and was convinced, therefore, that the apostle Peter preached to the Romans not in Greek or Hebrew, but in Latin.[52] Less than a century later, the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer took this notion of Latin as a sacred language to its ultimate consequence: in his *Historia sacrae Latinitatis*, published in Rome in 1634, he considered it most likely that the blessed in heaven and even Christ himself conversed in Latin.[53] In this context, Barrius returns to the issue of vernacular translations of the Bible, which he qualifies as "summa dementia et temeritas et haereticorum inventio" (utter nonsense and temerity and an invention of the heretics).[54] Although debated since the late Middle Ages, the problem had become particularly acute on account of the rise of Protestantism and the success of the Bible translation brought out between 1522 and 1534 by Martin Luther – "Martinus Lutherus, verius luteus" (Martin Luther, but more rightly Martin the 'mudman'),[55] in Barrius's eyes. Along with other strict opponents of any modern versions of the Bible, Barrius considered such versions a continual source of heresy, since ordinary people gained in this way direct and unhindered access to the Bible text and, lacking the guidance of theologians or other scholars, all too easily strayed from orthodoxy in their interpretation of the biblical message.[56]

[50] For a typical example of the Counter-Reformation perception of the Latin language see Laureys 2000, 135–146.

[51] See Waquet 1998, 92–93, and from a linguistic perspective Schmitt 2000, 1062.

[52] See Barrius 1571b, 294.

[53] See Laureys 2003, 655–656.

[54] See Barrius 1571b, 384.

[55] See Barrius 1571b, 384.

[56] Barrius 1571b, 373–386, especially 384 (partly quoted above): "Divinam autem scripturam in Iudaeae, Atticae et Latii vernaculas vulgares linguas aut in barbaras vertere summa dementia est et temeritas et haereticorum inventio. Nam quotquot huiusmodi profanae novitatis auctores extitere, haeresiarchae fuerunt aut certe non recte sensere de fide idque egerunt, quo rudis plebis animos mulcerent et allicerent, ut se sequantur." (To turn the Holy Scripture into the indigenous vernacular tongues of Judea, Attica and Latium

During the Counter-Reformation the close association of the sacred character of Latin with the image of Rome as a reborn holy city, in which Latin was providentially rooted, was the cornerstone of a comprehensive strategy to oppose the Reformation and reconsolidate the Church firmly on its apostolic foundations. Interestingly enough, this intimate tie between the Latin language and the city of Rome remains a rather marginal point in *Pro lingua Latina*, but is instead the central focus of one of the two companion pieces, published under the same cover, namely *De aeternitate Urbis*.[57] This protracted glorification of Rome, which incorporates all the topics and facets of the *laudes urbis Romae* that had accrued over the centuries, was composed by Barrius with the express double purpose, firstly, to show everyone, and in particular the Italians, how great a debt of gratitude was owed to the political and cultural heritage of the Roman world, and, secondly, to make clear to those who had rejected orthodox Christianity how vicious and sacrilegious a crime they had committed against the one Holy and Eternal City.[58]

Despite these obvious traces of the intellectual climate of Barrius's own times, the main principles of *Pro lingua Latina* as a whole can certainly not be deduced exclusively from the Counter-Reformation. Barrius conveys in his treatise also a wider perspective of a Christian humanism, ultimately based on the Ciceronian ideal of the intimate connection between wisdom and eloquence. Latin was the prime linguistic medium of learning and culture; the rise and fall of Latin letters thus perfectly mirrored the development of human civilization. In addition, Renaissance humanists had learnt from the Church Fathers that not only human knowledge but also divine wisdom found its perfect expression in Ciceronian Latin. In this sense, the Latin language received long before the Counter-Reformation the aura of a timeless, hallowed, and unassailable idiom, fundamentally different from all others. Lorenzo Valla, too, reconstructed and proposed a linguistic model that was essentially stable and unchangeable over time. In the *Elegantiae* in particular, Valla's acute sense of historical evolution and constant recourse to the *usus* of individual Classical authors is countered by a strong awareness of the historical continuity of Latin as the *lingua artificialis* par excellence.[59]

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or into barbarian languages is utter nonsense and temerity and an invention of the heretics. For as manysoever authors of this kind of impious oddity there were, they were all instigators of heresy or at least had false ideas about faith and acted in this way in order to flatter the uncultivated minds of the common folk and lure them over to their side).

[57] See Barrius 1571b, 428–558.

[58] See Barrius 1571b, 430–431.

[59] See Rizzo 2002, 105–106.

To Barrius's mind, it is this matchless quality of Latin that justifies its unique position as an irreplaceable linguistic vehicle of cultured discourse. At the same time, it is Barrius's chief argument in his plea in favor of the continued use and practice of Latin. Other and later authors, who argued more specifically from a Counter-Reformation perspective, claimed that the everlasting stability of Latin, grounded in fixed grammatical rules, provided the ideal basis for a unified, harmonious, and international Catholic community. The educational program of the Jesuits aimed to meet precisely this aspiration. But, interestingly enough, the Jesuits are not even mentioned once in Barrius's *Pro lingua Latina*. His concern is dominated by a wider humanist concept of the Latin language as an instrument not only of communication, but also of the preservation of culture *tout court*. For Barrius it was unimaginable that this role could ever be taken over by any modern language, since the ever changing and fluctuating *vulgaris sermo* could never equal the grammatical solidity of Latin.

In the final analysis, then, it is the genuinely medieval dichotomy of *lingua artificialis–lingua naturalis* and the linguistic and ideological implications Lorenzo Valla worked out from it that constitute the intellectual framework of Barrius's plea in defense of Latin. Running against all modern and innovative developments and insights in the field of linguistics, which advanced rapidly in the course of the sixteenth century, Barrius adopted as the foundation of his *Pro lingua Latina* the medieval concept of *diglossia*, which proved perfectly serviceable for safeguarding the unrivalled primacy of Latin.

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The Dictionary Database at www.renaessancesprog.dk:

An Online Tool for the Study of Renaissance Language in Denmark

By Jonathan Adams & Peter Zeeberg

The project Renæssancens Sprog i Danmark (The language[s] of the Renaissance in Denmark) ran from January 2007 until the end of 2009 at the Society for Danish Language and Literature in Copenhagen. It has resulted in two online searchable databases: a dictionary database and a text corpus (www.renaessancesprog.dk). The dictionary database forms the main focus of the article. The background to the project is provided by a description of the previous rather scanty lexicographical work still available for early modern Danish and Neo-Latin. The dictionary database presents a useful supplement within both fields by making seven Latin–Danish or Danish–Latin dictionaries from the period 1510–1626 available in searchable form. The article describes how using XML mark-up has made it possible to present these structurally different dictionaries together in one database. An account of the base's search options and functionality is given. And finally, the value of the dictionary database is demonstrated by showing how it provides translations of Danish and Latin words as they were actually understood and used in the Renaissance.

Between 1500 and 1700, Denmark-Norway was a multilingual kingdom. Danish was the most important vernacular (in competition with German and, in the North Atlantic territories at least, Icelandic, Faroese and Greenlandic), but in the sphere of education and learning it was Latin that dominated. This bilingual or diglossic linguistic situation during the Renaissance (Latin + vernacular, or 'high' prestige language + 'low' language) is thus comparable to that of today with the heavy influence and use of English in business and education. For those wanting to understand the Renaissance in Denmark, it is thus necessary to study both Danish and Latin. There are, however, few tools currently available to assist those studying Renaissance Danish and Latin. We have attempted to ameliorate this situation with our project *Renæssancens Sprog i Danmark* (The language(s) of the Renaissance in Denmark), which ran between January 2006 and December 2008,

and was financed by *The Danish Council for Independent Research: Humanities* (FKK). The dictionary base, which comprises one part of this project, was developed in collaboration with *Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund* (UJDS) who allowed their facsimile editions of six sixteenth-century dictionaries to be used.[1] In addition to these, we made use of two dictionaries by Poul Jensen Colding: *Etymologicum Latinum* from 1622, and *Vocabularium Herlovianum* 1626. *Etymologicum Latinum* is a rather dense and complex dictionary that we have made available as a facsimile on our project website, while *Vocabularium Herlovianum*, which contains the same headwords and equivalents as *Etymologicum Latinum*, though in reverse order and stripped of encyclopaedic and etymological information, has been integrated into the dictionary database.

Early Modern Danish is traditionally limited to the period between about 1515 and 1700, a time of great economic and social change in Denmark. The highlights and lowlights of the period include the absorption of Norway into the Kingdom of Denmark, the loss of Sweden and the subsequent disastrous wars between the two countries, the Reformation and introduction of a Lutheran state religion, various political crises caused by aristocratic government, and finally the introduction of absolutism. However, the language of this eventful period, particularly the development of vocabulary around the time of the Danish Renaissance, has been largely overlooked in Danish scholarship. Indeed, at the time of writing, a Google search for *ældre nydansk*, the Danish term for the language of that period, provides fewer than two hundred results! There have been a number of studies limited to specific writers or genres, for example Johan Møhlenfeldt Jensen's work on Christiern Pedersen's writings before and after his conversion to Lutheranism, and Hanne Ruus' work on the lexicon of folk ballads, but there has been no work providing an overview of lexical development in Early Modern Danish beyond a few lines in general works on Danish language history by Peter Skautrup or more recently Oskar Bandle.[2] Furthermore, work in the area is made difficult by the lack of reference books such as dictionaries. As far as Neo-Latin in Denmark is concerned there are no dictionaries available. There are two international dictionaries: René Hoven's *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*, which only includes words from a rather limited corpus of prose texts, and Johann Ramminger's *Neulateinische Wortliste* (http://www.neulatein.de), which although being based on a much larger corpus of material – including both prose and poetry – still only cov-

[1] See bibliography for a list of these titles. They are discussed in Andersson, Hjort & Jørgensen 1997, and Boeck 2009a.

[2] See, for example, Jensen 2000; Ruus 1997, 2001, 2006; Skautrup 1968, II 244–260; Bandle *et al*. 2002–2005, II 1289.

ers a small segment of the enormous material. The situation for Renaissance Danish is better, but still far from adequate. The dictionary of Old Danish (*Gammeldansk Ordbog*) currently being compiled at the Society for Danish Language and Literature cuts off at the year 1515, while the recently updated multivolume Dictionary of the Danish Language (*Ordbog over det danske Sprog*) begins with the year 1700.[3] The standard work used for researchers and students of the intervening early modern period is Otto Kalkar's five-volume dictionary printed between 1881 and 1918. This pioneering work is a valuable tool, but it unfortunately suffers from a number of inadequacies as far as the language of the Renaissance is concerned. Firstly the period covered by the dictionary, four centuries from 1300 to 1700, is too broad for our purposes, as the dictionary contains a wide range of material – from words excerpted from some of the earliest Danish manuscripts to citations from works from the turn of the eighteenth century. Many of these words and examples clearly fall outside of the Early Modern Danish period and certainly outside of the Renaissance. A second problem is the somewhat idiosyncratic method of normalisation based on a hypothetical early form of Danish. For example, if we wanted to look up the Early Modern Danish word *bundgiæld* meaning the 'tax payable on a barrel of beer', we would need to know that the first element in the compound, *bund-*, has been normalised to *botn-* by Kalkar, based on the earliest extant spelling, despite the fact that the vast majority of cited forms are in fact spelt with *bund-*. Under the headword *Botn* (see fig. 1), we find a number of compounds including our word *bundgiæld*, though normalised to *bundgæld*. But why now *bund-* and not *botn-*? Well, there is no cited form of the word *botngiæld* from Old Danish, so Kalkar changes his normalisation to reflect this.[4] For this reason, the word *bodnløs* 'bottomless' which is found in Old Danish is therefore found after the word *bundgæld*. But that still doesn't explain why Kalkar spells it *bodnløs* with a 'd' instead of *botnløs* with a 't'! Confused? You should be!

Collecting related words under one headword can also result in peculiar ordering making locating words tricky. For example, the verb *bræde* 'to melt' (derived from and thus listed under the adjective *brad* 'quick') comes before the noun *brad* meaning 'the bagged game from a hunt'. The dictionary user is required to have fairly advanced skills in Danish etymology and language history in order to find quickly the words that s/he (presumably) does not understand (and surely, therefore, not be expected to know their etymology and derivation!). And finally the alphabet has a different order

[3] On both of these projects, see http://www.dsl.dk/, and Adams & Zeeberg *forthcoming*.

[4] In fact, Kalkar is wrong here, as there is an earlier example of the word spelt 'bodngyæld' in a letter from 13/3 1345; see Christensen 1959, no. 132.

than that used in modern standard Danish ending in 'å', 'æ', 'ø' rather than 'æ', 'ø', 'å'. The letter combination 'ks' is always written 'x' which can also be rather confusing. The alphabetisation of the material is thus somewhat eccentric.[5] All in all, despite its being a true trove of linguistic treasures, using Kalkar can be frustrating and rather like looking for a lemmatical needle in a particularly large and bizarrely constructed lexical haystack.

Botn, no. (isl. botn.) bund; han flyder genesten tel botnen. Mandev. Rejse. 26.7; sand, som ponnæ botnnynd ligger. sst. 30.15; han sanck til bodnen som eth bly. Rimkr. b2v; hwert kar staar paa sijn baadn. P. Lolle. nr. 521. — bondhen. sst. nr. 855. — slå, stikke bund = trænge til bunds i; naar de med deris høye forstand kand sla bond oc med fornuften begribe, huorledis disse forarbeder vdi det iordiske rige. Lyschand. XVI; ingen endnu slog bund i hofved-viisdoms kilde, mangen gick dog til grund, som der i sticke bund vilde. Hexaem. 13. — i b. = i bund og grund, aldeles; ødelegge Guds børn i bund. Psalmedigtn. I. 171a; lader ey velde oc skalckefund besuære oc platze de fattige i bund. Hegelund, Svsanna. 46; de ere skalcke i nederste bund. Ranch. 38. Smlgn. sv. i botn. — til bunde = til bunds; aldrig kommer der en saa stor kande, hun dricker den io ud tilbunde. Grundtv., Folkev. I. 291b; Hylldebrand saanck tilbuondde. sst. II. 200b, 292b; subsideo, syncker til bunde. Colding, Etymol. 1140; fundum, bunde. sst. 496. Se også u. bred. — **Bundefrøssen**, tm. bundfrussen; kolde hierte, bunde-frøssne synde-søe. Kingo, Sjungek. II. 116. — **Bundgarnsstadepenge**, no. en afgift af bundgarnsstader; D. Mag. 3. R. II. 195 not.; (bondegarn (1539). Rosenv., Gl. L. IV. 194; — baandgarnsstader. A. Berntsen. I. 139). — **Bundgæld**, no. afgift af flydende varer (på hvert fad); were frie for alle toldhtz betalinge, som kaldis bundgiæld. Rosenv., Gl. L. V. 278; hwer kroogesck, som schencher tydst øll, er skyldiig fogden two stoop aff hwer tynne thill bondgielldtt. sst. V. 500. Smlgn. Schlyter: bondgæld; Sch. u. L.: bodemtol. — **Bodnløs**, to. bundløs; kloster, thet er en bodnløss stædt. Bruun, Viser f. Reformatt. 41. — **Bundplump**, no. det bedste, som findes på bunden. Moth; hand fik bundplumpen. sst. — **Bundslå**, go. 1) banke en igennem. Moth; deuerbero, at bond sla. Vocab. 1514. — 2) slå helt; indtil de bliffue bondslagne med stockende blindhed. Tavsen, Post. vinterd. 70. — **Bundsætning**, no. udsætning af bundgarn; alle, som fiske wele, the skulle sette theres garn fore ackere oc steene, som bondsettninge haffuer været aff arilde (1522). Rosenv., Gl. L. IV. 100. Smlgn. Aasen: botnarsetning. — **Bundtarm**, no. blindtarm; cæcum intestinum, bondtarm. Colding, Etymol. 136.

Fig. 1. Kalkar 1881–1918, I: 259–60

The dictionary database element of our project *Renæssancens Sprog i Danmark* (www. renaessancesprog.dk) is not a new dictionary as such, but rather an edition of several dictionaries from the Renaissance period published between 1510 and 1626.[6] Six of them (available in modern facsimile editions from UJDS) date from the sixteenth century, while Poul Jensen

[5] On the alphabetical ordering used in Danish dictionaries from *c.* 1500 to *c.* 1800, see Boeck 2009b.

[6] For a full project description including information about the database of vernacular and Neo-Latin Renaissance texts from Denmark and related research, see the project website: www.renaessancesprog.dk.

Colding's *Vocabularium Herlovianum* is from 1626. The seven dictionaries are quite different from one another. Only two of them are ordered alphabetically (Colding and Pedersen) while the rest are structured thematically. Five of them are Latin to Danish dictionaries, while two of them are Danish to Latin.

The first dictionary, compiled by the important Reformation figure Christiern Pedersen, is *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* published in Paris in 1510. Pedersen, born in 1475, had gone to school in Roskilde where he was taught, in his own view, useless Latin. In his short manifesto-like publication about education which he published in 1531, he does not describe the books he learnt Latin from in particularly flattering terms: "Like all Danes, I was forced to read trivialities by Alexander and Donatus, lists of proverbs by Peder Laale and that sort of crap, from which one can never learn or gain a good enough foundation to understand poetry or write good pure Latin [...]".[7] Pedersen's own humanistic offering, a schoolbook containing 13,000 Latin words listed alphabetically, includes Danish translations, grammatical and prosodic information and occasionally quotations from classical authors as well as encyclopaedic information and examples. As Sandbjerg Slot, the site of the Texts and Contexts IV conference, is a castle of sorts, we have chosen the word *arx* 'castle' to exemplify each of the dictionaries' approaches to their lexical content. Pedersen has the following entry (Pedersen 1510/1973, 15^{r}):

n*omen* s*ubstantiuum* f*eminini generis* arx arcis: vern eller torn.

Henrik Smith from Malmö in modern-day southern Sweden was a most productive literary figure during the Renaissance. In 1520, he published his first dictionary, an alphabetically ordered Danish-to-Latin dictionary. Here we find *arx* under the Danish headword *sloth* (Smith 1520/1974, 74):

¶sloth
Castrum
Arx
Arcicula
castellum

Jon Tursen from Skåne was a schoolmaster and canon at Lund Cathedral. In 1561, he published a dictionary of Danish and Latin which he structured thematically, making it the first thematically structured dictionary in Den-

[7] "Men ieg nøddis till saa vel som alle andre danske At læse Alexandrum/ puerilia Donatum Peder laale/ Composita verborum/ caser oc andet saadant skarn Aff huilke mand kan aldrig lære eller komme til ret fwndamente till ath forstaa dicte eller scriffue nogen god reth Latine/ eller forstaa Huad andre gode klercke/ Poeter och Historici haffue før screffuit och dicted vdi forme tid" (Pedersen 1850–1856, IV 505).

mark. There are some fifty-seven sections with headings such as "God and Heavenly Things", "Parts of the Body", "Illnesses" and "Animals that creep and crawl". In the tenth chapter on "The town and what belongs therein", we find the word *arx* (Tursen 1561/1974, 44):

Arx slot

Two years later, in 1653, Henrik Smith published his second dictionary, a thematically structured Latin–Danish one. Smith has sorted his material into sixty-five chapters that cover many topics for describing life and death, heaven and earth. The word *arx* appears in the chapter on "The town" (Smith 1563/1991, 119):

Arx, cis, Slot / g*eneris* f*eminini* d*eclinationis [tertiæ]*

Little is known about the man behind the dictionary *Vocabulorum variorum expositio* from 1576. His name was Poul Nielsen Hingelberg and the dictionary is a translation of a Swedish work *Variarum rerum vocabula* published in Stockholm in 1538, and consequently the Danish version does contain a number of Swedish forms. Hingelberg's dictionary is thematically structured and his entry for *arx* can be found in the section called "About the town" (Hingelberg 1576/1995, 63^{r}):

Arx Slot

Mads Pors who was born in Horsens, but who spent much of his life in Ribe, published his *De nomenclaturis Romanis* in 1594. It is yet another thematically structured dictionary but contains only nouns. It does, however, not contain the noun *arx*, so the word *castra* 'military camp' is used as the example here taken from the chapter "About military things" (Pors 1594/1995, 96):

CASTRA *Cic*. **Leyre. Krigsleyre**. Στρατόπεδον

Finally, there are the two seventeenth-century works by the lexicographer Poul Jensen Colding. His 786-page *Etymologicum Latinum* was published in 1622 and is by far the most detailed of the dictionaries that we are using in this project. His entry for *arx* looks like this (Colding 1622, 77):

> Arx, cis, f*eminini*. t*ertiæ*. locus urbis in monte situs & natura munitus, sic dicta ab arcendo, vel quòd arcta & conclusa sit, vel hostem arceat, **Slott**. Inde quævis montium & cujuscunq*ve* altitudinis summitas & cacumen, ex qua depelli possunt hostes, **Vern**. Et translatè, tutissimum ac validissimum præsidium, vel confugium, **tilfluct och skerm** / *Roma bonorum & gentium arx: in arce legis præsidia sunt constituta*: Item, *arx corporis*, i. e. caput. Aliter deducitur ab Arcadibus, qui munitissimos quosq*ve* colles sub Evandro tenuerunt.

In 1626, Colding published an inverted version of his dictionary where Danish is used for the headwords and translations into Latin are provided. The entry containing the word *arx* looks like this in his *Herlovianum* (Colding 1626, 562):

Slot/arx.

To summarise then, our searchable database is constructed from seven Renaissance dictionaries, with an eighth provided as an online facsimile edition, with varying structures and levels of detail, but that all provide a not insignificant insight into both the vocabulary of the period and Danish humanists' conceptualisation of the world. If we compare the types of information contained in these dictionaries as well as Colding's *Etymologicum Latinum* from 1622, it is possible to see just how varied they are:

Pedersen 1510	*nomen substantiuum feminini generis* arx arcis: vern eller torn.
Smith 1520	¶ sloth Castrum Arx Arcicula castellum
Tursen 1561	Arx slot
Smith 1563	Arx, cis, Slot / *generis feminini declinationis [tertiæ]*
Hingelberg 1576	Arx Slot
Pors 1594	CASTRA *Cic*. **Leyre. Krigsleyre**. Στρατόπεδον
Colding 1622	Arx, cis, *feminini. tertiæ*. locus urbis in monte situs & natura munitus, sic dicta ab arcendo, vel quòd arcta & conclusa sit, vel hostem arceat, **Slott** Inde quævis montium & cujuscunq*ve* altitudinis summitas & cacumen, ex qua depelli possunt hostes, **Vern**. Et translatè, tutissimum ac validissimum præsidium, vel confugium, **tilfluct och skerm** / *Roma bonorum & gentium arx: in arce legis præsidia sunt constituta*: Item, *arx corporis*, i. e. caput. Aliter deducitur ab Arcadibus, qui munitissimos quosq*ve* colles sub Evandro tenuerunt.
Colding 1626	**Slot**/arx.

KEY

	Grammatical information	Morphological information
Latin headword / equivalent	Danish headword / equivalent	Classical source
Greek equivalent	Explanation	Example

The difficulties arise as soon as we try to adapt these dictionaries to suit our own purposes by using XML, or Extensible Markup Language. The creation of the database has required us to describe both the external qualities and the

internal contents of each entry in the dictionary. External qualities mean such things as the page, folio or column the entry is in, how many columns there are per page and in which dictionary the entry is to be found.

The contents of each entry needed to be described fully and correctly. Unfortunately, as these examples will show, this is not always straightforward as the change of medium, from printed book to searchable computer database, required us to make a number of changes to the entry while trying to remain faithful to its original structure.

In Tursen's dictionary, for example, we find two words meaning 'saviour', they are printed in this fashion (Tursen 1561/1974, 2):

Iesus Frelssere
Saluator *idem*

Were we to search on the word *saluator* in the database, it would be no help whatsoever to learn that this word means *idem* or 'the same as the entry above'. Therefore, we have had to develop a system to tag each *idem* in the dictionaries with the meaning from the entry above:

```
<article>
        <element language="Latin">
                <word>Iesus</word>
        </element>
        <element language="Danish">
                <word>Frelssere</word>
        </element>
</article>
<article>
        <element language="Latin">
                <word>Saluator</word>
        </element>
        <element language="Danish">
                <word><reference="idem">Frelssere</reference></word>
        </element>
</article>
```

On screen, the user will see the word *Saluator* translated as *Frelssere*, and by moving the mouse over the Danish word will be able to see that the dictionary actually has *Idem* here.

Each headword and equivalent have also been marked up in such a way that it is possible to see instantly which dictionary chapter it can be found in. This is particularly interesting for those dictionaries that are arranged thematically.

One area where we can expand on the work of the Renaissance lexicographers in our computerised edition is to supply information

about sources, persons and places mentioned. In this example, again from Tursen, we read (Tursen 1974, 99–100):

Polenta Grød eller velling aff Byggryn
Vnde in Iosue legitur: Et comederunt polentam eiusdem anni.

The quotation is from the Book of Joshua (5:11) and the entry's mark-up looks like this:

```
<article>
        <element language="Latin">
                <word>Polenta</word>
        </element>
        <element language="Danish">
                <word>Grød</word>
        </element>
         eller
        <element language="Danish">
                <word>velling aff Byggryn</word>
        </element>
        <element language="Latin">
                <example>Vnde in <author type="work" ref="Ios">Iosue </author>
                legitur: <quotation source="Ios 5:11" language="Latin">Et comed-
                erunt polentam eiusdem anni</quotation>.</example>
        </element>
</article>
```

Again by mouse-over, the user is able to see the source of the quotation.

Here, for example, we have located the text about Judas Iscariot that this quotation is taken from (Tursen 1974, 201):

Crepo ui itum ieg lyder / knager
crepo etiam significat frangor: Vt, iudas suspensus crepuit medius

The entry is marked up like this:

```
<article>
        <element language="Latin">
                <word>Crepo</word>
                <morphology>ui itum</morphology>
        </element>
        <element language="Danish">
                <word>ieg lyder</word>
        </element>
        /
        <element language="Danish">
                <word>knager</word>
        </element>
```

```
        <encyclopaedic language="Latin">crepo etiam significat fran-
        gor:</encyclopaedic>
        Vt,
        <example language="latin">
            <person personid="JudIsk">iudas</person>
            <quotation source="Acta 1:18">suspensus crepuit me-
            dius</quotation>
        </example>
</article>
```

The quotation has been identified and marked up as coming from the Acts of the Apostles (1:18). It will also be noticed that the name *iudas* has been given a personal identification tag *JudIsk* which enables extra information about this name to be supplied and made visible to the user with a mouse-over action. The information is shown online by mouse-over as "Judas Iscariot (*Biblical*; *New Testament*): One of Jesus' disciples who betrayed him".

Place names have also been tagged in this way to provide the user with additional information; thus, moving the mouse over *Moguntia* gives "Mainz: A town in present-day Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany", *Dyringen* gives "Thüringen: Province, now state, in Germany", and *Gudland* gives "Gotland: An island in present-day Sweden".

Searching for words in Early Modern Danish and to a lesser extent also in Latin, is made problematic by the lack of a standardised spelling. We have tried to solve this difficulty in two ways. Firstly, by creating a system of conversions in the search engine whereby certain letters or letter combinations trigger an orthographic conversion. For example, searching for the Danish word *kælder* 'cellar' will trigger a number of conversions:

k-	→	ch-, k-, c-, q-
æ	→	ie, je, iæ, jæ, e, ee, ae, æ
ld	→	l, ld, ll
-er	→	-ere, -er

These conversions give twenty hits with five different spellings of the same word: *kelder*, *keldere*, *keller*, *kellere*, *kælder*. The large number of conversions means that we cannot always avoid irrelevant hits. For example, searching for the Danish word *kone* '(old) woman' will trigger a number of conversions:

k-	→	ch-, k-, c-, q-
o	→	aa, a, o, oe, oh, oo, ò, ó, ô
n	→	n, nd, nn
e	→	ie, je, iæ, jæ, e, æ, ee, eh, è, é, ė, ê

These conversions give fifty-five hits with various spellings and not all of them are relevant to our search. However, by clicking on the button "Vis ORDFORMER af denne søgning", we are presented with the results grouped by spelling. This allows us to sort through the material easily as a list of word-forms. As can be seen in the list, there are in fact only two relevant word-forms for our search – *kone* and *konæ* – with a total of twenty-eight hits:

Ordform (sortér alfabetisk)	Forekomster (sortér efter frekvens)
kande	11
kane	8
kanne	7
konde	1
kone	26
konæ	2

Thus, the search engine should be able to pick up any common spelling of a word. However, in those cases where a word is spelt in a very peculiar fashion in a dictionary, we have the possibility to add a variant tag. For example, Pedersen's spelling of the Danish word *koldsyge* 'cold fever' is *kaaoldsyuge*. Due to its maverick spelling, this would not be picked up in our search engine using the conversion system, so we have tagged the word thus:

```
<variant word="koldsyge">kaaoldesyuge</variant>
```

If a word is extremely uncommon or extinct, we have also had the possibility of adding a synonym tag which should help the user locate it. However, we have used this tag very sparingly, as it is not our ambition to provide interpretations or translations of every Early Modern Danish and Latin word in the database. For example, Tursen uses the term 'month of the worm' ('orme maanet') to translate the month of July's name *Iulius*. A user searching for the Danish word *juli* would never find 'the month of the worm' without it being tagged as meaning July:

```
<article>
    <element language="Latin">
        <word>Iulius</word>
    </element>
    <element language="Danish">
        <word>
            <synonym word="juli">Orme maanet</synonym>
        </word>
    </element>
</article>
```

Notice also that the problems of word division are solved by the search engine being able to ignore spaces between words. So a search on *Ormemåned* written as one word would result in a hit for *Orme maanet* written as two words.

We have marked up the dictionaries in a relatively detailed fashion which makes it possible to search for specific types of information. For example, if the user is particularly interested in the gender of a word, s/he can restrict a search to those dictionary entries that include grammatical information. If references to classical authors are wanted, then it is possible to search on quotations or mention of an author/work. Other categories for refining searches are morphological information, examples, personal names, placenames and miscellaneous information (including encyclopaedic information and so on). It is also possible to restrict one's search to specific dictionaries and also to broaden it to a full-text search (rather than just searching on the dictionary headword). The full-text search allows quotations, source references, encyclopaedic explanations and so on all to become searchable. These possibilities are available on the page called "udvidet søgning" (extended search):

The importance of this dictionary database lies in the fact that it can provide its users with translations of a large number of Latin and Danish words as they were understood and used during the Renaissance. In total, there are in all some 65,000 dictionary entries that have been marked up using XML and thus made searchable. As many entries contain more than one translation or equivalent of the dictionary headword the number of searchable words is in fact significantly higher.

No modern dictionary provides us with the same sort of information as is available in the dictionary database of *Renæssancens Sprog i Danmark*. For example, we can read that Latin *offa* in an early modern Danish context meant 'øllebrød' (a sort of soup made of bread and beer), and that *tuba* could be used to describe a whole range of musical instruments, such as 'skalmeje' (shawm), 'trompet' (trumpet) and 'basun' (trombone). Similarly, Latin *upupa* was used for the birds 'vibe' (lapwing) and 'hærfugl' (hoopoe), as well as the tool 'klaahammer' (mattock). A *gladiator* was not just a 'fectere' (swordsman), but also a 'skermere' (guard, someone providing protection). And *glans* meant a number of things, including 'agerne' (acorn), 'Castanie' (chestnut), 'huert træis fruct' (the fruit of every tree), 'Lod' or 'Kwl' (ballistic shot for a gun), 'lems hoffuit' (head of the penis), and even 'Stick pille' (suppository).

Although the database does not take the place of an actual dictionary of either Danish Neo-Latin or Early Modern Danish, it does function well as a much needed addition and supplement to the material that is currently available. Furthermore, it will provide a valuable tool for future work on Neo-Latin and Danish dictionaries.

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Paulus Helie – a Sixteenth-Century Danish Humanist and Historian

By Kaare Rübner Jørgensen

Paulus Helie was a Danish Carmelite and provincial prior during the Reformation. Among his works is the Chronicon Skibyense*, a Latin chronicle about events in Denmark from 1046 to 1534. In this article the chronicle is seen not as a historical work, but as a work of literature. His use of words of classical, medieval and renaissance origin, his style, and his use of classical rhetoric are analysed. Finally, the chronicle is compared with historical works written in Italy in the fifteenth century.*

1

In the 1520s and 1530s the humanist Paulus Helie, a Catholic reformer and the last provincial prior of the Carmelite Order, played an influential role in Danish politics. At first, he was a friar who supported King Christian II (1513–1523) and the Lutheran reform movement, but later he became their antagonist, using all his time and energy to write against the tyrant king and the Lutherans. The historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries called him a "turn-coat,"[1] those of the nineteenth "a fiercely Catholic fighting cock,"[2] and those of the twentieth "the first political journalist in the history of Denmark."[3]

During the last one hundred and fifty years many scholars have studied the life and work of Friar Helie. They have, however, all overlooked two aspects which are of crucial importance to our understanding of the man as a writer.

First, they have neglected his language. Before I began to study his works fifteen years ago, no one had been aware of his use of classical rhetoric.[4] So, if you want to understand Helie, you ought first of all to read the

[1] E.g. Bartholinus 1666, 115 and Olivarius 1741.
[2] Palludan-Müller 1858–1859, 10.
[3] Arup 1925–1955, IIA 391.
[4] Rübner Jørgensen 1995, 2000a, and 2000b.

rhetorical treatises of Cicero, Quintilian and Erasmus. Having done that, you understand that his occasional vehement expressions were not necessarily the consequence of a vehement temper, as scholars usually tended to think, but a deliberate choice in order to emphasize the importance of the matter in hand. Briefly speaking, they were a consequence of his humanistic schooling.

Second, no scholar has been interested in his range of reading. Random tests show that he must have been rather well-read, since he was familiar not only with the classical authors and the Church Fathers, but also with several writers from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, they might be theologians, historians, or doctors of law and medicine. Certainly, works of Erasmus and Luther were known by others in sixteenth century Denmark, but who had read the French theologian and philosopher Lefèvre d'Étaples, and who would make references to Italian authors like Petrarch, Ficino, and Biondo or translate a book by Poliziano? Or read a treatise on public poor relief, written by the Spanish humanist Vives? Not many in Denmark, I think.

Considering the large number of authors Helie is able to use as authorities in his writings and combining this with his knowledge of language and his linguistic skills in general, you realise that when it comes to intelligence, knowledge and ability to express oneself, he must have outclassed most of his contemporaries. Actually, he may have been the greatest Scandinavian intellectual of the first half of the sixteenth century.[5]

2

Among Friar Helie's historical works the most famous is the so-called *Chronicon Skibyense*, found hidden in the wall behind the altar in the village church of Skiby in 1650.[6] The manuscript itself has no title and no author name, but has been attributed to Helie since the late eighteenth century.[7] By comparing the script with Helie's handwriting known from his signature and annotations in printed books this attribution has been confirmed beyond doubt.[8] Thus, what we have here is something unique: an early sixteenth century chronicle in the author's own hand.

Let me show you what it looks like:

[5] About his ecclesiology and anthropology, see Rübner Jørgensen 2002 and 2007.

[6] The Árni Magnússon's Collection, Copenhagen, Ms. AM 858 4°. The text is printed in Helie 1932–1948, VI 51–149. By quotations in the following the first number refers to the page, the second to the line in this edition.

[7] Langebek 1772–1878, II 555.

[8] Rørdam 1873–1887, I.1 7–8.

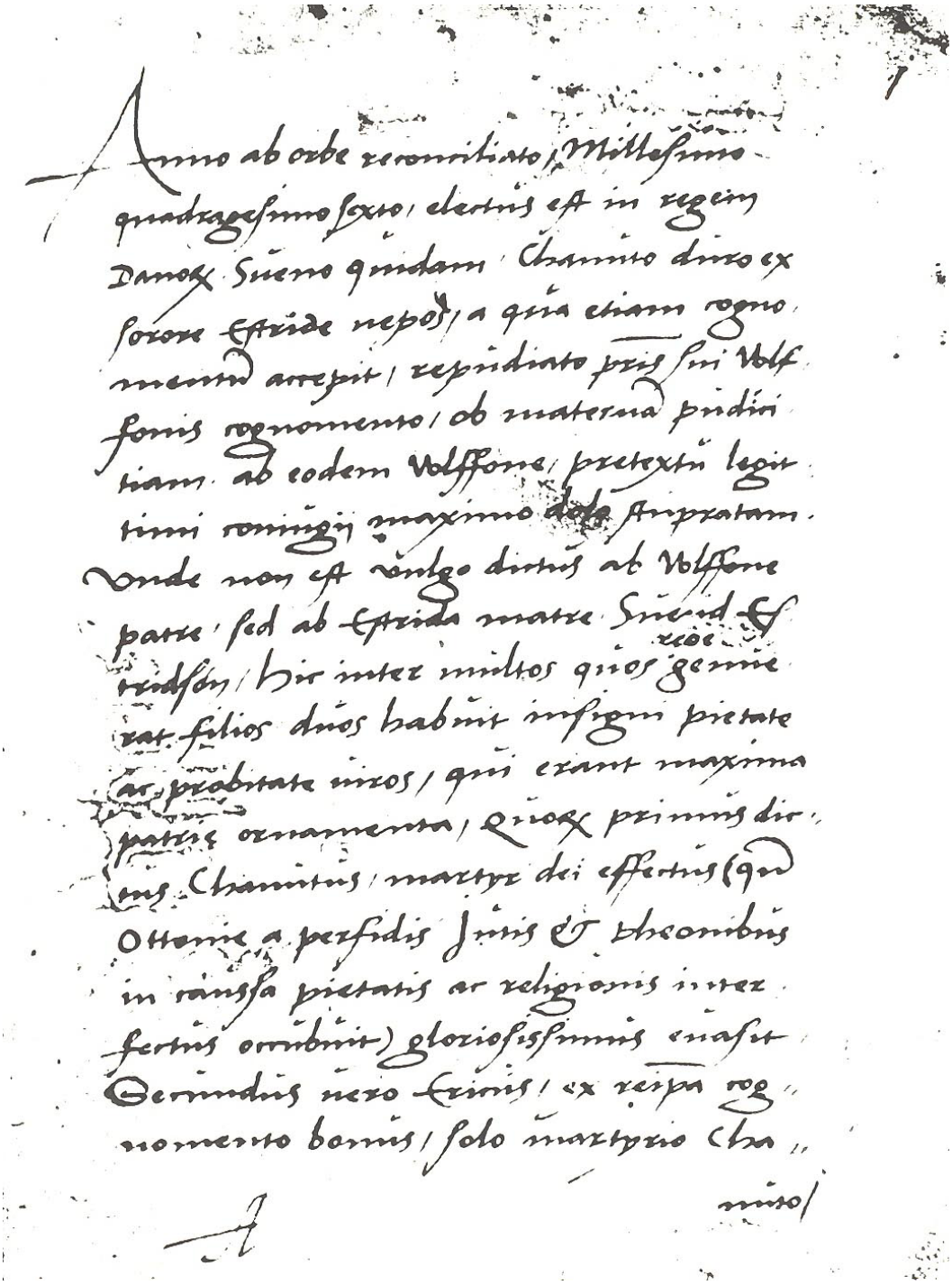

Illustration 1. AM 858 4°, 1[r]. The first page of the chronicle.

The handwriting we see here is a humanist cursive. It is an Italian script, introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century[9] and quite new in Denmark in the Reformation era. According to the late Erik Kroman, a distinguished palaeographer, Helie was among the first, if not the first, to use this script in Denmark.[10] How he learnt to write the humanist cursive we do not know, but since it looks very much like the script used in the Papal Chancellery about 1490, my guess is that he may have got acquainted with it during his student years in Italy.[11] Could he not have picked it up by copying it from a letter received from Italy, you may ask. No, he could not. He had to learn not only to write the individual letters in a new way, but also to know that the quill needed to be cut and held in a different position while writing than was the case with the traditional neo-gothic script.

According to German palaeographers, the use of the humanist cursive was an expression of a culture or a civilization.[12] Thus, on the basis of his script alone we are able to place Helie among the sixteenth-century European humanists. Of still further interest is the fact that he used the same script when he wrote in Danish. By doing so, he differed from German humanists, who normally preferred to use the Gothic script when writing in the vernacular.

3

The content of the chronicle is:

1. A royal genealogy from King Sven Estridsøn's two sons Canute the Holy and Eric the Good to King Frederick I, that is, from 1046 to 1523 (727 words).
2. The election of King Christian I in 1448 (63 words).
3. Sweden's relationship to the Nordic Union during the reign of King Christian I, that is, from 1448 to 1481 (2,161 words).
4. Fifty-three annalistic entries, covering the years 1452–1523 (5,666 words).
5. A catalogue of complaints against King Christian II (2,089 words).

[9] Wardrup 1963, 22–23. Cf. Ullman 1960, Bischoff 1986, 195–201, and Boyle 1984, 195–196.

[10] Kroman 1944, 78.

[11] Frenz 1974, 479–480 and esp. table X.4. – I must admit that we do not know anything about his studies in Italy, but it seems impossible that he could have imbibed the modern, humanistic ideas in Denmark.

[12] Lülfing 1973, 30–33; cf. Steinmann 1976.

6. The rebellion against King Christian II and the election of King Frederick I in 1523 (283 words).
7. Forty-four annalistic entries, covering the years 1524–1534 (10,930 words).

By and large the *Skiby chronicle* is, as just shown, structured as a traditional annalistic work of the Middle Ages. It contains, however, elements which we never find in other annals: a comprehensive royal genealogy (1), a thematic treatment of Sweden's relationship to the Nordic Union (3), and a catalogue of the dethroned King Christian II's many crimes (5). As far as the genealogy is concerned, it is of special interest that the line from the kings of the eleventh to those of the sixteenth century is not traced through Princess Sophie, daughter of Danish King Eric Glipping (d. 1286) and wife of Duke Nicholas of Werle as in modern genealogies,[13] but through Euphemia, daughter of the Swedish Duke Eric Magnusson and his wife Ingeborg, who on her side was a daughter of the Norwegian King Hakon V (d. 1319). Hence, Helie's genealogy can be taken as an argument in favour of the preservation of the Union of the three Nordic countries, a union which in those days was more or less in ruins.

In the beginning the entries are rather short. However, they contain more details than is usually the case in medieval annals and often explain cause and effect of the events. Personal comments are common, too. Here are two examples from the oldest part of the chronicle:

> Eodem anno [1483] D. Eylerus ex archidiaconatu electus ad episcopatum Arhusiensem consecratus est episcopus. Sed quoniam fauore principis ac populi destitutus erat, nullaque prudentia preditus, coactus est, cum paucis annis eam administrasset prouintiam, episcopatum resignare D. Nicolao Claussøn tunc Canonico Roschildensi
>
> (p. 61 ll.1–7).
>
> (In the same year [1483] Sir Ejler, chosen from the archdeaconry to the bishopric of Aarhus, was consecrated bishop. But since he lost the favour of the prince and the people and did not have any prudence he was forced, after having governed the said province in some years, to resign in favour of Sir Nicholas Claussøn, at that time a canon at Roskilde).
>
> Anno 1485 obiit Reuerendus in Christo pater D. Olauus Martini episcopus Roschildensis, fastu et pompa ignobilis, pietate vero et miseri-

[13] For instance in Danstrup & Koch 1969–1972, IV 123, and in Olsen 1988–1991, VI 200.

> cordia nobilissimus, a cuius obitu successiones fuerant semper deteriores
>
> (p. 61 ll.22–26).
>
> (In the year 1485 the reverend father in Christ Sir Oluf Mortensen, bishop of Roskilde, died, a simple man with regard to arrogance and pomp, but of the highest nobility when it comes to piety and charity. After his death the successors became increasingly inferior).

Later the entries become longer and the explanations, evaluations and comments more comprehensive, and at the end we get a long account of the events during the civil war in the 1530s which in Danish historiography is called The Count's Feud. This account, which covers seven pages, was planned to have been even longer, but the text stops abruptly in the year 1534 with the three words "Dum hec aguntur" (When this happened; p.149 l.28). What Helie had intended to write after that, no one knows. My guess is that he would have told us about the rest of the war: the siege of Copenhagen and the city's capitulation. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that he would have included the arrest of the Catholic bishops in August 1536 and the Diet of Copenhagen in October, where the new King Christian III and the Estates decided to change the official religion from Catholicism to Lutheranism. This, I think, would have been a natural ending to a chronicle that more and more focused on the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants.

4

Another thing that makes the chronicle different from the historical writing of the medieval era is its language. Apart from *nomina* the vocabulary consists of nearly 3000 different words. These words come from several sources. There are classical words, words taken from the Bible, and words borrowed from the Church Fathers, whom the humanists of the Renaissance had given a revival. Some of the classical words are used in their classical sense (e.g. *miles* and *pedagogus*), others in their medieval sense (e.g. *imperator* and *templum*), and others again now in their classical now in their medieval sense (e.g. *comes* and *dux*). In addition, there are some purely medieval and some neo-Latin words in the chronicle (for examples, see Appendix 1).

Among the neologisms is *eques auratus* (a golden knight). This really is a new expression in Helie's days, since, as far as I know, its first appearance

is in a letter from Oxford University to Sir Thomas More in 1523.[14] The two insulting words *papista* (devotee of the pope) and *priapista* (devotee of Priapus) originate from Martin Luther.[15] The latter of the two was used by the German reformer to describe the cardinals in Rome, but was turned against Luther himself by Hieronymus Emser in the early 1520s.[16] We seldom see the word in Catholic polemics against the Protestants, perhaps because the good friars who composed those treatises did not know the ancient god Priapus and consequently did not understand the meaning of the word. Helie applied the polemical term to the monks and friars who went into matrimony. Furthermore, there is *animicida*. To name a religious opponent a "murderer of souls" was not uncommon during the Reformation, but then the expression *animarum interfector* would be used, not *animicida*.[17] Here again the word is borrowed from Luther.[18] Helie also gave the two reformers in the city of Malmö Klaus Tøndebinder and Hans Spandemager (in English: Barrel-maker and Tubmaker) the classically inspired surnames *uascularius* and *situlariu*s.[19] The former he had found in Cicero's second speech against Verres, where it describes a man who makes vessels of metal (2.4.54); the latter seems to have been his own invention, based on the word *situla*, which means a water bucket.

Evaluating Helie's vocabulary, one may say that he was no Ciceronian.[20] He lived in a Christian world, not in a bygone, ancient world and therefore did not find it unnatural to use words from the late classical and medieval periods for concepts and things unknown to people in Antiquity. In general, his Latin is a Silver Age Latin, influenced by the Church Fathers. The same was, by the way, the case with the Latin of Lorenzo Valla, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas More, and Juan Vives, just to mention four authors from his own time and recent past.

In the *Skiby Chronicle* there are many literary loans (for examples, see Appendix 2). When they first came to my attention, I regarded them as hidden quotations. Later I have come across several of them in the works of

[14] More 1947, 273, 304, 383, 386, 402, and 424.

[15] Luther, *Wider den falsch genantten geystlichen stand des Babst vnn der bischoffen*, 1522 (Luther 1883–, X.2 122, 21–31).

[16] Emser 1523, sig. Cij[r].

[17] Cp. *De expulsione fratrum minorum*, SM II, 1920–22, 355 l. 13 and 359 l. 28. The expression goes back to St Augustine and Lactantius and has its roots in the Bible (Rev. 6:9). See St Augustine, *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* 1.8.14, (Augustinus 1963–1968, I 242), and Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* V.19.1, (Lactantius 1890, 461).

[18] Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, 1525 (Luther 1883–, XVIII 624 l. 23).

[19] In *De expulsione fratrum minorum* they are named *tunnarum fabricator* and *urnarius*, SM II, 1920–22, 340 l. 20 and 342 l. 16.

[20] About Ciceronianism and other forms of Latin in the Renaissance, see D'Amico 1983, 126–134 and Grendler 1993.

other writers, so I now prefer to view at least some of them as standard expressions.

Adding quotations, literary loans and standard expressions together, their number is approximately 530. About 350 are from classical authors, 140 from the Bible, the rest from Church Fathers, Saxo Grammaticus, Erasmus, Luther or other contemporary writers. Among the classical authors Cicero is the most frequently used, but there are also loans from Terence, Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Seneca, Suetonius, Quintilian, etc. Apart from Saxo, classical expressions are seldom seen in Danish literature of the Middle Ages, so their occurrence in the *Skiby Chronicle* must be regarded as a consequence of the author's humanism.

5

As regards the style, Helie seems to have followed the advice of Erasmus: to study the style of the ancients and then create his own.[21] However, the influence of Cicero is apparent now and then:

> Talis erat fides sacrilegorum principum illius seculi, contra iusiurandum, contra publicam fidem, ac contra signatos inaugurationum libellos et diplomata.
>
> (p. 110 ll. 27–28)
>
> (In such a way the sacrilegious princes kept their word, against their oath, against their public vow, and against their obligations and letters, sealed on their inaugurations).

Cicero *In Verrem* 2.5.34:

> contra fas, contra auspicia, contra omnes divinas atque humanas religiones.
>
> (against the law of God, against the omen, against every divine and human religion).

Also this statement about the heretic King Frederick might have been inspired by Cicero:

> Nec ulli erant magis tuti ac securi regia protectione in hoc regno, quam tante impietatis authores et executores, quoniam apud hunc sacrilegum regem nullus erat uel iusticie uel innocentie respectus, apud quem pietas erat supersticio, pudicitia hypocrisis, religio stulticia, abstinentia insania.

[21] Phillips 1969.

(p. 131 ll. 22–27)

(No one in this kingdom was safer and more secure under royal protection than these instigators and executors of that great impiety. Because in this sacrilegious king there was no respect for either justice or innocence; for him piety was superstition, chastity hypocrisy, religion folly, abstinence insanity).

The two statements are characterized by an emphatic ending, rising toward a climax. Among other emphatic endings in the chronicle we find:

Huius Christierni temporibus defecit Suetie regnum a federe trium regnorum, electo sibi proprio rege, Carolo Chanuti marscalco regni, sed maximo suo malo.

(p. 56 l. 31–p. 57 l. 2)

(In this Christian's days the Swedish realm fell away from the union of the three kingdoms by electing their own king, Charles Knutsson, marshal of the realm, but to the greatest damage to themselves).

quidam frater Paulus Helie Varbergensis, qui singulari fauore prosequutus est studiosos omnes, verum suo magno malo.

(p. 80 ll. 8–10)

(a certain friar Paulus Helie from Varberg, who showed all the students his special favour, but to great sorrow for himself).

qui mox, coacto grandi exercitu, cepit opidum Halmstadense, non sine graui iactura Suecorum.

(p. 159 ll. 21–23)

(who immediately after having collected a big army took the town of Halmstad, but not without serious losses for the Swedes).

Antithetic expressions like these are not uncommon in classical literature. Sometimes one finds them in medieval works too. However, so far I have not seen them used as endings. To end a sentence with an emphatic antithesis thus seems to be peculiar for Helie.

Not unique, but quite remarkable, is his word-doubling, that is to say his frequent use of the rhetorical figure conduplicatio: "uastat ac destruit" (ravage and destroy), "sacra et diuina" (holy and divine), "instante et urgente" (insisting and urging), "insania et impudentia" (insanity and impudence), just to mention four of more than 300 word-doublings in the chronicle. The last example can, however, also be regarded as hendiadys, a rhetorical figure known from the works of Caesar, of whom Helie imitated other features (see below). So perhaps it should be translated "insane impudence".

Another stylistic trait is alliteration and assonance, i.e. the use of words with the same initial letter or with the same stress vowel. Alliterations are "corpus et cadauer" (body and corpse; p. 91 l.19), "ac/atque alios in armis" (and others in arms; pp. 92 l.31 and 93 l.13), and "pestifera sua predicatione" (by his pestiferous preaching, p. 118 l. 14). Assonance with one vowel is "támen altáre mánsit" (however the altar remained, p. 120 l. 25), and with two: "inuasérunt témplum díue uírginis" (they invaded the church of Our Lady; p. 120 l. 18).

To avoid monotony assonance often occurs in patterns: e.g. transverse: "díuo Ioánni euangelíste sácer" (consecrated to St John the Evangelist; p. 120 l. 14) and reverse: "próbra et conuítia in Chrísti sacerdótes" (invectives and curses against the priests of Christ; p. 120 l. 28–29).

Stylistically Helie often makes use of parison and isocolon. The former of these denotes a correspondence between parts of the sentence (the cola, the comata), e.g. an identical position of the verbs; the latter that more than one colon or coma has the same number of stressed syllables. This statement about a bishop who died in 1533 is an example:

> Putabat ...
>
> epìscopátum non ésse offícium sed státum (5)
>
> non àdministràtiónem sed prèsidéntiam (5)
>
> non fùnctiónem áliquam spìrituálem dìrigéndis anímabus dèstinátam (10)
>
> sed sèculárem quándam dìgnitátem còngregándis pecúniis dèlegátam (10)
>
> (p. 141 l. 1–6)
>
> (He thought … that the episcopate was not an office, but a rank; not an administration, but a presidency; not a spiritual function in order to guide the souls, but a secular distinction for the purpose of collecting money).

Here the stylistic correspondence is further stressed by the repetition of "non … sed", by the chiasmus: "functionem ... spiritualem" / "secularem ... dignitatem" (noun – adjective / adjective – noun), by the parisonic position of "dirigendis animabus destinatam" / "congregandis pecuniis delegatam", and by the double use of final rhyme (homoioteleuton): "episcopatum / statum" and "destinatam" / "delegatam". Finally, the two last cola end with the medieval cursus velox, that is, with stress on the second, fourth and seventh syllable, counted backwards.

It is, however, not only the cola and the comata that may be thus structured in order to create a balance: the composition of their units can have the same purpose:

pertinaciter + et + contentiose (5 + 1 + 5)
(persistently and impetuously; p. 115 l. 22)

omnis impietatis + ac + abhominationis (7 + 1 + 7)
(of every impiety and profanation; p. 118 l. 21)

sacrilegam tyrannidem + ac + infamen crudelitatem (8 + 1 + 8)
(sacrilegious tyranny and malicious cruelty; p. 127 l. 21–22)

In the first example the balance is created by combining two adverbs with the same number of syllables, in the second by adding the adjective *omnis*, and in the third by using adjectives with an uneven number of syllables, because the nouns are of different length. The purpose of this stylistic device, which can be found in all the works of Helie, is, as mentioned, to create a textual harmony, and thus an eloquent narrative.

6

In the account of the rebellion of the city of Malmö in 1534, we read that the citizens made a surprise attack on the castle, which in those days was situated some four hundred meters south of the town. When writing of their later demolition of the northern wing of the castle, Helie uses the words "partem, que urbem respiciebat" (the part that looked back on the city; p. 143 l. 18), thus creating the impression that he has walked out to the castle together with the reader and is now standing on the spot, looking back on the city.

Earlier in the chronicle he has said that "per uniuersam Cimbriam serperet uirus Lutheranice factionis" (the virus of the Lutheran party twisted [like a snake] around all Jutland; p. 107 ll. 19–20), i.e. imperceptibly, that "ex hoc conuentu emanarunt … littere quedam decretales" (from this Diet certain royal letters have leaked out; p. 112 ll. 1–3), and that there was no seriousness among the Lutherans "absterso omni pudore" (since they had wiped off all modesty; p. 114 l. 22). Rhetorically, the idea that words ought to speak not only to the ears, but also to the eyes, so that the audience or the readers are brought into the position of an eye-witness, is called *ekphrasis* or *evidentia*.[22] Erasmus recommends this kind of writing in his book on rheto-

[22] Helie seems often to opt for verbs that express such a visual language. To discover this, however, one has to look at the original meaning of the verbs, e.g. *imbuere* (p. 85 l. 3:

ric from 1512,[23] but actually, it was a common humanist ideal, based on the dictum "Ut pictura poesis" (a poem is like a picture) in Horace's *Ars poetica* (v. 361).[24]

Unlike ancient historians and medieval chroniclers Helie is reluctant to make use of speeches. The function of the speeches he does use – all of which are short and concise – is either to stress an argument already made, or to characterize a person through his or her words. In this, they are in line with the classical tradition.[25] An example is this utterance of King Christian II, used as an explanation of why, after having received the Polish envoys cordially, he ordered them drowned:

> Si scirem (inquit) capitis mei galerum meorum consiliorum esse conscium, mox in ignem coniectum exuri sinerem.
> (p. 94 ll. 26–29)
>
> (If I knew, he said, that the cap on my head was aware of my plans, I would immediately throw it into the fire and let it burn).

The message is obvious: woe to those, who have the king's confidence!

But the king's utterance is pure fiction. The saying comes from Valerius Maximus, who tells that the Roman Consul Caecilius Metellus answered a question about the future in this way:

> Absiste, inquit, istud quaerere: nam si huius consilii mei interiorem tunicam consciam esse sensero, continuo eam cremari iubebo.
> (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* 7.4.5)
>
> (Don't ask such a question, he said, because if I learned that my inmost tunic was aware of this plan, I would order it to be burned immediately).

The interesting thing here is not so much the use of a classical anecdote, but the fact that the Roman tunic is replaced by a cap, the piece of clothing that for a Dane is nearest the head, where thoughts are formulated. To transform an expression or a metaphor from Antiquity so that it became understandable for his Danish readers was not unusual for Helie.[26] By doing so, he just

'imbue', orig.: 'let drink'), *conculcare* (pp. 112 l. 9 and 113 l. 13: 'despise, scorn', orig.: 'trample down').

[23] Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, 1512 (Erasmus 1703-1706, I 77E–78A); see also Rüegg 1946, 86 and 123, and Bietenholz 1966, 90.

[24] O'Malley 1974, 62–64 and Lausberg 1971, 118; cf. also Trimpi 1973.

[25] On Leonardo Bruni's use of fictitious speeches, see Ullman 1946, 52.

[26] A good example is his rendering of Erasmus' "tragoediarum histriones" (the actors of tragedy) with "fastelaghens gække" (the carnival's fools) in his Danish translation of *Institutio principis Christiani* (Rübner Jørgensen 2000b, 208–209).

followed the humanist ideal of *translatio ad sensum* (translation according to the meaning).

7

Among the rhetorical devices we find anaphora: "sine mente, sine ratione ac sine prudentia" (without sense, without reason and without prudence; p. 39 l. 40), litotes: "illud protegente non sine capitis periculo urbis prefecto" (this the town's bailiff defended not without mortal danger to himself; p. 120 l. 26), proverb: "operculum sane tali patella dignum" (the lid was really worthy of this pot; p. 126 l. 15),[27] chiasmus: "callide impudens et impudenter callidus" (cunningly impudent and impudently cunning; p. 108 l. 18), periphrasis: "cleri locum" (the clergy's place; p. 120 l. 23) instead of *chorum* (choir), and this wonderful comparison used about Helie's former student, the apostate Friar Franciscus Wormordi from Amsterdam: "ipso mendatio mendatior et ipsa calumnia calumnior" (more lying than lying itself and more defaming than defamation itself; p. 116 l. 7–8). The inspiration for such a hyperbolic comparison is again Erasmus, who mentions the expression in his book on rhetoric.[28] Furthermore, about Petrus Laurentii, another apostate friar of the Carmelite Order, he says with a pun (paronomasia) that he travelled to Malmö "ibidem futurus priapista, quia noluit esse papista" (for there to be a devotee of Priapus, since he did not want to be a devotee of the pope; p. 112 ll. 25–26).

Space does not permit me to say more about Helie's use of rhetoric, so I will restrict myself to these few samples. But I can tell you that we have only one other text from late Medieval and Reformation Denmark as rhetorical as the *Skiby Chronicle*. This is the official response to Hans Mikkelsen's defence of the dethroned and exiled King Christian II, published by the Council of the Realm in 1527, and that, incidentally, was also composed by Helie.

[27] This proverb goes back to St Jerome, *Epistola* 7.5. It is contained in Erasmus' *Adagia*, 1.10.72 (Erasmus 1703-1706, II 387C–E).

[28] Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, 1512 (Erasmus 1703-1706, I 35D).

8

In a Danish context Paulus Helie as a writer is unique. So is his chronicle. But how should we regard the chronicle, if we relate it to what was written outside Denmark?

To Martin Luther everything that happened in this world bore witness to how God used man as his tool.[29] Although now and then we see this *deus absconditus* (hidden God) in Helie's chronicle too, he warns us nonetheless against interpreting sudden deaths, accidents, and catastrophes as being a result of God's wrath. His causal explanations are, in fact, seldom religious, because when someone's life came to a bad end, it was normally a result of that person's own vices. It was man's greed, lust, envy, and avarice that caused his fall.[30] Therefore, the chronicle can be seen as an example of secular history writing. But since everything is evaluated within the paradigm of virtues and vices, it is at the same time an example of ethical history writing. Both this ethicism and this secularism characterize humanist historiography in the Renaissance.

The classical authors and the humanists regarded history as an instructive mirror or a *magistra vitae* (a teacher for living).[31] So does Helie: to him it is by reading about man's foolish acts in the past that we can avoid repeating them. At least in theory, for the errors people make are more or less the same generation after generation. Despite his belief that man can become ethically better with the right education and instruction, his anthropology, influenced as it was by St Augustine, was rather pessimistic.[32] This pessimism was, however, common among the humanist writers of the time. The Renaissance was a splendid era, but not a happy one.

Compared to most historical works written in the Renaissance, Helie's chronicle has three shortcomings. First, there is no description of the physical appearance of the men and women mentioned in the chronicle. Second, there are no battle descriptions, and third, he makes no use of state papers (with the exception of the *Catalogus accusationum* against King Christian, whose author was Helie himself). On the other hand, just like the other Renaissance writers Helie has decided not to include any supernatural and miraculous tales.[33] By omitting them, he not only differs from his medieval colleagues, but also from contemporary writers in Denmark, among whom

[29] Cf. Krumwiede 1952, passim and Bietenholz 1966, 47.

[30] The same kind of explanations can be found in Italian historical works, e.g. in the works of Bruni, cf. Wilcox 1969, 55.

[31] Kristeller 1974–1976 II and 38–39; Buck 1991, 1–2.

[32] Cf. Rübner Jørgensen 2007, 530–555.

[33] Cf. Ullman 1946, 55 and Cochrane 1981, XII.

were Christian Pedersen, the editor of Saxo (Paris 1514). Besides, in the chronicle he always refers to himself in the third person. Since Leonardo Bruni, inspired by Caesar, did the same in his memoirs *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius* from the 1440s,[34] one may ask if it might not be more appropriate to call Helie's chronicle a *commentarius*. One argument could be that there is a high frequency of personal comments in the chronicle. Another that it consists of information he had collected about persons and events during his lifetime or of what he himself had written earlier. A counterargument, however, is the chronicle's annalistic structure and its purpose. Helie's aim was not the same as that of Bruni. He did not want only to deliver raw material to later historians, but also to explain what had happened and to persuade his readers to change their attitudes. Therefore, in his chronicle he seems to have combined two kinds of historical writing of the Renaissance: the *annales sui temporis* and the *commentarius*, and thus to have created a new kind of historiography in Denmark.

Appendix 1. Helie's vocabulary: Examples of words of different origin

Words from classical authors:
antesignanus (leader, protagonist), *apoplexia* (stroke), *arx* (castle), *calculus* (voting), *censor* (valuer), *cesar* (emperor), *comes* (follower, count), *cometa* (comet), *comitia* (Diet), *consul* (counsellor of the realm), *diadema* (diadem, crown), *dux* (leader, duke), *edes* (manor), *factio* (party, sect), *fatidicus* (ominous), *gnato* (parasite), *histrio* (jester), *imperator* (emperor), *imperium* (office, empire), *iusiurandum* (oath), *maiores* (ancestor), *mancipium* (slave), *magister equitum* (lord chamberlain), *mars* (war, battle), *mecenas* (benefactor), *miles* (soldier), *numen* (God), *pedagogus* (a boy's escort to school), *philosophia* (philosophy), *pontifex* (bishop), *respublica* (country, realm), *satellitium* (escort), *superi* (God), *tartarus* (hell), *satrapes* (vassal), *sycophanta* (schemer), *templum* (church building), *tragedia* (tragedy), *tyrannus* (tyrant).

Words from the Bible:
alienigenus (foreigner), *altar* (altar), *baptisma* (baptism), *blasphemare* (be blasphemous), *ecclesia* (church), *episcopus* (bishop), *ethnicus* (heathen, foreign), *evangelium* (Gospel), *gehenna* (hell), *hebdomada* (week), *mysterium* (mystery), *nauclerus* (skipper), *offendiculum* (indignation), *pascha* (Easter),

[34] Ullman 1946, 49 and Cochrane 1981, 20.

pentecostes (Pentecost), *primogenitus* (first born), *propheta* (prophet), *satanas* (Satan), *sobrietas* (sobriety), *viator* (traveller), *zelus* (ardour).

Words from the Church Fathers:
apologia (apology), *catalogus* (catalogue), *digamia* (bigamy), *diocesis* (diocese), *doctrina* (doctrine), *eleemosyna* (alms), *eucharistia* (Eucharist), *exoticus* (foreign), *heresis* (heresy), *hypocrita* (hypocrit), *orthodoxus* (orthodox), *paranymphus* (man who comes for the bride), *pseudepiscopus* (false bishop), *theologia* (theology).

Word from the Middle Ages and the ecclesiastical world:
archiepiscopus (archbishop), *baccalaureus* (bachelor), *bulla* (papal bull), *cancellarius* (chancelor), *canonicus* (canon), *cantor* (precentor), *cruciata* (crusade), *doctor* (doctor), *domicellus* (young nobleman), *facultas* (faculty), *marchio* (markgraf), *monachus* (monk), *monialis* (nun), *papa* (pope), *reliquia* (relic).

Neologisms or neo-Latin words:
anabaptista (anabaptist), *animicida* (murderer of soul), *eques auratus* (golden knight), *lutheranus* (Lutheran), *papista* (devotee of the pope), *priapista* (devotee of Priapus).

Appendix 2. Examples of literary loans

ab arce descendens (going down from the castle): Erasmus – *ad mortem usque* (until death): Valerius Maximus – *capite truncatus est* (got beheaded): Lucan, Saxo – *casso tamen labore* (with the waste of energy, however): Pliny – *dux belli* (commander of war): Cicero, Livy, The Bible – *fauore numinis* (by God's favour): Saxo, Erasmus – *grauiter est offensus* (got seriously offended): Cicero – *hereditario iure* (by the right of inheritance): Cicero – *infelix mars* (unlucky battle): Livy – *ingenij vigor* (vigour of nature): Ovid, Seneca, Saxo – *irritare atque prouocare* (irritate and provoke): Seneca – *labor ac studium* (work and study): Thomas More – *magna constantia* (with great staunchness): Cicero, The Bible – *magno comitatu* (with a large escort): Cicero – *michi notus* (known to me): Cicero, Horace – *more et ritu* (according to custom and use): Virgil – *periit naufragio* (died by shipwreck): Cicero, Quintilian, Saxo – *pretextu euangelice libertatis* (with the evangelical freedom as pretext): Schatzgeyer, Herborn, Clichtovius – *summa iniuria* (with the greatest injustice): Cicero – *usque in presentem diem* (until the present day): The Bible – *uterinus frater* (carnal

brother): The Bible – *uires ac facultates* (power and abilities): Quintilian – *ui tempestatis* (by force of the tempest): Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Sueton, Tacitus, Quintilian, Valerius Maximus.

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THE SYMBIOTIC MUSE:

The Case of Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetry in Renaissance France

By Philip Ford

This article explores the various ways in which translation and imitation between Latin and the vernacular functioned in sixteenth-century France. In the literary climate of Lyon, Italian models, notably Petrarch, were influential in introducing certain erotic themes into neo-Latin compositions which, in their turn, found their way into French vernacular poetry. Later, in the middle of the century, the Pléiade worked in both directions, Latin to French and French to Latin, often with the aim of establishing their credentials as important, 'classical' writers. In either case, there is a mutual enriching of poetic texts rather than a one-way traffic.

When we think of literary imitation in the French Renaissance, we tend to assume that the direction of imitation was largely one way: from classical and neo-Latin sources into the vernacular. Yet when we look at the practice of poets during this period, it is clear that the situation is more complex. Renaissance Lyon, with its cosmopolitan population, appears to offer one example of a literary community in which imitation can work in various directions: from the vernacular into neo-Latin, from neo-Latin into the vernacular, and from the neo-Latin writing of one country into the neo-Latin writing of another. The community of poets associated with the Pléiade offers a similar example in Paris in the middle years of the century. This paper sets out to examine some examples of imitation in both these groups, and to assess the underlying motives for the literary exchanges which were going on in this period.

The area which I intend to concentrate on in the case of Lyon is love poetry, and there can be no doubt that the city was at the forefront of developments in this genre in the early decades of the sixteenth century. In particular, the large Italian population resident in the city ensured that many of the trends and fashions which had previously developed in Italy became known to a French audience before their popularity developed elsewhere in France. Of the various traditions of amatory verse, Petrarchism appears to have made its first French appearance in the city.

Compared with its long tradition in Italy, French Petrarchism had a relatively brief period of popularity. François Lecercle, for example, in his excellent study of the Petrarchan portrait, limits himself to an examination of a period of some twelve years in France, for in his view "il suffit de ne considérer que les débuts de cette vogue et de se limiter à la totalité des recueils parus de 1549 à 1561"[1] (it is enough to consider the beginnings of this trend and to limit our research to all the collections which appeared between 1549 and 1561) to take full account of this literary phenomenon on French shores. Even then, at the same time that Petrarchism was in vogue, certain poets were already being attracted to an anti-Petrarchan movement which called into question the poetic and emotional values which they seemed to champion elsewhere in their love poetry. I am thinking, for example, of the poem *Contre les pétrarquistes* by Du Bellay,[2] published in 1553, just three years after his Petrarchan work *L'Olive*.

But if we can establish the beginnings of the Petrarchan tradition in vernacular poetry towards the end of the 1540s, French neo-Latin poetry appears to have served as a kind of Trojan horse by introducing certain themes and images to a learned audience which, in the end, would make up part at least of the public that vernacular exponents of Petrarchan poetry were targeting. Before looking at some examples of neo-Latin Petrarchism, I propose first to establish the criteria which might be seen as distinguishing Petrarchan poetry from other forms of love poetry.

In his study of Petrarchism, *The Icy Fire*,[3] Leonard Forster identified three groups of themes which for him characterised Petrarchan poetry: external themes, especially descriptions of the lady, but also celebration of the lovers' meeting place, and the topos of meeting the beloved in dreams; internal themes, including poetry on the psychology of love and its effects on the poet; and finally the idea of love as a cosmic force, a theme in which Petrarchism meets up with neo-Platonism. Of course, some of these themes could already be found in the elegiac poetry of classical Latin poets, and in considering neo-Latin examples, it will be necessary to avoid seeing in every amorous swallow a Petrarchan summer. To escape this temptation, I propose to concentrate here on three aspects of the Petrarchan style which appear to be the most characteristic and least likely to be confused with other traditions of love poetry: the portrait of the beloved; the contradictory feelings experienced by the poet, expressed in terms of antithesis; and the description of the idealised settings which form the backdrop to the lovers' meetings.

[1] Lecercle 1987, 1.
[2] Du Bellay 1908–1931, V 69–77.
[3] Forster 1969, 8–23.

However, this perhaps raises the question of why neo-Latin poets would have been attracted to Petrarchan poetry before their vernacular counterparts. In the first place, it is clear that, for northern European humanists, Petrarch represented quite simply the start of the restoration of classical letters in Europe. Johannes Despauterius, for example, in his *Ars versificatoria*, states that "post hunc [i.e. Petrarch] coepit lingua latina mirum in modum instaurari"[4] (after him, the Latin language began to be renewed in a startling fashion). Secondly, the city of Lyon, with its large population of Italians, undoubtedly played a part in this, as all the neo-Latin poets I shall be looking at in the first part of this paper had lived or passed through the city. Finally, the 'discovery' by Maurice Scève in 1533 of Laura's tomb must certainly have inspired humanist poets in the city, as he and his cousin Guillaume Scève regularly frequented learned circles in Lyon.[5]

Amongst these poets, one of the best and the most original is, undoubtedly, Jean Salmon Macrin (1490–1557), who was clearly revered by the young poets and humanists of the city.[6] The many poems which he addressed to his young wife, Gelonis, make up a veritable *canzoniere*, and it is interesting to note in his poetry a mixture of the neo-Catullan style, developed in Italy by Michael Marullus, as well as a number of Petrarchan features.[7] It is hardly surprising, of course, that poets associated with Lyon should have imitated the Italian neo-Latin poets as well as vernacular ones, but Macrin's own influence in its turn was notable on various French writers, including Nicolas Bourbon (*c*. 1503–?1550) and Jean Visagier (1510–1542) amongst others.

Tangible evidence of the interest in Petrarch may be seen in Bourbon's *Nugae*, first published in Paris in 1533 by Michel Vascosan,[8] where there is a Latin version of Petrarch's sonnet *Pace non trovo*:

Non pacem inuenio, at bello me nemo fatigat:		Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
Et spero & timeo, glacie circundatus uror:		e temo, e spero; et ardo, e son un ghiaccio;
In terra iaceo, at uolitans feror aethera supra:		e volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;
Mens mea nil stringit, totumque amplectitur orbem:	4	e nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mundo abbraccio.

[4] Despauterius [*c*. 1511], f. 2[r].

[5] See, for example, Maira 2003.

[6] For an excellent edition of his works, see Macrin 1998. Quotations of Macrin refer to this edition. See too Schumann 2009.

[7] *Ibid*., 52. On Salmon Macrin, see also McFarlane 1959–1960, and Ford & Jondorf 1993, and Ford 1997.

[8] On Bourbon, see Sylvie Laigneau's recently published *habilitation* thesis (Bourbon 2008). See too Clay Doyle 1995, as well as the excellent article by Christiane Lauvergnat-Gagnière, (Lauvergnat-Gagnière 1991), where the author analyses an edition of the *Epigrammata* by Bourbon, published in Lyon in 1530, whose existence had been previously ignored. Quotations will be taken from Bourbon 1533 and 1538.

Qui me in carcere habet, mihi nec clauditue aperitue:	Tal m'ha in pregion, che non m'apre né serra.
Nec uult esse suum, cuius me uincula nectunt:	né per suo mi riten né scioglie il laccio;
Nec me occidit Amor, set nec me compede soluit,	e non m'ancide Amore, e non mi sferra,
Nec uiuum superesse sinit, nec quaerere pacem:	8 né mi vuol vivo, né mi trae d'impaccio.
Absque oculis clare uideo, clamo sine lingua:	Veggio senza occhi, e non ho lingua e grido;
Et pacem fugito, precibus mihi & illa roganda est:	e bramo di perir. e cheggio aita;
Denique qui me odi, alterius consumor amore:	et ho in odio me stesso, et amo altrui.
Rideo suspirans, me pasco doloribus ipsum:	12 Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido:
Mors & uita mihi grata est, placet utraque iuxta:	egualmente mi spiace morte e vita:
Sic ego sum pro te, pro te sum talis Amica.	in questo stato son, donna, per vui.
(Bourbon, *Nugae*, 1533, f. m5^{v})	(Petrarch, *Rime* 134)[9]

(I find no peace, and have no wish to make war;
I both fear and hope, and burn and turn to ice;
I both fly above the heavens and lie on the ground;
I grasp nothing and embrace all the world.
He has me in prison who neither opens nor locks me out,
neither keeps me for his own nor loosens the bonds;
Love does not kill me and does not unchain me,
he neither wishes me alive nor pulls me from the tangle.
I see without eyes, I have no tongue and yet cry out;
I both wish to die and I ask for help;
I both hate myself and love another.
I feed on pain, and laugh amidst my tears;
death and life are equally displeasing to me.
I am in this state, Lady, on account of you.)

This poem in dactylic hexameters – one might have expected elegiac couplets for a love poem – follows very closely the Italian original. The antitheses characteristic of Petrarch's feelings — peace–war, hope–fear, heat–cold, ascent–descent, etc. — are presented in an identical manner by Bourbon. At times the French writer is a little more precise than Petrarch, for example in line 4 where he says that it is his "mind" (*mens*) which "touches upon nothing, and which embraces the whole world". On the other hand, in lines 10 and 13, Bourbon offers variations on Petrarch's poem: in line 13, he in fact asserts the opposite of what Petrarch says, and in line 10, it is a question in Bourbon of fleeing or finding *peace*, as opposed to *death* in the case of Petrarch. However, it emerges from this that clearly, already in the 1530s, there existed amongst French neo-Latin poets an interest in the Italian works of Petrarch, and that in translating them into Latin, they are introducing new

[9] The text is taken from Petrarch 1976, 293.

themes into amatory verse in France. Amongst the topoi mentioned above, it is undoubtedly the physical description of the beloved which provides one of the most important criteria for determining the influence of Petrarchism. Amongst Roman poets, descriptions of the beloved are quite rare, and, for the most part, suggestive rather than explicit, as in this Ovidian example:

> ut stetit ante oculos posito uelamine nostros,
> in toto nusquam corpore menda fuit.
> quos umeros, quales uidi tetigique lacertos!
> forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!
> quam castigato planus sub pectore venter!
> quantum et quale latus! quam iuuenale femur!
> (Ovid, *Amores* 1.5.17–22)[10]

> (As she stood before my eyes with drapery laid all aside, nowhere on all her body was sign of fault. What shoulders, what arms did I see – and touch! How suited for caress the form of her breasts! How smooth her body beneath the faultless bosom! What a long and beautiful side! How youthfully fair the thigh!)

Clearly a very sensual description – even the Loeb translator seems excited – but it is the readers who must supply the details from their own imagination.

On the other hand, when we turn to the poetry of Salmon Macrin, we find far more detailed descriptions. As an example, I propose to consider the opening of this hendecasyllabic poem addressed to his wife, *Ad Gelonidem*:

> Lydis candidior puella cycnis
> Getuloque ebore Indicisque baccis,
> quae lac, Sithonias niuesque uincis
> et marmor Parium, rosas et albas,
> uerno et lilia uerna cum ligustro et
> si quid candidiusque puriusque est,
> o flauos, precor, explica capillos
> astrictos rutilo decenter auro.
> Amplexabile succulentulumque
> da collum hoc mihi, uita, suauiandum.
> Hasce, quaeso, genas negare noli
> infusas Tyrii rubore fuci,
> stellatos oculos, puella, pande
> et supercilii nigrantis arcum,
> da corallina labra, quae lepore

[10] The text and translation are taken from Showerman 1947.

dulcis nectareo Melissa tinxit.
(Salmon Macrin, *Odes* 2.11.1–16)

(Beloved, whiter than the swans of Lydia, and Gaetulian ivory, and Indian pearls, surpassing milk, Thracian snows, and Parian marble, white roses, and spring lilies mixed with spring privet flowers, and whatever is whiter and purer, please let down your golden hair, elegantly bound up with a shining gold clasp; Give me this embraceable and juicy little neck to kiss, my love. And please do not refuse these cheeks, tinged with the glow of Tyrian purple; reveal your starry eyes, my sweet, and the bow of your dark eyebrow, offer your coral lips, which the sweet Melissa has imbued with delightful nectar).

When we take into account the fact that this poem was published in 1530, it is clear that Petrarchan descriptions, with more than a hint of Marullus's neo-Catullan style, had entered French neo-Latin poetry long before they were popularised by the Pléiade. The symphony in white which opens the poem conjures up various fields of imagery: the exotic and the precious ("Gaetulian ivory", "Indian pearls", "Parian marble"), the world of nature ("swans of Lydia", "Thracian snows", "white roses", "spring lilies", "spring privet flowers"), as well as the literary world, since these images have been chosen as a result of their intertextual allusions to pseudo-Gallus (Maximian), Virgil, and neo-Catullan poetry.[11] After this monochromatic opening, colour enters the poem with the "golden hair" echoed by the "shining gold clasp", the ruddy cheeks which resemble Tyrian purple, the star-like eyes, the bow formed by the dark eyebrows, and the coral lips. The Petrarchan quality of these images is obvious, emphasising as they do the precious and exotic nature of the various terms of comparison.

In another hendecasyllabic poem, also addressed *Ad Gelonidem*, the poetic description sets out to compare the beloved to a divinity:

Dentes candiduli minutulique,
uertex auricomus, corusci ocelli,
tinctae Puniceo rubore malae,
os spirans casiam Syrosque odores,
pressi lingua fluens liquore mellis
te non esse hominem arguunt, sed unam
Nympharum e numeroue Gratiarum…
(Salmon Macrin, *Odes* 2.8.24–30)

(Your tiny little white teeth, your golden hair, your bright eyes, your cheeks tinged with Punic purple, your mouth with its breath of cinna-

[11] See the notes to this poem in Macrin 1998.

> mon and Syrian perfume, your tongue dripping with the flow of thick honey, all prove that you are not mortal, but one of the band of Nymphs or Graces…).

Once again, this mixture of the neo-Catullan and the Petrarchan produces a striking image of Gelonis which appeals, as is often the case with Salmon Macrin, to the sense of taste and smell as well as that of sight.[12]

It is clear, then, that Salmon Macrin introduced into his Latin love poetry images which were typical of Petrarch and his Italian followers. If he is not alone in exploiting this field of imagery, it is nonetheless true that poetic portraits are somewhat rarer amongst other neo-Latin poets at this time in France, though we do find some examples in the poetry of Nicolas Bourbon, such as the following which presents the reader with an evocation of his *innamoramento* with Rubella:

Sola mihi occurrit soli pulcherrima uirgo,
Non mihi mortalis, set dea uisa fuit:
Obstupui, attonitusque diu vestigia pressi,
Illa quoque obstipuit, continuitque gradum:
Extemplo exarsi, sensique per ossa calorem,
Nostra graui telo pectora fixit Amor:
Olli uestis erat de pura candida tela,
Aurea praeuiridi fronde reuincta coma:
Omne genus uiolas gremio gestabat, at illae
Ante pedes dominae procubuere suae.
(Bourbon 1533, f. n6[r])

> (A most beautiful girl, all on her own, stood before me, all on my own, resembling not a mortal but a goddess. Stunned and amazed, I followed closely on her heels for some time. She too was amazed, and continued on her path. All of a sudden I was on fire, and I felt the heat pervade my bones. Love transfixed my heart with his harsh arrow. Her white dress was made of a pure cloth, her golden hair was bound with a garland of greenery, her breast was adorned with all sorts of violets, but they flung themselves before their mistress's feet).

[12] See too *Odes* 4.4.1–9 for another description of Gelonis, "cuius / ceruix florida, cuius ora, cuius / occultae in tenero sinu mamillae / uincunt Indicum ebur niuesque puras / et marmor Parium et ligustra uerna et / nondum lilia macerata sole, / ecquando tibi solus ipse soli / sugam florem animae suauioris?" (whose beautiful neck, face, and breasts, barely visible on your tender bosom, outstrip Indian ivory, and pure snow, Parian marble and spring privet, and lilies still unwilted by the sun; will I one day, one to one, suck in the flower of your sweet breath?).

All this is very reminiscent of Petrarch: the poet's sudden *innamoramento*, the presence of the god of Love who wounds the poet's heart, even the garland of greenery makes us think of the laurel tree and Petrarch's Laura.

Thus, the theme of the portrait of the beloved can be found in various guises in these neo-Latin poets, but the topos of the contradictory feelings engendered by love is, if anything, even more frequent. It goes without saying that neo-Latin poets were acquainted with the Catullan *locus classicus*, "Odi et amo…", but the Petrarchan version of this theme is accompanied by various images which are not to be found in the Roman poet. In the case of Salmon Macrin, as the legitimate husband of the object of his affections, one might have supposed that this theme would be less frequent, but this is far from being the case. Macrin often expresses the intensity of his feelings in such terms, and his periods spent away from Gelonis, caused by his court duties, also give rise to the expression of feelings of grief. Consider, for example, the start of the following hendecasyllabic poem:

Quo, suauissima, quo, puella, philtro
incautum haud ita pridem inebriasti,
ut sic perditus atque amore caeco
uecors, nec moriar nec ipse uiuam,
sed longis cruciatibus supersim,
larua pallidior nouaque cera,
cui durum fuit ante contumaxque
has ad delicias iocosque pectus,
seu curas potius molestiasque
uero nomine si liceret uti?
(Salmon Macrin, *Odes* 1.24.1–10)

(What drug, sweetest of girls, what drug have you unexpectedly intoxicated me with, so that lost and insane with blind love I neither die nor live, but cling on in protracted torment, whiter than a ghost or freshly made wax? Before, my heart was hard and unyielding in the face of such delights and sporting, or rather in the face of these torments and pains, if I might call them by their true name.)

Petrarchan themes abound here: the unexpected nature of love, which acts like a poison; the poet's insensitivity to love before he met the beloved; and above all the use of antithesis. The poet is neither dead nor alive, love is both a delight and a torment, his previous imperviousness to love has changed into passion.

Bourbon, too, exploits the Petrarchan contrast between fire and water in an epigram dating from 1531:

Quaeris aquam virgo? Duo sunt mea lumina fontes:
Ex quibus (oro) vide flumina quanta fluunt.
Quod si ignem quaeris, mea sunt praecordia flammae,
Sic, ut aqua in me ignem suscitet, ignis aquam.
(Bourbon 1538, 56)

(Do you wish for some water, beloved? My eyes are two fountains; see, I beg you, what rivers flow from them. But if you wish for fire, my heart consists of flame. So, just as water produces fire in me, so does fire produce water.)

This conceit of the opposing elements coexisting in the lover would be frequently exploited by later poets in the vernacular.

In the case of another neo-Latin poet associated with Lyon, Jean Visagier, the excuse of an exchange of letters is used in order to represent the poet's feelings:[13]

Tuas cum lego literas, vel ipse
Ad te scribo aliquid, manus tremiscit,
Occurrunt lachrymae, dolorque mentem
Inuadit grauis, abripitque sensus
Omnes, quodque meas leuare curas
Debet, id cumulum molestiarum
Adfert, me sinit esse nec quietum
Nostri, Clinia, caeca vis amoris,
Et Musam iubet esse contumacem.
(Visagier 1538b, f. 35r)

(When I read your letter, or write something to you myself, my hand begins to tremble, tears well up, and a sharp pain penetrates my mind and robs me of all my senses. The very thing which ought to relieve my cares adds to my troubles, and the blind strength of my love affords me no rest, Clinia, and forces my Muse to be unyielding.)

This paradox, then, forms the theme of quite a long poem in which, towards the end, Visagier concludes:

Anceps langueo totus, atque viuus
Simne an mortuus haud scio, non dolore fractam
Nullam corporis esse portionem,
Tuas cum lego literas, vt ante
Dictum est, scribere vel iubet Cupido.

[13] Quotations of Jean Visagier (Iohannes Vulteius) are taken from Visagier 1538a, and 1538b.

(I am completely languishing, uncertain, and I have no idea whether I am alive or dead; there is not a single part of my body which is not broken with pain when I read your letter, as I said, or Cupid orders me to write to you).

Although at times this poem verges on the prosaic, it nevertheless shows that the topos of the contradictory feelings of love was spreading in the 1530s, perhaps even being reduced to a collection of formulas.

The last theme I propose to examine under the heading of Petrarchism, the *locus amoenus* where the poet meets his beloved, is more promising from a poetic point of view. Indeed, in Salmon Macrin, the erotic landscape is one of the main aspects of his poetic vision, which I have analysed elsewhere in an article on his *Epithalamiorum liber*.[14] In this collection, the poet is mainly concerned with mythological landscapes, inhabited by nymphs and satyrs, and the Dutchman, Johannes Secundus, would later exploit the *locus amoenus* in his own love poetry.[15] We also find an example of this in the opening lines of a poem by Nicolas Bourbon which we have already looked at:

Liquerat in croceo Tithonum Aurora cubili,
Et cristata diem significarat auis:
Visebam frondes & amoena rosaria solus,
Graminibus terra luxuriante nouis:
Multimodis volucrum resonabat cantibus aër,
Et Zephyro multus flante canebat olor.
(Bourbon 1533, f. n vi^{r})

(Dawn had left Tithonus in their crocus-coloured bed, and the crested cock had announced daybreak. Alone, I was gazing on the leaves and lovely rose-beds, and the earth teemed with fresh plants. The air re-echoed with the birds' polyphony, and many a swan sang in the gentle breath of Zephyr).

This spring scene, a prelude to the *innamoramento*, is reminiscent of certain early compositions of the Pléiade.

In a final example, an epigram by Jean Visagier, *De se et puella quadam*, the *locus amoenus* is this time a garden:

[14] See Ford 1997.
[15] See Ford 1993, 116.

Quae me in amore suo tam longo tempore torsit,
Langoris tandem est illa miserta mei.
Et me gaudentem spatiosum duxit in hortum,
In quo cuncta virent, flos quoque multus adest.
(Visagier 1538a, f. 17r)

(She who for so long tortured me when I was in love with her has finally taken pity on my languishing. She has led me rejoicing into her spacious garden, where everything is fresh and where many a flower is to be found).

As is often the case with neo-Latin poets, the 'garden' here can only have an erotic sense: one thinks of another poem by Salmon Macrin, *Odes* 2.11.32–3, where, after an allusion to Gelonis' breasts, the poet exclaims: "This blessed garden of yours is filled with cinnamon and all sorts of sweet flowers" (Ille cinnama fert beatus hortus / et florum genus omne suauiorum…).

I have suggested that the poems considered so far are predominantly inspired by Italian vernacular or neo-Latin models, and this is entirely to be expected, given the French recognition of Italian cultural dominance in the first part of the sixteenth century. However, it is interesting in the Lyon context to note that French vernacular poems also found their way into Latin, and I will conclude this section by referring to examples of imitations of Clément Marot's poetry in Latin. If the Pléiade were dismissive of the poetic efforts of their predecessor, it is clear that he was held in considerable esteem in Lyon, with several poets punning on his name to suggest that he was a second Maro, or Virgil.

Thus, for example, one of Marot's early poems, a *rondeau* (*Au temps passé Apelles Painctre sage*) which was first published by 1527 in *Rondeaux en nombre troys cens cinquante*, re-appeared in 1533 in Nicolas Bourbon's *Nugae*, in the form of a Latin epigram (*Olim qui Veneris vultum depinxit Apelles*).[16] Bourbon's treatment of the *rondeau* is interesting. While keeping the sense of the original, a complimentary poem to the daughter of an artist from Orléans, as the French title informs us, Bourbon's version is far more compressed, dispensing with all that is inessential in the French poem, but producing a *pointe* which is more wittily expressed, and entirely in keeping with his other epigrams. This borrowing from Marot is typical of a number of neo-Latin poets in this period.

[16] See Marot 1990–1993, I. 169–70: "A la fille d'ung painctre d'Orleans, belle entre les autres", and ibid., notes pp. 560–61 on the dating, and Bourbon 1538, 92 for the Latin text. Defaux does not mention the Bourbon version in his notes. I discuss this poem elsewhere in Ford [2009].

To conclude this section, I wish to suggest that Renaissance Lyon offered the opportunity to both vernacular and neo-Latin poets to meet and to interact on equal terms, and that the kind of literary hierarchy which existed later elsewhere in France appears not to have been present here. Latin poets draw their inspiration from both vernacular and Latin poets from Italy, but they also draw on the poetry of their French vernacular counterparts, just as they in their turn do not hesitate to imitate neo-Latin works. Indeed, even without the evidence for this collaboration, we would expect it just by looking at their collections and the people to whom they dedicate their poems. Marot's *Adolescence Clementine* is preceded by a liminary epigram written by Nicolas Bourbon. Both poets write poems addressed to each other, and this network of like-minded writers extends much further: both poets address works to Jean Salmon Macrin, and Marot translated one of the latter's epigrams into French (*Ainsi qu'ung jour au grand Palays tes yeulx*, Marot 1990–1993, II 271); both had poems addressed to Rabelais and Scève, and members of the Budé family. Just as, a couple of decades later, Lyon would see the rise of women poets such as Pernette Du Guillet and Louise Labé, it would seem that its unprejudiced cultural climate allowed an easy interaction between Italian, neo-Latin, and French literature in a symbiotic rather than parasitic relationship.

* * *

I now wish to move forward a couple of decades to the Paris of the 1550s. By this point, the group of poets associated with the great Hellenist Jean Dorat, which was originally known as the Brigade but is now better known as the Pléiade, was firmly established as part of France's literary elite. Its central core – Dorat, Ronsard, Baïf, and Du Bellay – shared a common esteem of Greek literature as well as of Latin, and they were associated with other humanist and poetic circles in Paris and elsewhere. Like the Lyon poets of the 1530s, they constituted a distinctive literary community.

Within this community, then, as in Lyon, interaction between neo-Latin and the vernacular was a common feature, and I wish to explore a few examples of this in the second, shorter part of this paper. One of the Pléiade's main aims as set out in Du Bellay's 1549 manifesto, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*, was to establish the status of poetry as a vital element of national identity.[17] In a book whose title inspired the title of this paper, Dorothy Coleman showed how raising the prestige of French vernacular writing involved the systematic imitation of Roman models of a

[17] Du Bellay 1904.

suitably lofty register.[18] But in addition, the Pléiade set out to mark national events by creating verse collections – on births, marriages, deaths, military victories, etc. – normally of a collaborative nature. This offered the opportunity for various compositions to be presented, in a range of languages (Greek, Latin, and French), around a central theme, serving the dual purpose of immortalising the event and of showcasing the Pléiade's talents.

One such event was the death of Marguerite de Navarre in December 1549, which resulted in a *Tombeau*, published in Paris in 1551.[19] One of the works in this collection was a Latin ode by Jean Dorat, which was turned into French by Ronsard.

Qualis quadrigis raptus ab igneis	Ainsi que le ravi Prophete
Sublime Vates in liquidum æthera	Dans une brulante charette
Venit, manu flammante frenos	Haut elever en l'aer s'est veu,
Ignipedum moderans equorum,	D'un braz enflammé, par le vuide
	Guidant l'étincelante bride
	De ses chevaux aux piedz de feu:
Cum fulguranti lapsa Senis sinu	Lors que de ce Vieillard la robbe
Vestis supinas decidit in manus	Qui du sein flambant se derobe
Vatis minoris, flammeosque	Coulla dans les braz attendans
Visa cadens rutilare tractus	Du jeune Prophete, & glissante
	Par le vague fut rougissante
	Loing derriere en sillons ardans:
A tergo, ut olim quum ruit, aut procul	Comme on voit une etoille emeue
Visum superne proruere incitum	Qui tumbe, ou qui tumber est veue
Sydus, serena nocte, longos	Du Ciel, sous une clere nuict,
Pone trahens per inane sulcos,	Attrainant derriere sa fuitte
	Une longue flambante suitte
	De longs trais de feu qui la suit:
Sic nunc amictus Margaris horridos	Ainsi MARGUERITE fachée
Grauata, fecis participes suæ	De sa robbe humaine entachée
Natalis, exuto ueterno et	Du premier vice naturel
Corporeæ grauitate molis,	Ruant bas de prompte allegresse
	Le voile, engourdi de paresse
	De son gros fardeau corporel:

[18] Coleman 1979.
[19] Denisot 1551.

Sublimis orbes attigit igneos Nitens quaternis ad Superos rotis: Spe cum Fideque et Charitate, Vique malæ patiente sortis.	Disposte au ciel est arrivée Sur quatre rouës elevée Foy, Esperance, Charité, Et Patience dure & forte Qui courageusement supporte Toute maligne adversité.
His uecta sursum Diua iugalibus, Iam nunc beatis cœtibus interest, Regina non paruæ Nauarræ Sed patuli solidique regni.	D'un tel chariot soutenue Faitte Deesse elle est venue En la trouppe du Roy des Roys, Qu'ores elle embrasse & contemple Royne d'un monde bien plus ample Que n'estoit pas son Navarrois.

(Just as the enraptured prophet saw himself soar aloft in a burning chariot into the air, guiding upwards with flaming arm through the void the shining bridle of his fiery-hoofed horses; when the old man's cloak, slipping from his flaming breast, dropped into the waiting arms of the young prophet, and gliding through the void glowed far behind in trains of fire ; as we see a shooting star falling, or seeming to fall, from the sky, on a cloudless night, drawing in its wake a long blazing train of long streaks of fire behind it; just so, Marguerite, wearied with her human cloak, stained as it is with primeval sin, joyfully casting down her veil, benumbed by sloth from the gross burden of the body, has nimbly arrived in heaven, raised on the four wheels of Faith, Hope, Charity, and hardened, strong Patience, which courageously endures all evil adversity. Carried by such a chariot and made divine, she has joined the band of the King of Kings, which she now embraces and observes as queen of a far greater world than her realm of Navarre).

Dorat's alcaic ode becomes in Ronsard's hands octosyllabic *sizains*, but his version of the Latin poem is extremely close to the original, while nevertheless making some elements more explicit. There is very little padding here – the most is in the penultimate stanza, where Dorat's last line, "Vique malæ patientis sortis", becomes three lines in Ronsard.

However, the point of referring to this pair of poems is not so much to explore Ronsard's translation technique, which is excellent, as to question why he felt the need to do a translation in the first place. The obvious answer that suggests itself to the present-day reader is: in order to make the Latin text available to a broader audience. Yet if we consider the likely readership of the *Tombeau*, it is by no means certain that translation into the vernacular would have been necessary. Most people able to read would have learnt Latin. This notion is reinforced by the fact that Ronsard's was not the

only version. Du Bellay also produced in the same volume an *Immitation de l'ode latine de Ian Dorat*, of which the first stanza (heptasyllabic *huitains*) is:

> Comme en un char qui bruloit,
> Ravi parmi l'air liquide
> Le grand Prophete voloit,
> Et commandant à la bride
> Des chevaux audacieux,
> D'une main etincelante
> Guidoit leur trace brulante
> Par la carriere des cieux.
> (Du Bellay 1908–1931, IV 40)

(Just as the mighty prophet flew in a burning chariot, snatched up into the liquid air, and governing the bridle of his bold horses, with shining hand guided their burning steps through the path of the heavens).

In addition, there was another French version by Jean-Antoine de Baïf, and an Italian version by J.-P. de Mesmes, another indication of the French desire to rival the literary reputation of Italy. What appears to be going on here seems akin to the kind of virtuoso exercise often seen with Greek epigrams in the sixteenth century, where multiple Latin versions were produced of a single composition, often by the same poet.

The suspicion that reasons other than vulgarisation are involved in the Pléiade's particular version of poetic interchange is confirmed by another example of translation between Ronsard and Dorat, this time, however, from French into Latin. In 1555, in *Les Meslanges*, Ronsard published his first mythological hymn, centred on Bacchus.[20] That same year, the *Hymne de Bacus* appeared in a separate *plaquette* printed by André Wechel, but containing Jean Dorat's Latin translation.[21] Is this an example of vulgarisation in a slightly different sense, making Ronsard's French vernacular poem available to an international audience, or, again, is something else also happening here?

It seems to me that the Pléiade are more concerned in these ventures in establishing their prestige as humanist poets than they are in bringing their poetry to a broad audience. As printers, the Wechel family was very much involved in serious humanist texts, printing in Greek as well as Latin and French, often for the courses given by the *lecteurs royaux*.[22] The format of

[20] Ronsard 1555b.
[21] Ronsard 1555a.
[22] At the prompting of Guillaume Budé, François I[er] had established the Collège des lecteurs royaux in 1530, whose primary mission was to teach the three ancient languages,

the *Hymne de Bacus*, too, makes it resemble a classical text, interestingly with the Latin translation on the left and the French original on the right. Just like Ronsard's slightly earlier *Amours*, with their (French) commentary by the renowned humanist Marc-Antoine Muret, these printed texts are all quite consciously presenting Ronsard as a classical author.[23]

Yet at the same time, the exchange of texts which is going on within the group also points to a community of interests, which is reinforced in the print culture of the times. Paratexts in particular offer examples of this practice, where, typically, liminary verses will appear in several languages, often by different poets.

* * *

We have seen, then, two quite different ways in which neo-Latin and vernacular culture interact in sixteenth-century France. In the cosmopolitan intellectual climate of Lyon, neo-Latin writers can be seen to introduce poetic traditions from both classical and (Italian) vernacular verse, while at the same time drawing on native French vernacular and neo-Latin sources. The relatively loosely knit nature of Lyon culture no doubt encouraged this multi-directional exchange since, despite the existence of reasonably permanent *cénacles*, the city's central position at the crossroads to Italy and its important book fairs and printing industry saw the arrival of more temporary visitors such as Salmon Macrin and Clément Marot, who were nevertheless welcomed into the literary establishment. The result, however, was a fertile dissemination of ideas, which benefited both neo-Latin and the vernacular. The case with the Pléiade poets is different. Through a shared education and social background (a number of them came from the minor nobility), they formed a more coherent group, with a specific aim: the raising of the status of a classically-inspired, deliberately elitist French poetry, in rivalry with the best compositions of Italy. Vernacular collections were often given the same kind of treatment afforded to classical Greek and Latin texts, including an elaborate multilingual paratext, translations into Latin, and commentaries. At the same time, these activities helped to cement relations between the members of the group, and to contribute to the myth of a unified school of poets. But here too, the interchange between neo-Latin and the vernacular works in both directions, and for a group of poets capable of writing as readily in either French or Latin, the language of compositions may partly be determined by the intended audience, national or international, but may

Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The Wechels produced a number of texts for the College which were used by students for lecture courses.

[23] Ronsard 1553.

also be seen in the context of the friendly rivalry which existed between them as they participated in shared projects, inspired by a shared vision of the role of poetry in the world.

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Jesuit Image Rhetoric in Latin and the Vernacular:

The Latin and Dutch emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* *

By Nienke Tjoelker

The genre of the emblem was very suitable for the Jesuits in the Early-Modern period. In the Imago Primi Saeculi *and its Dutch adaptation the* Afbeeldinghe, *emblems are used for the celebration of the first centenary of the Society. Analysis of the intentions of the authors shows how emblems fit in the purposes of the publication of these books. A case-study of one particular emblem shows that both the Latin and the vernacular version of this book use emblems as rhetorical instruments for a persuasive Jesuit propaganda, each in a different way.*

Introduction

The Jesuits are well-known for their exuberant artistic achievements in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.[1] One type of imagery which flowered in the Jesuit art commissions in the seventeenth century was emblematics. The genre of the emblem was very well suited for to the aims of the Jesuits. Emblem books of Jesuits such as Jeremias Drexel and Henricus Engelgrave made the genre highly popular in the early years of the century, and their most influential expression was the *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), in celebration of the first centenary of the Jesuit order.[2] In the last few decades, scholars have done invaluable work on the construction of typologies and inventories of Jesuit emblems. Peter Daly and Richard Dimler published a bibliography of all extant emblem books by members of the Society of Jesus.[3] Studiolum, a digital publisher, is undertaking the major programme of pub-

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[1] Levy 2004, 15.

[2] Bailey 2003, 269.

[3] Dimler 1997–2007.

lishing the most important Jesuit emblem books in electronic form.[4] The main aim of this article is to explore in what way the emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* suited the Jesuits, and how this is expressed in the emblems in the *Imago* and its Dutch adaptation. This involves an analysis of the differences between the use of Latin and the vernacular by the authors.

In 1640 the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu* was published, on the occasion of the first centenary of the Jesuit order. The publishing-house of Balthasar Moretus printed the work in Antwerp. It had a run of at least 1050 copies, with the cost of the edition amounting to 18,900 florins.[5] A variety of people worked on it, which is reflected by the stylistic differences in the different parts of the book.[6] The project was probably coordinated by Johannes Bollandus (1596–1665) and Jan Tollenaer (or Jan de Tollenaere, 1582–1643);[7] Jacobus Libens probably worked on the redaction of the last book; the Jesuit poets Sidronius Hosschius (1596–1653) and Jacobus Wallius (1599–1690) wrote the poetry for it; and the emblems and title page were engraved by Cornelius Galle. The work was composed in Latin with additions in Hebrew and Greek, and amounts to a 952-page account of the history of the Jesuit order, and, more specifically, its history in the Low Countries. It consists of six chapters, each of the first five chapters being connected with a stage of the history of the order, parallel to one of the five stages of the life of Jesus, and the sixth chapter especially focused on the state and history of the order in the Low Countries. After each chapter follows a set of rhetorical or poetical exercises, and a number of emblems. When the Latin version became a success, a Dutch version of the book appeared, the *Afbeeldinghe van d'eerste Eeuw der Societeyt Jesu*. This adaptation in the vernacular appeared in a cheaper, smaller version. At least 1525 copies were printed, and the total cost of the edition amounted to 13,725 florins.[8] It is much shorter than its Latin equivalent, and lacks the rhetorical and poetical exercises. It has also a different title page. New passages have been added, such as a new advice to the reader, with an explanation of the new title page, a poetic composition and a useful table of contents.[9] Every

[4] http://www.studiolum.com/en/cd05.htm. A cd-rom with the monographic edition of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* is forthcoming.

[5] Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 92.

[6] The book itself says the following about the authorship on page 24: "Dissimilem scriptionis characterem Auctorum varietas fecit: neque displicebit opinor. Solet enim plerumque iucunda esse mutatio et ingeniorum placere diversitas" (A variety of authors has made the character of the writing different: and, as I believe, it will not displease. Because change is usually mostly pleasant and diversity of talents agreeable).

[7] Dimler 1997, I 56–59; Dimler 2007, 128–129.

[8] Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 103.

[9] Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 103.

chapter of the *Afbeeldinghe* contains a number of emblems, translated and adapted from the original by Adriaen Poirters and Laurent Uwens. However, twenty two emblems from the original do not have an equivalent in the Dutch version. Both the Latin and Dutch version are said to have been coordinated by Johannes Bollandus.

The first part of this article will analyse in what way emblems are suitable for the intentions of the Jesuits. The second part will be a study of the emblems of the *Imago* and its Dutch adaptation the *Afbeeldinghe*. In the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*, emblems give us a good impression of how the Jesuit order wanted to represent itself and what message it tried to convey in the celebration of its centenary. Thirdly, a case study will compare the Dutch and Latin version of one emblem which is particularly relevant to the idea of self-representation, and analyse how each version used the emblem and its rhetorical techniques to achieve a persuasive rhetoric of images.

I. The role of emblems and imagery in the Jesuit order

Emblems and imagery were strongly present in Jesuit spirituality. The first part of this paper will examine some important aspects of the emblem which made it so attractive to the intentions of the Jesuits. The interest of the Jesuits in emblem literature is only one aspect of the phenomenon of Jesuit image culture. To a great extent we can explain the interest of the Jesuits in emblems and visual information through the ideas of a key figure of the Jesuit order: its founder Ignatius of Loyola. In his *Exercitia spiritualia*, Ignatius of Loyola advocates mental prayer and intense self-examination as a method of meditation. This consists among other things in taking full possession of the praying person's imagination. All the five senses are used in this. On the use of the sense of sight he writes: "By the sight of my imagination I will see the persons by meditating and contemplating in detail all the circumstances around them, and by drawing some profit from the sight."[10] Imagination is essential in prayer, and through the 'internal senses' of the imagination the meditator becomes an interested eyewitness. It was said in the Order that even such a highly gifted contemplative as Ignatius prepared for prayer by looking at the prints he collected to that end and exhibited in his room.[11]

Through the deeper meaning hidden within it, the emblem constantly puts the thoughts and actions of the believer into the right perspective. This makes the emblem especially suitable for the promotion of the praise and honour of God in the world, one of the most important principles of the Jes-

[10] Ignatius of Loyola 1991, 122.
[11] Porteman 1996, 20.

uit order. Ignatius of Loyola said the following about this principle in his Spiritual Exercises: "The human person is created to praise, reverence and serve God Our Lord, and by doing so save his or her soul."[12] The principle is also expressed by the Jesuit motto, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (To the higher glory of God), which lies at the centre of Jesuit spirituality. The *Imago* devotes an emblem to the *Societatis Iesu symbolum* (the motto of the Society of Jesus) after the *Prolegomena*.[13]

The use of emblems supports the didactic purpose, which is connected to another principle of the Jesuit order: mission. The emblem offers an attractive combination of word and image. Pictures themselves are easily remembered.[14] The combination of an image and a clarifying text makes the emblem even more authoritative: "You look, you recognise and are thereupon led and persuaded by the text to new insights".[15] By means of both nature (especially fauna and flora) and tradition (mythology, the Bible, history, literature) as well as of human experience, emblems offer norms and arguments for correct behaviour. The Jesuit Henricus Engelgrave also pointed to this specific didactic and mnemonic function of emblems in his emblem sermon books.[16]

Jesuits saw the emblem as part of the rhetorical doctrine of tropes. In rhetoric tropes are words that are used in a meaning they do not truly possess, but onto which that meaning is transferred whenever they take the place of words which do have that meaning.[17] In the emblem it is the 'images' or '*picturae*', which receive these figurative meanings. Rhetoric was an important discipline in Jesuit education.[18] The emblem was therefore strongly present in the college curriculum, as part of the instruction in rhetoric. The earliest traces of Jesuit interest in emblematics in relation to their curriculum can be found in the *Ratio Studiorum*, where the interpretation and composition of emblems is advocated for students of rhetoric and humanities.[19]

An important aspect of classical rhetoric is the harmony of *dulce* and *utile*. Horace saw the mixture of *dulce* and *utile* in a poem as an ideal harmony, when he said: "He has won every vote, who has blended profit and

[12] Ignatius of Loyola 1996, 289.
[13] Bollandus 1640a, 44.
[14] Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 24.
[15] Porteman 1996, 14.
[16] Van Vaeck 2007a, 541.
[17] Porteman 1996, 22.
[18] For a thorough analysis of the influence of humanism on the Jesuit educational system, and its stress on the discipline of classical rhetoric, see Dimler 2007, 56.
[19] Daly 2008, 102. See also Dimler 2007, 61.

pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader."[20] Poetry should be wholesome as well as pleasant. This combination is also present in emblems. Dimler sees the distinctive combination of art, beauty and morality in the *Imago* as a unique and innovative feature of the work in comparison to other emblem books.[21] The emblem is not only a favourite weapon of propaganda for the Society of Jesus because of its effective didactic properties, but especially because of the combination of usefulness and art and beauty, in other words, the *dulce*. The Jesuits strove to adapt their propaganda to the customs of the countries they worked in. Through it they insinuated their message. The taste of Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was for display, display in sumptuous ceremonies, theatrical performances, opera, ballet, witty devices and elegant emblems.

John Manning has shown that festivities characterize the genre of emblems as a whole, and can hardly be described as late, decadent developments in the history of the genre.

> To underestimate the strength of this tradition of public celebration, and to fail to appreciate the importance of the festive, the ceremonial, the comic, the playful, the jocose and the satiric is to misunderstand the aims and purposes of particular emblem books, and, indeed, the genre as a whole.[22]

Further in his interesting book, he shows how the Jesuits in particular were indeed "the masters of lavish emblematic celebration." He sees the *Imago Primi Saeculi* as an exhibition of the Jesuits themselves and a flamboyant celebration. The festivity and self-celebration of the *Imago* attracted the criticism of the Jansenists because of its visual and verbal opulence, which seemed incongruous when applied to an institution founded on a vow of poverty.[23] As Manning sees it, "the *Imago* lets all stops out in a triumphant organ-blast of self-praise, invoking an unashamed, post-Tridentine rhetoric."[24] Although the *Imago* was severely criticised for its self-praise and pretentiousness, it had a high stature as an emblem book. This is illustrated by the fact that Jakob Masen, a pre-eminent emblem theorist of the seventeenth century, refers to the *Imago* emblems extensively in his influential theory of the four sub-types of the figurative image or *imago figurata*.[25]

[20] Horace, *Ars Poetica* 343–344. In Latin: "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci, lectorem delectando pariterque monendo." Translation: Fairclough 1955.
[21] Dimler 2007, 130–131.
[22] Manning 2002, 187.
[23] Fumaroli 1994, 364–365.
[24] Manning 2002, 196.
[25] Dimler 2007, 126–143.

II. The emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* and the *Afbeeldinghe van d'Eerste Eeuw der Societeyt Jesu*

Before we will turn to the emblems themselves, we will analyse the purposes of the publication of the *Imago Primi Saeculi*. The structure of the work is clearly laid out and discussed in the *Synopsis* and *Dissertationes prolegomenae*. The content is spread out over six books. In the seventh paragraph of the introduction, the order and content of the books and the variation of styles in them is explained and justified. The order of the books is clearly not random. One of the most important purposes of the Society was to promote the glory of God, and this also determined the arrangement of the chapters of this book. The first five books of the work are devoted to the history of the Society as a whole, and to the honour of God. They have been arranged in such a way, "that the Society (since it was born and raised for the glory of the saviour Jesus) just as in other matters, so also in this work, would be an image of the time he spent among people."[26] Therefore the first five books correspond to a period of Jesus' life. As mentioned earlier the first book concerns the beginnings, or childhood, of the Society,[27] the second deals with its growth, the third with the activities and achievements of the Society,[28] the fourth with its sufferings[29] and the fifth with its glory.[30] The sixth book concerns the history of the Society within the Provincia Belgica. Thus the arrangement of the books is justified. Marc Fumaroli has convincingly suggested a second element that can be considered in this arrangement.[31] He sees the description of the arrangement of the work, divided into six books, as an allegorical description of a church with a façade (the frontispiece), peristylium (the dedication and introduction) and six chapels (the six books).

In order to adorn the book appropriately for the occasion, and to make the reading of the book as agreeable as possible for the reader, many different forms of art and rhetoric have been used in this work, each of which is discussed in the introduction: a history of the Society (*narratio*), poetry

[26] Bollandus 1640a, 21: "Earum [*sc. partium*] inter se ordo nec fortuito, nec casu ita digestus, sed vt Societas (quoniam ad Servatoris Iesu gloriam nata est atque adoleuit) quemadmodum ceteris in rebus, ita et in hoc Opere aetatis ab eo inter mortales exactae sit imago."

[27] In Latin the word *incunabula* is used (Bollandus 1640a, 21). Lewis and Short give the following description of this word: *incunabula*, -orum, n: a cradle; childhood; *figuratively* the elements, beginnings.

[28] This book is called *Societas Agens*. Examples of this are the teaching of the Society and actions against heretics.

[29] The book is called *Societas Patiens*.

[30] This book is called *Societas Honorata*.

[31] Fumaroli 1994, 347–348.

(*carmina*), speeches (*orationes*), and emblems. The following is said as an explanation for the great variety of genres in the *Imago*:

> Truly now, as we sing a happy and favourable *paean* in this anniversary year, a sterile and bare story is not suitable; because the delightfulness of the public games with the Romans was not displayed without *missilia* either. What then? If authors of histories used to recount the exhortations of emperors, deliberations of senates, and applause of the soldiers, they did not do so because those matters had occurred in precisely that way, but to please the reader. If Thucydides could mix in short poems occasionally, surely we are allowed to mix in a practice common among those who keep in view the character of the public, which is wearied of all things soon, as Isocrates said, and to add in that which is the more favourably seen, emblems, songs, speeches, just like some kind of *missilia*, and to interweave them in it, as if it were a wreath of roses, bound together with violets, narcissuses, hyacinths or smaller flowers?[32]

The variety of genres is first compared to *missilia*. The handing out of *missilia*, literally 'things which are thrown', was a usage from imperial Rome. *Missilia* were presents thrown by the emperors among the people during festivities, like the *ludi* (public games).[33] Secondly, the structure of the work is modelled on the example of historical authors, such as Thucydides, who did not just write down the facts, but added amusing anecdotes, poems and speeches to please the reader. Thirdly, a reference to the rhetorician Isocrates supports the use of so many different genres. Isocrates had mentioned how easily the general audience is wearied. By adding poems and emblems, the authors of the *Imago* try to prevent the reader from becoming bored and ceasing to read. Lastly, after another comparison to *missilia*, the work is compared to a rose wreath with other flowers interwoven. The rose stands for the core of the work, the history of the first hundred years of the Society, and the other flowers stand for the poetical exercises and emblems. The explicit discussion of these four reasons shows that the authors were

[32] Bollandus 1640a, 23: "Iam vero, vt Saeculari anno laetum canamus faustumque Paeana, neque sterilis placuit neque nuda narratio; quando nec ludorum apud Romanos amoenitas absque missilibus fuit exhibita. Quid enim? Qui historiae scribendae incumbunt, si Imperatorum hortationes, Senatuum consulta, militum plausus referre consueuerunt, non quod res eae sic gestae sint, verum vt sua sit Lectori voluptas; si Thucydidi licuit interdum breuia carmina admiscere; nobis in gratulationibus vsitatum morem, in hominibus vulgi ingenium spectantibus, cui omnium mox rerum satietas sit, vt inquit Isocrates, quanto aequius visum, emblemata, carmina, orationes, velut missilia quaedam interserere, et quasi de rosis sertum, violis, narcissis, hyacinthisque, ceu minoribus floribus, intexere?"

[33] Cp. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VIII 1339.33–49. See also Hopkins 1983, 9; Leader-Newby 2004, 45.

well aware of possible criticism of the extravagant and ambitious set-up of the *Imago*.

The great variety of genres illustrates the Jesuits' love of display and celebration. As representatives of the age of the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits saw it as their main task to convert and educate as many people as possible, and they frequently used theatre and many other forms of art to achieve this goal.[34] The use of emblems is discussed separately. Emblems are compared to ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs.[35] It is a topos of emblematists to place their work in the tradition of interpreting the wisdom of the Egyptians.[36] Furthermore it is said that emblems appeal to many, although a few might not like the mix of history and fiction. Just like the great variety of genres, the use of emblems in particular serves the distinct populist approach of the Jesuits.[37] According to the papal bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, which established the Society of Jesus in 1540 as a religious order, the Society was

> principally instituted to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine, and for the propagation of the faith by public preaching and the ministry of God's Word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, more particularly by grounding in Christianity boys and unlettered persons, and by hearing the confessions.[38]

As Jeffrey Muller says in his chapter on Jesuit uses of art in Flanders, the apostolic mission and means of persuasion of the Jesuits can be linked together with the diverse uses of art made by the Jesuits.[39] This explains the intention of the authors of the *Imago* to reach a wide audience and not a small elite.

Lastly, the purpose of the book is once more underlined. Although the *Imago* was written to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus, the figure representing the Society on the title-page says that the work was primarily undertaken for the glory of God, and not for the glory of the

[34] On the popular impact of the Jesuits and the Counter-Reformation in general, a clear and concise overview is given by Mullett 1984, 26–30.

[35] Bollandus 1640a, 23: "Accedunt emblemata, ceu rerum quaedam similitudines, siue, rursus veterum exemplo, maiorum res gestas incidentium aeri; siue Aegyptiorum potius, qui hieroglyphicis vsi arcana quaeque posteritati tradidere."

[36] To mention one other example, one of the founders of the genre, Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), also saw his emblems as part of the tradition of the interpretation of hieroglyphs (Porteman 1977, 17).

[37] Bollandus 1640a, 23: "Scimus enim et haec placuisse non paucis. Multitudini Scriptor, non pauculis hominibus, seruire contendat."

[38] Translation quoted from Bireley 1999, 32.

[39] Muller, in O'Malley 2005, 114.

Society itself.[40] As discussed before, the Jesuit motto was an important principle in all the activities of the Jesuits. The authors of the *Imago* believed that the Society of Jesus represented God on earth, and therefore a celebration of the centenary of the Jesuit order could be organized *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. As though the Jesuits already expected that the extravagant style of the book would evoke criticism, later in this paragraph it is stressed once more that the whole project is undertaken to honour God, Jesus, and Mary.[41] Finally the prominent figures in the Society (the saints Cosmas and Damianus,[42] Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier) are praised.

III. Case study: the comparison of one emblem in the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*

Having established the explicit intentions of the authors of the *Imago*, we will now compare the Latin and Dutch version of the emblem on page 43 of the *Imago*, entitled *Societas Iesu*, and its Dutch equivalent in the *Afbeeldinghe*, entitled *De Societeyt Iesu* in order to analyse how these intentions are developed in practice. Both versions of the emblem use the same *pictura*, and the title is the same in both languages: the Society of Jesus. We will first take a look at the *pictura*. In a rich, luxuriant scroll with exotic shells and fish or whales, we see a sun which shines on the world. It is a very simple symbolic image. Since early Christendom, the symbol of the Sun has been used to represent the divine, God or Jesus. Emblem no. 38 in Zincgref 1619 and the *Imago* emblem on page 43 are closely related, as Richard Dimler persuasively argued in his paper on Jesuit emblems.[43] Both Zincgref and the *Imago* use the metaphor of the sun. In Zincgref's emblem book, the prince is presented as the sun of the kingdom. This was easily adapted to the

[40] The central female figure on the titlepage of the *Imago* is saying the following: "non nobis, Domine, non nobis: sed Nomini tuo" (not for us, Lord, not for us, but for your name).

[41] Bollandus 1640a, 24: "Nunc te, Deus Opt. Max. cuius vnius honori omnis hic noster deuotus est labor; nec te minus, Optime Iesu (quo enim potius te nomine appellet minime nostra Societas, Optimum experta Parentem iam nascens, adulta Ductorem, impugnata Propugnatorem Seruatoremque; quam tuo nomine insignire tibi placuit, vt libertos esse nos tuos, sociosque in aerumnis, memores simus?) te, inquam, Optime Iesu, tuamque appello suauissimam Matrem; si Marianae gloriae domi tot defensores, tot apud exteras gentes propugnatores, tot vbique terrarum aluit studiosos; serua cohortem tuam aeterno tibi adstrictam sacramento; pugnasque inter et victorias, prospera inter et aduersa, tuo in obsequio *annare* fac et *perennare*."

[42] These saints were important in the Jesuit order. In the *Imago* they are praised extensively, and on page 46 an emblem is devoted to them as the *Confirmatae Societatis Praestites*. The feastday of these Saints was on the same day as the beginning of the celebrations.

[43] Dimler 1976, 436–437.

Society of Jesus as the sun whose rays illuminate the earth. The title of Zincgref's emblem, "Radiis tamen omnia lustrat" (It brightens everything with its rays), is very close to the meaning of the Jesuit epigram under the *pictura* in the *Imago*, "Non est qui se abscondit a calore ejus" (Nothing exists hidden from its warmth). Both underline the omnipresence of the sun. As in many emblems of the *Imago* (and therefore also the *Afbeeldinghe*), the Jesuits were influenced in their choice of emblem picture by a secular emblem book. They incorporated the picture of a secular emblem, and infused a new moral aspect into the emblem by changing the motto or title, and, above all, the epigram. As we will see, the epigram conveys a distinctly Jesuit message and explains the deeper meaning of the sun.

Next we will focus on the Latin version of the epigram. Under the image follows a quotation of psalm 18.7: "Non est qui se abscondat a calore eius" (Nothing exists which can hide from its warmth). In the original context, *eius* refers to God, who helped David when he called for help. However, as will become clear from the context, here we should read *eius* as referring to the Society of Jesus. Then the poem follows:

Cimmeriae tenebrae, Phoebóque incognita regna,
Et quas perpetuò nox premit atra plagas,
Fabula quam veteres olim finxere Poëtae,
Credita ab antiquâ simplicitate fuit.
Este procul nugae: nullae sine sole latebrae,
Terra nec aethereas effugit vlla faces.
Tu licet extremas Scythiae glacialis ad oras
Hinc procul à patriis finibus exsul eas,
Et modò quod plaustris, ratibus modò curritur aequor,
Quaeque eadem semper sidera terra videt;
Siue sub aduerso depressas cardine terras,
Visaque adhuc nulli barbara Regna petas;
Quid fugis, ah demens? incassùm niteris: omni
Sol aderit, fugias tu licet vsque, loco.
Seriùs aut citiùs his cuncta caloribus ardent:
Nullus ab his toto tutus in orbe locus.
Quod radii Solis, Coetus facit istud Iesu:
Omnis ab hoc latè, quà patet, ardet humus.

(Cimmerian darkness, dominions unknown to Phoebus, and regions which the dark night suppresses constantly, these are a story which the old Poets once composed, which was believed by ancient simplicity. Be gone with such trifles! There are no hiding-places from the sun, nor does any land escape the heavenly torches. Though you may go, like an exile, to the extreme boundaries of icy Scythia, where you are

> far from your own country's borders, and to wide expanses crossed by carts or boats, or to the land which always sees the same stars, even if you seek lands pressed under the opposite pole and the barbarian realms not yet seen by anyone: Why do you flee, oh fool? You strive in vain: the sun is present everywhere, wherever you may flee. Sooner or later all things blaze with that warmth: No place on the who earth is safe from it. What the rays of the Sun do, the Society of Jesus does: the whole earth blazes with it widely, as far as it extends).

The explicit explanation of the metaphor of the psalm is postponed until the last two verses (17–18): "What the rays of the Sun do, does the Society of Jesus:/ The whole earth blazes with it widely, as far as it extends."[44] In the beginning of the poem, there is an elaborate, very poetic and highly rhetorical statement telling us, the reader, that wherever we go, there is no place where the rays of the sun do not shine, no Cimmerian darkness, or places unknown to Phoebus. The poet adapts these classical concepts to the Jesuit message in a very clever way, rejecting them as trifles. *Cimmeriae tenebrae* is a proverbial classical expression for an obscure, unknown area, discussed by Erasmus in his *Adagia*[45]. The reference to areas unknown to Phoebus refers to the classical metaphor of the god for the sun. The whole verse seems to be a variation of a verse of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 3.397: "Cimmerium domus et superis incognita tellus." The poem is written in fluent elegiac couplets. In the second verse, the alliteration "perpetuo … premit … plagas" adds to the poetical style. Further in the poem there are many more instances of alliteration, such as in v. 5 ("nugae nullae, sine sole"), v. 10 ("semper sidera"), v. 11 ("sive sub"), v. 15 ("cuncta caloribus"), and v. 16 ("toto tutus"). After the reference to the ancient poets, the existence of these obscure lands, where the sun would not be present, is strongly denied in v. 5, by the apostrophe "este procul nugae". The word-order in the whole poem is poetic, for example in v. 5 the placement of "sine sole" between *nullae* and *latebrae*. In the next verse we see a chiastic wordorder: "terra aethereas ulla faces". In v. 7 the reader is addressed by the emphatically placed *tu*.[46] This is an element characteristic of emblem literature, by which the reader is addressed and involved in the emblem. The whole verse contains a clear reminiscence of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.788–791: "est locus

[44] Bollandus 1640a, 43, vv. 17–18: "Quod radii Solis, Coetus facit istud Iesu:/ Omnis ab hoc late, qua patet, ardet humus."

[45] Erasmus, *Adagia* 1534 =2.6.34: "Multam obscuritatem, aut animi caliginem *Cimmerias tenebras* appellant." I have consulted the work in the 1703 Leiden edition, as published by Studiolum.

[46] "Tu licet extremas Scythiae glacialis ad oras."

extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris". This verse comes from a passage with a description of the icy and isolated land of Scythia:

> There is a place on the farthest border of icy Scythia, a gloomy and barren soil, a land without corn, without trees. Sluggish Cold dwells there and Pallor, Fear, and gaunt Famine.[47]

In vv. 13–14 the reader is once more addressed ("Quid fugis, ah demens? Incassum niteris: omni/ Sol aderit, fugias tu licet usque, loco."). These verses are reminiscent of a passage of Propertius, which stresses the omnipresence of Amor, *Elegiae* 2.30.1–2: "quo fugis, ah demens? Nulla est fuga: tu licet usque/ ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor" (Whither fliest thou, mad heart? There is no escape. Fly as far as the Tanais; Love will hunt thee down).[48] The word order has been changed slightly, *quo* is replaced by *quid* and the river Tanais from the original, a Scythian river, is replaced by "omni loco" (every place). Part of the pentameter of v. 16 reminds us of a halfline of a pentameter from Ovid, *Fasti* 4.573: "… nullus in orbe locus." In the penultimate verse of the poem finally the real message of the emblem is revealed, with a very emphatic final position of Iesu in the verse. The last two feet of the last pentameter seem to echo Ovid, *Fasti* 4.492: "cuius anhelatis ignibus ardet humus."

From this short analysis we can conclude that the Latin version of the epigram explains the *pictura* in a very poetic, festive way. As is typical in humanist activity, impressive rhetorical devices, reminiscences and quotations of classical literature and mythology, the existing secular emblem literature, and the Bible are used in conveying the message in order to achieve the ideal harmony of *utile* and *dulce*. The reader who would pick up most of these elements, had to have had a thorough education in classical and Christian culture. The message of the emblem – the Society of Jesus is like the sun, its rays are everywhere – clearly shows a very confident self-representation, and after looking at this emblem the frequent critique by many contemporaries is not surprising.

Comparing the Dutch version of the emblem, the first thing we notice is that the Dutch epigram is much longer: the whole entry is two pages long, compared to one of the Latin. In fact, it is not really a translation, but an adaptation. Since there already is a unity between the two emblems because of the same image, the 'translator' or rather 'adaptator' was much freer in his work. He could create a new poem, which added to the festivity of the

[47] "Est locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris, triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus; Frigus iners illic habitant Pallorque Tremorque, et ieiuna Fames." Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.788–791. Translation: Miller 1956.

[48] Translation: Goold 1990.

whole project. What follows is the poem, first the original Dutch text, and after this my translation into English:

Geen land en is soo verr' van hier, of ick onsteke't door mijn vier.
O Noyt vermoeyde Son, die met u gulden waghen
Aen heel de werelt deylt de nachten, en de daghen,
Die door u soeten schijn, en met u purper-root,
Verlicht al watter is, en treckt als uyt de doot:
Die 't al verquicken doet 't zij menschen, ofte dieren,
Als oock de voghels snel die aen den hemel swieren,
En heeten welle-com den soeten daegheraet,
De dochter van de Son, die voor haer vader gaet:
Dees werelts klaere oogh, die met u heete straelen
Door-snijdt de vaste aerd', en weet daer in te daelen,
En werckt daer wonder in, iae van een klompken slijck
Brengt voort dat edel gout, en maeckt de werelt rijck.
Door u sietm' op een rots de diamanten groeyen,
Door u in een valley de schoone bloemkens bloeyen.
O licht! O wonder licht! O siel van de natuur!
Hoe menigh duisent mijl dooreyst ghy op een uur!
En dat met sulck een kracht, 'tzy met een soeten morgen,
Oft met v middaeghs vier; voor u is niet verborghen:
Daer is geen landt soo verr', daer ghy niet komt omtrent,
Geen landt soo naer den Noordt, of 'tis u wel bekent.
Den bonten Moscouit die doet ghy oock sijn pelsen
Wel worpen van het lijf, en lichter kleet omhelsen:
Aen Groen-landt, Iis-landt me, dat knipper-tandt van kouw,
Daer seyndt ghy van u vier, op dat het branden souw.
Iae nova Zembla selfs al is't dats' v dert terghen
Met noyt-gesmolten ijs, met wit-besneewde bergen;
Ghy speeld in haeren sneeuw, het ijs hardt als metaal
Dat schrooomt u soet gesicht, en vloeyt oock door een strael.
O IESV Compagnie! O vier van onse tijden!
O hemels soeten schijn! spijt al die u benijden,
Ghy die daer opwaerts rijst, en over al u licht
En straelen mede deylt, oock uyt des sons gesicht.
De werelt was nu koudt, daer was noch vier, noch leven,
Godts liefde was vergaen, wie sal die weder geuen?
Wie sal dien flauwen geeft verwermen? O wie sal?
Belijdt wie dat ghy zijt, sy doet het ouer al.
Wel aen loopt als de Son, en wilt voortaen soo schijnen,
Op dat de werelt sie door u haer ijs verdwijnen,

40 Loopt voort van eeuw tot eeuw, en wilt noyt blijven staen,
Soo sal u glans en schijn noch altijt voorder gaen.

(Bollandus 1640b, 32–33)

(*No land is so far from here, that I do not light it with my fire.* O never tired Sun, who, with your golden chariot, share with the whole world the nights and the days, who by your sweet shine, and by your purple-red, enlighten all there is, and pull [all] as it were out of the death, [you,] who boost all, both humans and animals, as well as the swift birds which sway in the sky, and welcome sweet aurora, the daughter of the Sun, who goes before her father. The clear eye of this world, which cuts through the firm earth with your hot rays, and which is able to enter into it, and which works miracles in it, even creates that noble gold from a lump of mud, and makes the world rich. Because of you diamonds are seen growing on a rock, because of you [one sees] the beautiful flowers flourish in a valley. O light! O wonderful light! O soul of nature! How many thousand miles do you travel in an hour! And that with such power, either with a sweet morning, or with your afternoon's fire; nothing is hidden for you, no country is so far, that you do not come there, no country so far north, that it is not known to you. You also make the furred Muscovite throw off his pelts from his body, and dress lighter: to Greenland, also Iceland, which shivers because of the cold, there you send your fire in order that it burns. Yes, even Nova Zembla, although it dares to provoke you with never-melting snow, with white-snowed mountains, you play in her snow, the ice as hard as metal, which fears your sweet face, and flows also through a ray. O Society of Jesus! O fire of our times! O heavenly sweet shine! Sorrow to all who envy you, who rise upwards there, and who share your light and rays everywhere, also from the face of the sun. The world was cold now, there was neither fire nor life. God's love was perished, who will give it back? Who will warm that weak spirit? O who will? Confess who you are, she does it everywhere. Then, walk like the Sun, and want to shine thus from now, in order that the world shall see all her ice disappear because of you, continue to walk from century to century, and never want to stand still, that way your glance and shine will always advance).

The *subscriptio* starts with the same Latin verse from Psalm 18.7. It is accompanied by a Dutch verse: "Geen landt en is soo verr' van hier, of ick onsteke't door mijn vier" (No land is so far from here, that I do not light it with my fire). The sense is generally the same as that of the Latin (the Society of Jesus reaches the whole world with its rays), but the perspective has changed to the first person. The following poem explains the metaphor. The poem is written in iambic couplets, the last foot of each set of verses rhyming. It starts with an address of the Sun. In this apostrophe the sun is praised

elaborately, in a long sentence, with the comparison of the boosting effect of the sun and being pulled out of death. The mention of the swift birds adds to the poetic tone. Aurora is personified, and occurs in a reference to the classical myth of Aurora, daughter of the Greek sun god Hyperion. Next the praise of the sun is continued by discussing some of the fruits of the earth that are given to us by the sun: gold, diamonds, flourishing flowers. In this passage also an alliteration occurs ("bloemkes bloeyen"). The power of the light is admired. Next mention is made of far, unknown and isolated areas which the sun reaches, similar to the Latin poem. However, the described countries are not the same.[49] All are northern, cold countries. Their descriptions are quite elaborate and illustrative: with each country some characteristics are brought up. Firstly a Muscovite is said to change his dress because of the sun, secondly Greenland, Iceland and Nova Zembla are said to be ruled by the fire of the sun. The mention of these northern countries is connected to contemporary developments. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century many expeditions were undertaken from Europe to find a North-East Passage to Asia. The Netherlands participated in this to a great extent. This resulted in a flourishing commerce in whale products from the area and other products. The expeditions were a great economic incentive in many respects, and also caused huge intellectual excitement among contemporaries. In 1596, during one of his expeditions, Jan Barentsz stayed a whole winter on Nova Zembla – he wrote a famous book about it, the *Overwintering op Nova Zembla*, which is still a classic in the Netherlands. It is likely that Poirters is appealing to this fascination for new, undiscovered, exotic lands and a passage to the East at the time to stimulate the interest of the reader in the poem. The Jesuits themselves were interested in these new discoveries because of their missionary purposes. They wanted to convert the populations of the newly discovered lands. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), one of Ignatius' first companions, accompanied Portuguese merchants to India, the Moluccas, and Japan. After him many other Jesuits undertook missionary journeys. Only in v. 30 the Society of Jesus appears in the poem, in an exclamatory address: "O Society of Jesus! Oh fire of our times! Oh heavenly sweet shine!" The poem concludes with more praise of the Society, in which it is presented as the saviour of the world, and the wish that it will keep progressing forever.

The differences between the Latin and Dutch version could be explained by the input of the author who composed the poem. Poirters' style differs from that of the Latin version. The difference in audience is also a likely

[49] Cp. Waterschoot 2002, 167, who states that Poirters in the *Afbeeldinghe* makes more mention of countries and peoples outside of Europe.

factor. Although the audience of the *Afbeeldinghe* was mostly confined to the Low Countries, the *Imago* was probably read all over Europe, and particularly by the Jesuits in Rome. The use of contemporary issues, like the mention of Nova Zembla, where the Dutch in particular were involved in expeditions, appealed to the national audience of the vernacular version.[50] The Latin version makes more use of the typical humanist sources, making it suitable for an audience learned in classical literature and culture.[51] This contributes to a persuasive Jesuit propaganda in a different way, and makes both versions complement each other as a separate rhetorical invention.

A comparison of another emblem, namely that on poverty (*Paupertas quaestuosa*) in both versions shows a similar difference.[52] The Dutch version of this emblem appeals to a specifically Dutch audience by mentioning the stereotype of the thrifty inhabitant of the province of Zeeland,[53] while the Greek poem in the *Imago* uses classical imagery.

Concluding remarks

We have seen that the harmony of *utile* and *dulce*, combining a wide range of elements, such as morality, rhetoric, art, Jesuit spirituality, and festivity, made the genre of the emblem particularly suitable for the Jesuits in their publication of the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*. From the case study of one emblem we have noticed that both versions of the emblem aim at propaganda for the Jesuit order. The metaphor of the Sun standing for the Society of Jesus is elaborated in a very self-confident, ambitious way, using a poetical and rhetorical style in both the Latin and Dutch emblem. However, the Dutch poem is different from the Latin one. Although many elements are present in both poems, and the general message seems to be rather similar, the elaboration of the idea is very different. The Dutch poem is much longer and contains fewer classical references. However, it does contain more ref-

[50] Another interesting difference, mentioned by Marc Van Vaeck, is the inclusion of further resonances to profane love discourse in the Dutch texts. Cf. Van Vaeck 2007b, 54; 64–65.

[51] As Karl Enenkel states in his chapter about the Neo-Latin Emblem, the functioning in a literary discourse connected with the study of classical antiquity is a common feature of Neo-Latin emblem books. (Daly 2008, 130.) Van Vaeck also mentions the different character and audience in his comparison of the *Imago* and *Afbeeldinghe*, concluding that: "Both Poirters's highly versatile reading of the emblematic tradition on the one hand and his inclusion of the emblematic tradition on the other hand are highly successful in creating less learned texts (mythology e.g. is less prominent than in the Latin texts)." (Van Vaeck 2007b, 69.)

[52] Cf. Bollandus 1640a, 177 and Bollandus 1640b, 94–95.

[53] "Den vischer die hier aen den kant sit met sijn visch-roey inde handt, Al is 't een rond en Zeeuwschen knecht, Hy is nochtans niet al te slecht, Hy weet hoe dat met met wat broodt den visch vergardert in de sloot." Bollandus 1640b, 94.

erences to contemporary topics. It is argued that some of these differences can be explained by the different styles of the poets. The difference in audience of both versions should also be taken in consideration as an important factor. While the audience for the vernacular version was confined to readers in the Low Countries, the Latin version aimed for learned readers all over Europe.

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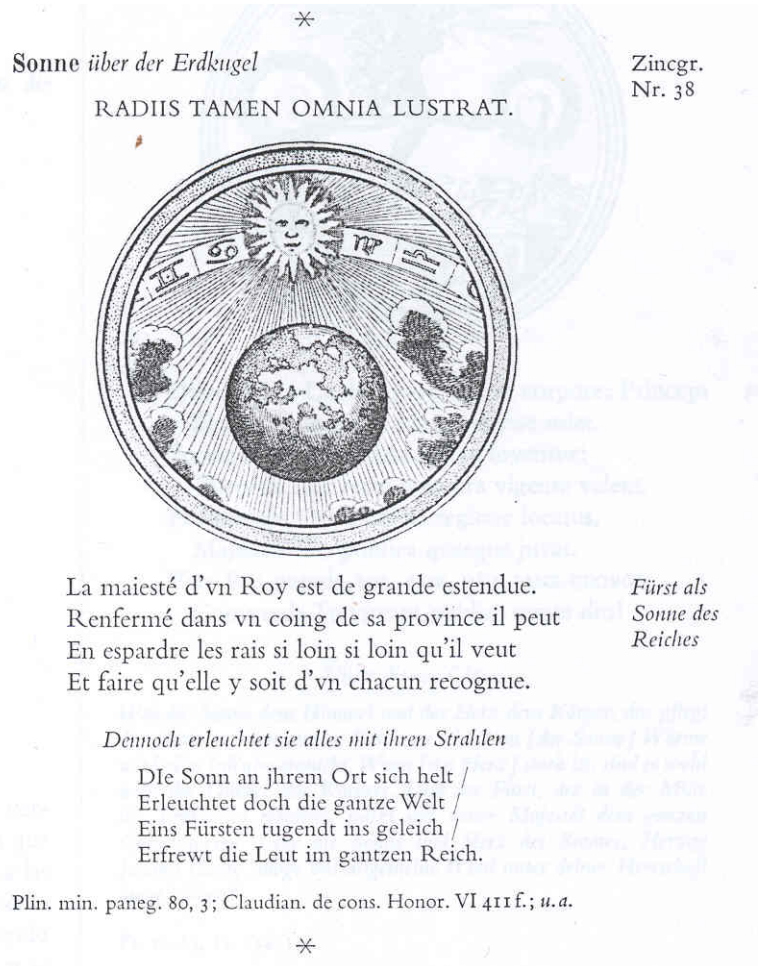


Sonne *über der Erdkugel* Zincgr. Nr. 38

RADIIS TAMEN OMNIA LUSTRAT.

La maiesté d'vn Roy est de grande estendue.
Renfermé dans vn coing de sa province il peut
En espardre les rais si loin si loin qu'il veut
Et faire qu'elle y soit d'vn chacun recognue.

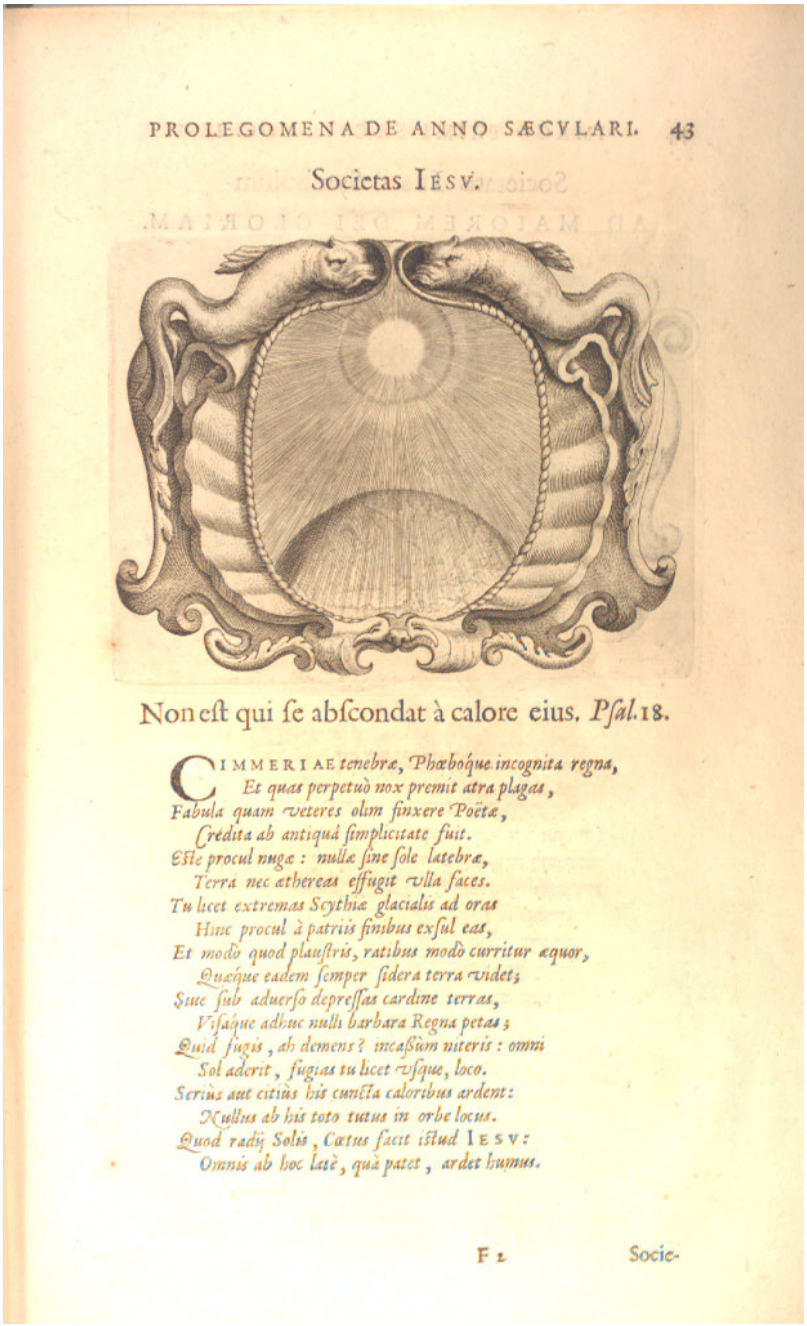
Fürst als Sonne des Reiches

Dennoch erleuchtet sie alles mit ihren Strahlen

DIe Sonn an jhrem Ort sich helt /
Erleuchtet doch die gantze Welt /
Eins Fürsten tugendt ins geleich /
Erfrewt die Leut im gantzen Reich.

Plin. min. paneg. 80, 3; Claudian. de cons. Honor. VI 411 f.; *u.a.*

2. Bollandus, Johannes 1640. *Imago primi saeculi Societas Jesu a Provincia Flandro-Belgica.* Antwerp: Baltasar Moretus. Emblem page 43. Reproduced with permission from the digital edition (forthcoming) by Studiolum.



PROLEGOMENA DE ANNO SÆCVLARI. 43

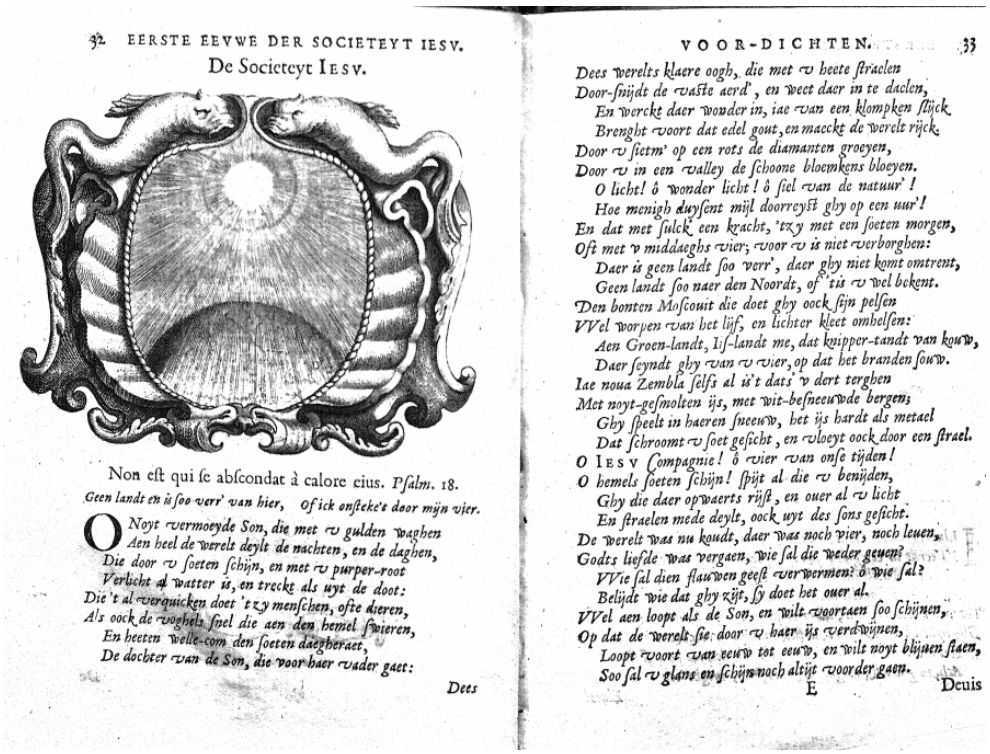
Societas IESV.

Non eſt qui ſe abſcondat à calore eius. *Pſal.* 18.

CIMMERIAE *tenebræ, Phœboque incognita regna,*
Et quas perpetuò nox premit atra plagas,
Fabula quam veteres olim finxere Poëtæ,
Credita ab antiquâ ſimplicitate fuit.
Eſſe procul nugæ: nullæ ſine ſole latebræ,
Terra nec æthereas effugit vlla faces.
Tu licet extremas Scythiæ glacialis ad oras
Hinc procul à patriis finibus exſul eas,
Et modò quod plauſtris, ratibus modò curritur æquor,
Quæque eadem ſemper ſidera terra videt;
Siue ſub aduerſo depreſſas cardine terras,
Viſaque adhuc nulli barbara Regna petas;
Quid fugis, ah demens? incaſſùm niteris: omni
Sol aderit, fugias tu licet vſque, loco.
Seriùs aut citiùs his cuncta caloribus ardent:
Nullus ab his toto tutus in orbe locus.
Quod radij Solis, Cœtus facit iſtud IESV:
Omnis ab hoc latè, quà patet, ardet humus.

F 2 Socie-

3. Bollandus, Johannes 1640. *Afbeeldinghe van d'eerste eeuwe der Societeyt Jesu*. Antwerp: Plantin. Page 32–33. Reproduced with permission from the Maurits Sabbe library, KULeuven, shelf number 271.5.018 AFBE.



32 EERSTE EEVWE DER SOCIETEYT IESV.

De Societeyt IESV.

Non eſt qui ſe abſcondat à calore eius. *Pſalm.* 18.

Geen landt en is ſoo verr' van hier, Of ick onſteke'e door mijn vier.

O Noyt vermoeyde Son, die met u gulden waghen
Aen heel de werelt deylt de nachten, en de daghen,
Die door u ſoeten ſchijn, en met u purper-root
Verlicht al watter is, en treckt als uyt de doot:
Die 't al verquicken doet 't zy menſchen, ofte dieren,
Als oock de voghels ſnel die aen den hemel ſwieren,
En heeten welle-com den ſoeten daegheraet,
De dochter van de Son, die voor haer vader gaet:

Dees

VOOR-DICHTEN. 33

Dees werelts klaere oogh, die met u heete ſtraelen
Door-ſnijdt de vaſte aerd', en weet daer in te daelen,
En werckt daer wonder in, iae van een klompken ſlijck
Brenght voort dat edel gout, en maeckt de werelt rijck.
Door u ſietm' op een rots de diamanten groeyen,
Door u in een valley de ſchoone bloemkens bloeyen.
O licht! ô wonder licht! ô ſiel van de natuur'!
Hoe menigh duyſent mijl doorreyſt ghy op een uur'!
En dat met ſulck een kracht, 't zy met een ſoeten morgen,
Oft met 't middaeghs vier; voor u is niet verborghen:
Daer is geen landt ſoo verr', daer ghy niet komt omtrent,
Geen landt ſoo naer den Noordt, of 't is u wel bekent.
Den bonten Moſcouit die doet ghy oock ſijn pelſen
VVel worpen van het lijf, en lichter kleet omhelſen:
Aen Groen-landt, Iſ-landt me, dat knipper-tandt van kouw,
Daer ſeyndt ghy van u vier, op dat het branden ſouw.
Iae noua Zembla ſelfs al is't dats 't dert terghen
Met noyt-geſmolten ijs, met wit-beſneeuwde bergen;
Ghy ſpeelt in haeren ſneeuw, het ijs hardt als metael
Dat ſchroomt u ſoet geſicht, en vloeyt oock door een ſtrael.
O IESV *Compagnie! ô vier van onſe tijden!*
O hemels ſoeten ſchijn! ſpijt al die u benijden,
Ghy die daer op waerts rijſt, en ouer al u licht
En ſtraelen mede deylt, oock uyt des ſons geſicht.
De werelt was nu koudt, daer was noch vier, noch leuen,
Godts liefde was vergaen, wie ſal die weder geuen?
VVie ſal dien flauwen geeſt verwermen? ô wie ſal?
Belijdt wie dat ghy zijt, ſy doet het ouer al.
VVel aen loopt als de Son, en wilt voortaen ſoo ſchijnen,
Op dat de werelt ſie door u haer ijs verdwijnen,
Loopt voort van eeuw tot eeuw, en wilt noyt blijuen ſtaen,
Soo ſal u glans en ſchijn noch altijt voorder gaen.

E Deuis

William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

By Geoffrey Eatough

Abraham Ortelius asked William Camden to restore her antiquity to Britain and Britain to her antiquity. Camden's discovery of Britain's ancient remains confirmed that all things change, the peoples themselves, who had migrated to this land, and even the land itself change. Old divisions and antagonisms are made obsolete. The engines of progress are the resources of the land, industry and above all trade, aided by the very shape and setting of Britain. Trade is not the antithesis of religion, it is a civilising and unifying force, and it brings knowledge. In the old legionary city of Chester, from which the whole world can be envisaged, memories of empire are awakened.

William Camden (1551–1623) and his *Britannia* helped the British define themselves for over two centuries.[1] The first six editions, each succeeding edition an expansion of its predecessor, were in Latin. Camden's *Britannia*, the work which he controlled, as against the Camden's *Britannia* which others took over, was in Latin, and, to be sure you know what Camden thought, you must read Latin. My reading of Camden has been in three of them, the 1586, 1590 and 1607 editions. I was able to access them through *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), an indispensable resource, especially for those who have to pursue their research in remote places. I started my reading with the 1586 edition, the first edition, to keep close in time to two other Latin writers, Humphrey Lhuyd (1527–1568),[2] a precursor of Camden, and John Twyne (*c*.1505–1581),[3] whose work is a witty but sometimes abusive critique of views held by Lhuyd. Both authors influenced Camden. The

[1] For Camden's life and achievements see Herendeen 2004. Besides the editions listed in the bibliography there was a new translation of Camden's Latin edition by Edmund Gibson in 1695 (republished in 1722) with extensive additions by a team of contemporary antiquarians. This has become the standard edition of Camden. In 1786 Richard Gough produced his own translation of Camden's Latin in an edition which drew on contemporary scholarship. This was republished in 1806.

[2] Jones 2004. Lhuyd, Llwyd, and Lloyd are just three of the ways of spelling this name.

[3] Martin 2004.

EEBO scan of the 1586 edition of Camden, however, became impossible to read, because of the stiff binding of the book, so I migrated to the 1590 edition with its clear print, and later started to read in tandem with it the 1607 edition, the sixth and final Latin edition, which was also the first folio edition. The advantage of the 1607 edition is that it is the fullest edition, on the whole it totally incorporates the 1590 edition, Camden had travelled over more of the country, learned more, and he still had undisputed control over the text. Since I did my own complete reading of a Camden edition in the 1590 edition, I quote mainly from the 1590 publication. There is no modern critical edition, which would demonstrate the progress of Camden's researches, and there may never be one.

Not only had Camden discovered more by 1607, but more had also been discovered, for example round Hadrian's Wall.[4] Camden operated within a network of British and European antiquarians. This means that even what I might call the Camden *Britannia* has implications of multi-authorship, which is why the work lived on after his death, because the format of the work invited successive generations of antiquarians to expand it. It was the most popular of Camden's works. He described it as chorography not history, and chorography gave it an encyclopaedic nature, an ancient Wikipedia. The 1607 edition was translated into English by Philemon Holland, perhaps the most remarkable of Elizabethan and early Stuart translators,[5] which meant that the work could be appropriated by those with no Latin. A work intended for a European elite was available to a wider English audience. Even in Latin it was an English classic, but now it was so in the full sense of the phrase. Holland and Camden collaborated on this translation, nonetheless Holland's English is not Camden's Latin. Although this is not a theme of this article, it can be fascinating to see how a different language imposes itself on the material, or was imposed, and also how Holland can bend the text to his own sometimes differing viewpoint. Despite this lack of true fidelity I have, when quoting, generally used Holland's translation of Camden instead of my own.

Camden writes that he was prompted to compose the *Britannia* by Abraham Ortelius.[6] Ortelius had also encouraged Lhuyd, whose *Commentarioli Britanniae Descriptionis Fragmentum* (1572) had been immediately well translated into English by Thomas Twyne as *The Breviary of Britayne* (1573). Thomas Twyne later published his father, John Twyne's *De Rebus Albionicis, Britannicis atque Anglicis* (1590), a work which has not been

[4] Camden 1607, 630–653.
[5] Considine 2004.
[6] Camden 1590, immediately at the beginning of the dedicatory letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

translated, which attacked Lhuyd's positions. Twyne's work is presented in the form of a dialogue between the abbot of the prestigious St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, John Essex, otherwise known as John Foche, whom Twyne gives the role of the Socratic figure, John Digon, famous musician and future prior of the abbey, and Nicholas Wotton, diplomat and future dean of Canterbury cathedral. Although it was published after the first edition of the *Britannia*, the dialogue is imagined as taking place at the Manor of Surry, at a time which the fictional setting of the work allows to float between 1523 and 1534, prior to the dissolution of the abbey in 1538. John Twyne may have substantially composed it anytime between 1545 and the late 1570s. It was edited by his son, Thomas Twyne, whose confession of neglect and tardiness in publishing his father's work is unconvincing. English nationalism was in the ascendancy; there might also still be time to express a most discrete sympathy for the old Catholic order.

To be brief, Lhuyd claimed that in order to understand British history one had to learn the old British tongue represented by Welsh. The survival of the Welsh language demonstrated that the Welsh had never been truly conquered by the Romans. An investigation of place names throughout Britain would show that many of them had an old British origin, and that the British, that is the ancient Welsh, had therefore been in occupation of all of what was now England, and indeed much of Scotland. Lhuyd's predecessor, Sir John Price (*c*. 1502–1555) argued that Welsh historical sources, including oral poetry of the bardic tradition, must be given precedence over Latin.[7] Ancient British was not be confused with Gallic, since the languages were distinct. Lhuyd claimed that the absence of the Gallic language from Britain meant that Britain had never been settled by Gauls or indeed other races from Europe, a situation which was not fundamentally altered until the coming of the Angles and Saxons. The inference was that the Channel had been a barrier, not a means of communication. The ancient Welsh were therefore an exclusive people, the Angles and Saxons were German intruders. To understand the Britishness of the island one had physically to know Britain by travelling the country, something which the leading historian of Britain, in earlier Tudor times, the Italian Polydore Vergil (*c*. 1470–1555), the servant of popes, had not done. Lhuyd was a cartographer, who produced an excellent map of Britain which was at the same time a trilingual historical map, with places marked out in Welsh, Latin and English. He made himself an expert on boundaries and locations and had a bitter dispute with the Scot, Hector Boece (1465–1536), who attempted to steal the ancient British tribes from their southern locations. Lhuyd was equally clear that in the new order

[7] Price 1573; Eatough 2007.

of Henry VIII, a Tudor whom the Welsh saw as one of their own, much of the territory in the Marches, between Wales and England, which had been assigned to England, was in fact Welsh, as to judge from the large presence of Welsh speakers in these areas, it may well have been. In two summaries of the character of the Welsh he presents them as upwardly-mobile members of the new Tudor society, an educated people, valued as lawyers and courtiers, but also among other trades, merchants; seen through the eyes of Giraldus Cambrensis (*c*. 1146–*c*. 1223), their medieval ancestors had been outstanding warriors. Lhuyd presented the ancestral Welsh as those Celts whose imperial ambitions had taken them across the Channel, where under Brennus they troubled ancient Rome. Otherwise the Welsh had a shared ancestry with the Romans, since the Trojan Brut was the leader who had established the Welsh in the beautiful country, *Prydcain*.[8]

The two major premises of John Twyne's counter thesis were that Britain had been linked to the continent by a land-bridge[9], and that the history of the human race was longer than Lhuyd presumed[10], that there had been a long period of time before the hypothetical arrival of the Trojan Brut, when people had moved into Britain at will and easily. Even without the land-bridge people would have crossed the sea to an island which was clearly visible. If Trojan refugees did come to Britain, they would have been one of many groups of people who came there to occupy a portion of land[11]. The real ancestors of the Welsh, who did indeed leave their imprint on the land after it had become an island, had like the Trojans come from the East, and since Britain was now an island had arrived by sea. Tacitus had posited a Spanish origin for the British of South Wales[12]. Twyne claims that these Spanish people were in fact Phoenicians from Spain. He takes his position from Vives, the Spanish humanist, who claimed that the Phoenicians had destroyed an ancient golden age Spanish culture.[13] The Welsh, as Phoenicians

[8] Eatough 2005.

[9] Twyne 1590, 7 and 17–32. This theory was supported by greater scientific evidence in Verstegan 1605, chapter 4.

[10] Twyne 1590, 8, where through the person of John Foche he makes the point that the human race race had been scattered throughout the world, there had been the governing of great empires, and famous wars, long before Troy.

[11] Twyne 1590, 33, where in the person of Foche he mischievously hypothesises that some Trojans came to Britain, and founded some little village near the sea.

[12] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 4.

[13] Augustine 1610, where Vives is commenting on *De Civitate Dei* VIII.9. Vives bases his thesis on the behaviour of the Spaniards in the Americas. The detail is very particular to the exploitation of the Americas, such as the use of shoddy items to trade for gold and pearls, the frequency of the expeditions, often small and based on a competitive free enterprise, the corruption of the natives, the progression from affrays to open warfare conducted on a national scale.

with an unsavoury history, are made members of an Oriental empire, the Chaldaean, which had later been supplanted by a Western empire, the Roman, these being the only two real empires that there had ever been in world history.[14] It was Phoenician lust for gold which had destroyed ancient Spain, and it was as traders they came to Britain. As Orientals they could be described as coloured migrants,[15] and frequent among the characteristics which identify them with the Welsh are customs involving sexual license, a slur against the Welsh and a perpetuation of the myth of the Orient.[16] Twyne admitted that the Romans had taxed and made use of British resources, though sometimes to alleviate want in neighbouring countries.[17] Britain, described as another world,[18] the America of antiquity, had and still had resources in abundance. He gives for example an account of the supply and variety of fish in the seas of Britain, which the Romans could take. In return the Romans had brought their civilisation, demonstrated first and foremost by their wonderful roads and high material culture, down to the glass phials which were being discovered still full of liquids, and pottery in all its different shapes.[19] That part of Britain which was to become England had been civilised and imbued with Roman humanity, while Kent, the bravest and most humane part of Britain, had been chosen as the hub of Roman rule. Welsh and Scots had belonged to barbarian fringes, which at different times had been walled off from England.[20] The dissolution of the monastery at Canterbury is a reminder that the Roman Empire might now have come to an end. This is stated at the beginning of the dialogue and at the end where Twyne writes "just as the *imperium* of the Romans has now been ended in *Britannia*, let us too, if you agree, put an end to our present discussion".[21] The sun had by now almost completely disappeared in the west, so the interlocutors Digon and Wotton say farewell, and turn to Canterbury; the old abbot departs.[22]

Camden was a Londoner, living near to Kent and influenced by Kentish English nationalists such as William Lambarde (1536–1601)[23] and Twyne, but it was London which by its size and position dominated England, and

[14] Twyne 1590, 34 and 77–79
[15] Twyne 1590, 77–78.
[16] Twyne 1590, 77–78.
[17] Twyne 1590, 150–151.
[18] Twyne 1590, 148.
[19] Twyne 1590, 151–153.
[20] Twyne 1590, 149, and 150.
[21] "ut Romanorum iam in Britannia finito imperio, nos quoque, si placet, praesenti disputationi finem imponamus", Twyne 1590, 162.
[22] Twyne 1590, 6 and 162.
[23] Lambarde wrote *A Perambulation of Kent* (London 1576), the first historical topographical survey of an English county. On Lambarde see Alsop 2004.

defined what England had to be. In sharp contrast, his mother was a Curwin from the Cumberland elite, in the remote north west of England, a shire whose name recalls the lingering presence of the Cymru, the Welsh name for themselves, in what had become England. He has sympathy for the Welsh, while resisting the more insubstantial claims of their champions. He demonstrates in scholarly detail that the ancient Britons originated from the continental Gauls.[24] Nonetheless his writing on the north, the home of the ancient British tribe, the Brigantes, among others, and later of the English Northumbrians, is consistently engaging. As he finishes his account of Wales, he passes over to what he calls *our Brigantes*, claiming them as his own, content that their name suggested that they had been brigands, an accepted way of life in antiquity for a martial people.[25] Camden did accept Lhuyd's statement that one needed to know Welsh to understand ancient place names in Britain. He learnt Welsh, not an easy language. He was quite certain however that Roman evidence had to be given precedence over the ancient British tradition.[26]

Camden defined himself as English, and belonged therefore to those treacherous invaders, who had defeated the Scots and the Picts, then, with reason, turned on their masters the Welsh.[27] Yet bloodthirsty Saxon pirates on converting to Christianity had evangelised Europe. The Anglo-Saxons had become a cultured people and there was a growing interest in Anglo-Saxon and English antiquities in Camden's time.[28] His text is marked by words in the old English script which stand out boldly from the surrounding print. The Saxons, like the Welsh in their crisis, had been betrayed at the time of the Norman invasion, in their case by bishops and other leaders who feared papal *anathema*.[29] Camden was ambiguous about the Normans. Their exploits had brought fame to England, but their supremacy had caused suffering to the English, the seizure of land and the suppression of English institutions. The conquest had been the end of a Saxon *imperium* which had lasted six hundred

[24] Camden 1590, 12–23.
[25] Camden 1590, 551–553.
[26] Camden 1590, 38–39.
[27] Camden 1590, 65–73.
[28] Seen immediately in the account of Cornwall, the first county described by Camden, where he manages to insert a reference to Laurence Nowell "who revived the dead Saxon language of our ancestors", and he writes that Tavistock, after it recovered from having been put to the flame by the Danes, instituted readings in the ancestral tongue, the Saxon, to prevent the disappearance of the language, which had nonetheless disappeared just before Camden's times. (Camden 1590, 118 and 128).
[29] Camden 1590, 87–88. He calls, at page 79, the accession of William the Conqueror "recentissimam Britannici imperii conversionem" (the most recent change of power/empire in Britain).

and seven years.[30] He has few good things to say about the Danish contribution to the British nation, yet they too had contributed to the development of this people. The conclusion is that the people living in Britain were all immigrants.

He originally showed a distinct lack of interest in the Scots, yet within his lifetime James VI of Scotland became James I of Britain.[31] This meant that the borderland of Scotland and England, the furthest bound of empire under the Romans, became the centre of the new island empire.[32] Most interestingly this place on the boundary of ancient empire revealed the greatest evidences of ancient Roman material culture, the pattern for modern urban development, which was taking place at a dramatic rate in London, and in other towns.[33] It was also the place from which the most new inscriptions were being unearthed, which enabled the Romans to speak from outside the canon of literary texts, of which Sir John Prise had been so suspicious. They could speak more securely than the oral tradition espoused by Prise, and at the same time be a demonstration of how civilisations could fall, and also be raised again. Seneca encapsulated Camden's view of history.

> It is manifest, that nothing hath continued in the same place, wherein it had the first beginning. There is a daily stirring and mooving to and fro of mankind: some change or other there is every day in so great a revolution of this world. New foundations of Cities are laid: New names of nations spring up, whereas the old are either growne out of use, or altered by the comming in of a mightier.
> (Holland 1610, 154).[34]

[30] Camden 1590, 88–89. The military achievements of the Normans in Sicily and the Holy Land reflected favourably on the English. Camden writes (p. 91): "Iam inde Anglia non minus belli gloria quam humanitatis cultu inter florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit" (From then on England was in the very front rank of the most successful peoples in the Christian world because of the glory gained in war as well as for the pursuit of *humanitas*).

[31] March 1603.

[32] Camden 1607, 682, divides the Scottish people into Highlanders and Lowlanders, but excludes the Borderers (*Limitaneos)* from the division "in Britannici imperii umbilico sunt censendi" (they should be reckoned as being at the navel of the British empire). Holland (1610, Scotland, 5), perhaps to flatter a Scottish king on the English throne has a fulsome translation "they are to be ranged and reckoned in the very heart and midst of the British Empire."

[33] This is seen in the account of Bristol in Camden 1607, 173–175, where there is an account of the city which is strikingly modern in tone, a vigorous trading city reaching out all over Europe, and, a rare mention, to America.

[34] "Est itaque manifestum nihil eodem loco mansisse quo genitum est. Assiduus humani generis discursus est. Quotidie aliquid in tam magno orbe mutatur. Nova urbium fundamenta iaciuntur. Nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, aut in accessionem validioris conversis, oriuntur." (Seneca, *De Consolatione* quoted from Camden 1590, 91).

The ancient British had soon regretted using Saxons to deal with attacks of the Scots and the Picts, since the Saxons, with reason, had turned on their masters and seized the Britons' land. Camden however attempted to demonstrate that the Picts must have been those invincible freedom loving Britons, whom the Welsh claimed to be, who had been prepared to put up with the awful north British climate to escape the Romans, as evidenced by the British toponyms of northern Scotland.[35] Their invasion of the south had been a civil war. Similarly, those Brigantes, who could not bear Roman rule, had taken refuge in Ireland and become part of an Irish mix, which later included varying layers of Anglo-Irishry.[36] Camden, who had an obsessional interest in the Irish (an indication of tightening English grip on Ireland and a growing overseas imperialism), did worry about the way in which the English of his own times, who went to Ireland, quickly lost their sense of original national identity, and became Irish.[37] Again the peoples either side of Hadrians wall, whether nominally English or Scot, shared a culture.[38]

Camden to a large extent accepted Twyne's view about the benefits of Roman civilisation, which set the pattern for the modern British:

> This yoke of the Romanes although it were grievous, yet confortable it proved and a saving health unto them: for that healthsome light of Iesus Christ shone withal upon the Britans, whereof more hereafter, and the brightnesse of that more glorious Empire, chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britans' minds, like as from other nations whom it had subdued […] the Romanes having brought over Colonies hither, and reduced the naturall inhabitants of the Iland unto the society of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Arts, and by sending them into Gaule for to learne perfectly the lawes of the Romanes […] governed them with their lawes and framed them to good maners and behaviour so, as in their diet and apparell they were not inferior to any other provinces: they furnished them also with goodly houses and stately buildings, in such sort, that the reliques and rubbish of their ruines doe cause the beholders now, exceedingly to admire the same […] but especially the Picts wall, whereof I will write more in due place: and those Causeies thorowout the whole land, a wonderfull peece of worke, what with dreining and drying up the meres in some places, and what with casting up banks where low vallies were, in others: so fenced and paved with stone, and withall of that breadth, that

[35] Camden 1590, 50–55. The name *Pictus* meant the coloured one and the British had painted themselves with woad.
[36] Camden 1590, 553.
[37] Camden 1590, 704–706.
[38] Camden 1590, 648.

> they can well receive and with roome enough, waines meeting one the other.
>
> (Holland 1610, 63).[39]

Camden liked to walk a Roman road because that was where one could find a hidden Roman town, perhaps revealed by a cache of coins. His account of Overborough in the Lune valley in a most remote area of Lancashire is an awesome example of change, as well as of the Roman civilizing mission, the building of great cities in what had reverted to waste places. It is also a showcase of Camden's historical methods, in this case use of oral tradition, even if an imaginary tradition, of building remains, of coins which were much used by Camden, which could of course speak of things not found in Latin literature, and the use of toponymy, the name in this instance being deciphered by reference to Old English.

> As soone as *Lune* is entred into Lancashire, *Lace*, a little brooke from out of the East joyneth his streame with it. In which place now standeth *Over-Burrow*, a verie small village of husbandmen; which, as the inhabitants enformed mee, had beene sometimes a great City and tooke up all those large fields betweene *Lacce* and *Lone*, and after it had suffered all miseries, that follow famine, was driven to composition through extremity: This tradition they received from their ancestours, delivered as it were from hand to hand unto them. And in very truth by divers and sundry monuments exceeding ancient, by engraven stones, pauements of square checker worke, peeces of Romane coine, and by this new name *Borrow*, which with us signifieth a *Burgh*, that place should seeme to bee of great antiquity.
>
> (Holland 1610, 753).[40]

Elsewhere Camden starts from a more theoretical position, based on the Antonine Itinerary, and Camden's attempt to locate Mediolanum is another

[39] "Hoc Romanorum iugum quamvis grave, tamen salutare fuit. Salutare enim Iesu Christi lumen Britannis una affulsit, de quo postea et clarissimi illius imperii lex barbariem a nostrorum animis fugavit. Traductis nanque Colonis et convocatis in civilis vitae societatem indigenis, ita legibus temperarunt et moribus excoluerunt, ut victu, cultuque ceteris provinciis non concederet; et aedificiis et magnificis operibus instruxerunt ut eorum reliquiae et ruderes summam iam intuentibus admirationem commoverunt. Imprimis vero Murus Picticus de quo suo loco, et viae illae admirando opere per omnem regionem, alicubi desiccatis paludibus, alibi aggeratis vallibus munitae et constratae ea latitudine, ut occurrentia se invicem vehicula libere exciperent" (Camden 1590, 37).

[40] "Quo in loco nunc Over Burrow est, pertenuis sane rusticorum viculus, quem urbem magnam fuisse amplosque campos inter Laecum et Lonum occupasse, et ad extrema deditionis, fame nihil non experta, compulsam nobis memorarunt incolae, quod a maioribus quasi per manus traditum acceperunt. Et variis certe priscae vetustatis monumentis, insculptis lapidibus, tessellatis pavimentis, Romanorum nummis, et nomine hoc novo quod nobis Burgum denotat, locus iste antiquitatem suam asserit." (Camden 1590, 619).

beautiful example of his investigative methods, this time by survey, using the Antonine itinerary, and expertise in the Welsh language. It was a key name since John Buchanan (1506–1582) had used it to demonstrate that the Welsh had originated in Europe, by showing that forty seven examples of Mediolanum occurred throughout Europe including Britain. Lhuyd in a game of strategic toponymy, extending the territory of the ancient Ordovices, had decided that it was Lancaster. Camden brought it back inside Wales. He was mistaken, but close to the mark. It was modern Whitchurch just outside Wales in the Marches.[41] He was successful with the name of what is now Aldborough in Yorkshire, A tiny village had flickered into existence with the name *Ealdburgh* or *Aldborrow*, meaning Old Town. Since it was situated on the river Ure, it must have been the site of the Brigantine capital of *Isurium*, a case strengthened by the fact Roman coins were constantly being dug up. The distance between this and York agreed with the information in the Antonine Itinerary.[42]

Camden followed rivers even more than roads, and this led to other landscapes and other kinds of towns. He says of the West Riding of Yorkshire, as he does of Cheshire, that the most convenient system to describe it was for him to follow the rivers.[43] He later takes us to the source of the Ure, in Richmond, and gives us a glimpse of a kind of landscape which later inspired Romantic and Gothic fantasies. Amid the mountains on the border with Lancashire are vast, rough, solitary wastes, where there is no sound, through which creep streams, which those nearby call *Hell Becks*, meaning streams from the Underworld, Stygian streams, especially at the source of the Ure, where the waters flow deep at the bottom of a chasm bridged by a single stone, so that whoever looks down is struck with dread.[44]

In neighbouring solitary landscapes people could be found living a most ancient way of life.

> Heere every way round about, in the *Wasts* as they tearme them, as also in *Gillesland*, you may see, as it were, the ancient *Nomades*, a martiall kind of men; who from the moneth of Aprill unto August, ly

[41] Camden 1590, 534; Eatough 2005, 52.
[42] Camden 1590, 566.
[43] Camden 1590, 556.
[44] "Qua Lancastrenses attingit haec regio, inter montes adeo vasta, solitaria, squallentia, et muta sunt omnia, ut quosdam rivulos hac reptantes Hell Becks quasi rivulos infernales sive Stygios dixerint finitimi, praecipue ille ad fontes Uri fluminis qui uno saxo pro ponte coniunctus tam profunde defluit ut despectantibus horrorem incutiat", Camden 1607, 591, on Richmondshire. The detail about the chasm, the bridge and horror of looking down is not found in Camden 1590, 593.

> out skattering and sommering (as they terme it) with their cattaile, in little cottages here and there, which they call *Sheales* and *Shealings*. (Holland 1610, 806).[45]

Or a solitary expanse could recall terrible events, such as Towton Moor, where on Palm Sunday 1461 35,000 men, mainly Lancastrians,/ were slain, and very many of the nobility. Camden calls it our Pharsalia, a murderous episode in a war which marked the end of the old medieval order.[46] The Tudor Age saw not only the dissolution of the monasteries, but also the obsolescence and decay of castles, of which Camden says in the reign of Henry II (1154–1189) there had been 1115.[47]

In Camden's new Britain power rested on trade, towns flourished where trade or industry flourished. He follows the river Ure down to the Humber and the sea by way of York, the ancient capital of the north, a beautiful city which he describes in detail, and on to Hull, a new city which had attained greatness from humble origins. The citizens attributed the change partly to king Richard the Second (1377–1399) raising Michael de la Pole from being a Hull merchant to the dignity of Duke of Suffolk (1385), and partly to the profitable trade in dried Icelandic fish, which they called stockfish, from which they accumulated great wealth. In a brief time they had fortified the city in the place where it was not protected by the river with a towers and a brick wall, and they brought in so much stone as ballast for their ships that they paved their city most beautifully. The settlement became a city, having a mayor with bailiffs, and then was raised to a county or shire with viscount and mayor.[48]

Camden described his themes for the *Britannia* as follows: that in the individual regions he would briefly touch upon the boundaries of these regions, their natural resources, the places of more ancient memory, and the people who were the dukes and counts.[49] The regions are the shires, an English system of organisation. Camden takes us across England, then Wales and Scotland shire by shire. At the end of each section he writes about some of those who were the leading families in these shires. He was as Clarenceux King of Arms officially a leading authority on the members

[45] "Hic circumquaque in *vastis* quas vocant terris, ut etiam in Gilleslandia quasi nomadas antiquos videas, militare genus hominum qui a mense Aprili usque ad Augustum in tuguriolis hinc inde dispersis, *Sheales* et *Shealing* vocant, passim cum suis pecoribus excubant." (Camden 1607, 664).

[46] Camden 1590, 562.

[47] Camden 1590, 657.

[48] Camden 1590, 579.

[49] In singulis Angliae regionibus qui sunt limites, quae terrae dotes, quae antiquioris memoriae loca, qui Duces, qui Comites fuerunt, paucis perstrinxi (Dedicatory letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley).

of the nobility, many of whom found unhappy ends. The "places of ancient memory" include significant places with or without material remains, recalling any of the various peoples who had inhabited Britain at any period in the more ancient past. The "natural resources" bind all the ages past, present and future. The past could remind one of wine making in Gloucestershire which had been allowed to disappear,[50] or the salt mines in Cheshire still being used, and which had been used by Romans, as evidenced by what Camden argues is a Roman road between Middlewich and Northwich. The mines had been an object of battles between the English and the Welsh.[51]

There were also the resources which were starting to be used, or which were there but being carelessly neglected. The Dutch and the Flemings were constantly being given permission by the Lords of Scarborough to fish for British herring. It was incredible what a great power of money the Dutch were gathering, for themselves. Camden describes the annual movement of the herring round Britain, a demonstration that they were meant to be a national resource.[52] The Cornishmen on the other hand had based their admirable economy on tin and pilchard exports. This enabled Michael, a Cornish poet and chief of rhymers, to savage the French king Henry III's archpoet in three nice lines on the wealth of Cornwall which Camden, an advocate of medieval Latin poetry, a Latin poet himself, following in the tradition of Leland,[53] reproduces:

> Non opus est ut opes numerem quibus est opulenta
> et per quas inopes sustentat non ope lenta
> piscibus et stanna nusquam tam fertilis ora
> (Camden 1607, 135).

Holland, who wrote a lively English prose, was no English poet. His version is:

[50] Camden 1590, 272.
[51] Camden 1590, 486.
[52] Camden 1590, 584.
[53] Camden 1605. At the end of *Remaines of a Greater Worke*, with its separate pagination is a fifty nine page collection entitled "Certain Poemes or Poesies, Epigrammes, Rythmes, Epitaphs of the English Nation in former Times". The poems are almost entirely medieval Latin poems. In the section on Gloucestershire, and later Oxfordshire, Camden 1590, 281–282, 285, 295–296 (Holland 1610, 267–268, 373, 384–388) Camden modestly introduces substantial passages from his poem *Tamae et Isis Connubium*. John Leland (1506–1552) among his poetic works wrote two substantial topographical poems, the *Genethliacon* and the *Cygnea Cantio*.

> I need not here report the wealth, wherewith enrich'd it is,
> And whereby alwaies to sustaine poore folke it doth not misse:
> No coast elsewhere for fish and tinne, so plentious, ywis
> (Holland 1610, 186).

One notices that the wealth gained from fish and tin is used for social ends. Camden, heavily indebted to Carew, was particularly interested in the tin mines, their organisation and above all the way they were worked. Mining, especially coal mining, was to be woven into the psyche of the British people, and Camden admired the skills involved:

> Of these Mines or tinne-works, there be two kinds: the one they call, *Lode-works*; the other *Streame-works*. This liest in lower grounds, when by trenching they follow the veines of tinne, and turne aside now and then the streames of water comming in their way: that other, is in higher places, when as upon the hils they dig verie deepe pits, which they call, *Shafts*, and doe undermine. In working both waies there is seen wonderfull wit and skill, as well in draining of waters aside, and reducing them into one streame; as in the underbuilding, pinning and propping up of their pits: to passe over with silence their devices of breaking, stamping, drying, crasing, washing, melting, and fining the mettall, than which there cannot be more cunning shewed.
> (Holland 1610, 184–185.)[54]

On Newcastle and the Northumbrian coalfields Camden in the later 1607 edition has chosen a different mode of celebration, quoting the Scots poet, John Johnston (1565–1611), whom he allows a little too much room in *Britannia*, but who here writes some interesting lines on the godlike qualities of coal which he compares to divine powers in heaven. When coal reigned supreme in the British economy it was called King Coal, here it is the God Coal:

> Rupe sedens celsa, rerum aut miracula spectat
> Naturae, aut solers distrahit illa aliis.
> Sedibus aetheriis, quid frustra quaeritis ignem?
> Hunc alit, hunc terra suscitat ista sinu.
> Non illum torvo terras qui turbine terret,

[54] "Horum autem stannariorum, sive metallicorum, operum duo sunt genera. Alterum lode-works, alterum Streame-works vocant, hoc in locis inferioribus est et cum fossis agendis stanni venas sectantur, et fluviorum alveos subinde deflectunt, illud in locis aeditioribus cum in montibus puteos, quos Shafts vocant, in magnam altitudinem defodiunt et cuniculos agunt. In utroque ingeniorum solertia admiranda, tam in aquarum derivationibus et corrivationibus, quam in puteorum substructionibus, et suffulcimentis, ut contundendi, lavandi, discernendi et excoquendi rationes, quibus nihil est solertius, tacitus praetermittam." (Camden 1607, 134).

Sed qui animam terris, detque animos animis.
Eliquat hic ferrum, aes, hic aurum ductile fundit.
Quos non auri illex conciet umbra animos?
Quin (aiunt) auro permutat bruta metalla,
Alchimus hunc igitur praedicat esse deum.
Si deus est ceu tu dictas, divine magister,
Haec quot alit? Quot alit Scotia nostra deos?
(Camden 1607, 667–8).

(Newcastle sitting on her lofty rock gazes on these miracles in the world of nature, or cleverly sells them off to others. Why do you vainly look for fire in heaven's halls. Earth nurtures this fire, this is the fire that Earth who enfolded it, sparks into life, not that which frightens people with its savage storms, but this which grants life to countries and souls to human souls. This brings to liquid perfection iron and bronze, this pours out the gold it has brought forth. Is there any mind which even the shadow of gold does not allure and rouse to action. Moreover (they say) that coal changes dull metals to gold. The alchemist preaches that it is a god. If it is a god as you say, master of divine mysteries, then tell how many gods this city nurtures, how many our Scottish land?)

Prior to this verse Camden has told us that Newcastle was founded by Robert, son of the Norman William the Conqueror, that it gradually developed a very profitable trade with Germany, that it supplied coal to most of England and also to Belgium. The poem has echoes of Stoic natural philosophy of divine fire in the world's material substance. It is an earthly substance which can be put to spiritual purposes, that is the comforting of mankind.

The major industry of many parts of Britain was weaving. Manchester, unlike Newcastle, was a very ancient town, a Roman town, a fact which could promote the economic success of a place.[55] Manchester's reputation however rested on more substantial grounds. Camden describes it as a yarn manufacturing town, which had a reputation for its woollen cloths which were known as Manchester cottons, a fine looking town, where crowds came, with assizes, a church and a famous school. One can here start to see the great city of the late nineteenth century.[56] In south Lancashire in the vicinity of Manchester, Camden noted, in his 1607 edition, that many of the gentry were named after the towns in which they lived. The fact that these families had remained in their localities, showed that these families had their foundations in *virtus*, and that they had prospered through a restraint

[55] Camden 1590, 148.
[56] Camden 1590, 612.

which provided for the future ("provida moderatio") and through an open honesty, characteristic of ancient times, that is of people content with their own possessions ("antiquis suis bonis contenti simplicitas"). He uses this as a platform to attack the corruption and degeneracy of the nobility in what he calls the southern provinces of England. It has been an enduring image of how northerners have liked to see themselves. It was also a prescription for a new puritanical bourgeoisie, which would drive the industrial revolution.[57]

Yet it was London, the ancient trading city, which was the epitome of Britain.[58] Camden there sings a different tune, celebrating the great houses the nobility and entrepeneurs were building for themselves. Britain had by its position and shape been designed to trade.

> A circumvicinis illis regionibus commodo undique intervallo disiuncta, patentibus gremiis universi orbis commercio opportuna, et tanquam ad iuvandos mortales avide in mare omni ex parte se proiiciens.
>
> (Camden 1590, 1).
>
> (Disjoined from those neighbour-countries all about by a convenient distance every way, fitted with commodious and open havens, for traffique with the universall world, and to the generall good, as it were, of mankind, thrusting it selfe forward with great desire from all parts into the sea).
>
> (Holland 1610, 1).

This passage occurs at the very begining of *Britannia*, establishing a major theme. Camden shows an awareness of Twyne, because he immediately goes on to say that some think the land was joined to the continent and the sea broke through. He himself is not going to join in the debate but he knew that the land itself, not just its inhabitants, could be subject to enormous changes.[59] The separation was convenient because it gave Britain protection from invasion and yet kept it close enough to trade, though as he goes on to say trade was with the whole world, not just nearby Europe. "Patentibus gremiis" refers to the great river estuaries such as the Thames, the Humber, the Severn and the Dee and Mersey, as well as the smaller ports and estuaries, in every part of Britain, through which trade passed. It is a maternal image, if *gremiis* is translated as bosom or lap, and even a sexual image. Trade in Twyne, is an acquisitive occupation based on greed; in Camden greed

[57] Camden 1607, 612.

[58] Camden 1590, 323, "Londinium totius Britanniae Epitome"; see also Pryor 2006, 202–222.

[59] e.g. Camden 1590, 264–265 on the sea having moved away from Hythe, 266 on Romney Marsh, 278 on fossils quoting Fracastoro to the effect that where there were now mountains there had once been sea, 379 on the threat posed to King's Lynn by the sea.

(*avide*) translates into eagerness and trade is a means of helping the human race.

So far from seeing the ocean as a barrier, as Lhuyd did, Camden celebrates the fact that the tidal Thames penetrates into England further than any river does elsewhere in Europe. In Holland's words the violence of the sea rushing in is to the advantage of the people living along its banks:

> Neither to my knowledge is there any other river in all *Europe*, that for so many miles within land feeleth the violence of the Ocean forcing and rushing in upon it, and so driving backe and withholding his waters, to the exceediing great commodity of the inhabitants bordering thereupon.
>
> (Holland 1610, 298).

London is not merely the market where the world's goods can be peacefully exchanged, but the most mild merchant, as Holland translates it, of these goods. The ships' masts crowded in the docks provide a new form of pastoral scene, they are a forest, but a forest into which good husbandry has allowed light to penetrate:

> the most milde Merchant, as one would say, of all things that the world doth yeeld: which swelling [superbus] at certaine set houres with the Ocean-tides, by his safe and deepe channell able to entertaine the greatest ships that be, daily bringeth in so great riches from all parts [in Camden "of the East and the West"], that it striveth at this day with the Mart-townes of Christendome for the second prise, & affoordeth a most sure and beautiful road for shipping. A man would say that seeth the shipping there, that it is, as it were, a very wood of trees disbranched to make glades and let in light: so shaded it is with masts and sailes.
>
> (Holland 1610, 422).[60]

Camden writes towards the end of his account of London that it would be too long to cover in detail the excellent laws and institutions by which the city was governed, the high standing of its aldermen ("senatorii ordinis dignitatem"), the loyalty and obedience shown to the monarch, the *humanitas* of its citizens, the splendour of its buildings, the success which comes from fertile minds ("foelicissimorum ingeniorum proventum"), the suburban gardens full of delights and packed with exotic plants, the unbelievable power

[60] "qui placidissimus rerum in orbe nascentium mercator, statis horis oceani aestibus superbus, alveo tuto, praealto, et navium quamlibet magnarum capacissimo, tantas orientis et occidentis opes quotidie invehit ut cum orbis Christiani emporiis se secunda palma hodie contendat, stationemque praebeat navibus cum fidissimam tum pulcherrimam, sylvam intercludatam dicas, tot navium malis velisque undique obumbratur" (Camden 1590, 324).

(*vis*), or impact, of merchandise of every kind, and the overflowing (*redundantem)* abundance of all the things, whose aim is to make for a civilised life and provide its necessities. This is an encomium, in which Camden unites the commercial with the spiritual. Just prior to his passage he stated that London had more churches, 121, than Rome, it had hospitals and inns in abundance, it maintained 600 orphans and 1240 poor people. John Stow, who at the beginning of his *Survay of London* (1598) expresses the hope that it might be of use to his friend Camden, gives glimpses of an older world that he had experienced but which had been lost, inner city fields where people walked and carried out ancient acts of piety to poor bedridden people sitting by their open windows, now given over to housing, to accommodate London's rapidly expanding population. Stow also expressed surprise at the large size of some of the hospitals discovered in the friaries when they were dissolved. He has a story of a decent man hanged outside Stow's own front door on a trumped-up charge, and of the all powerful Thomas Cromwell aggressively encroaching on neighbour's property, including that of Stow's father.[61]

I conclude by returning to the Marches of Wales. Lhuyd had wanted us to see the River Severn as the natural frontier between Wales and England. He commented on the fact that the great cities occupied by the English were on the eastern side of the river, using the river as protection against the warlike Welsh, much as the Romans had used the Rhine against the Germans.[62] Shrewsbury the most central city in these Marches is almost entirely surrounded by the Severn, but in Camden the garrison town was in fact now a market town, exceedingly rich from its cloth-making and its trade with the Welsh. The town was inhabited by both Welsh and English speaking their different languages, but they had co-operated and set up a school which had more scholars then any school in England. Welsh goods were brought out of Wales on rafts, which Twyne had seen as a Babylonian practice, but which Camden says was an idea imported from the German Rhein, as was the name, *flotes*.[63]

In the north of the Marches was Chester, the Roman *Castrum*, situated on the holy Welsh river Dee, which only became English in the vicinity of Chester, as it came to the sea.[64] It had by Camden's time become famous for its shops, forerunners of the modern mall, the *rowes* as they are called in

[61] Stow 1598, prefatory letter to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, 79, 92–93, 108–109, 129, and 140–141.
[62] Lhuyd, 1731, 34.
[63] Camden 1590, 477–478.
[64] Camden 1590, 481.

Holland's translation, and are still called.[65] It was however also a frontier town, the scene of fights between the English and Welsh; the Welsh had called it "Tre Poeth, that is Hot Town", since they were always burning it, while the English had retaliated by sticking Welsh skulls on the walls of the city. Yet the people of Cheshire and the Welsh, even five hundred years before Camden, had become assimilated. Lucian, a monk at St.Werburgh's monastery, in the early years of the Norman rule, tells us "per longam transfusionem morum maxima parte consimiles" (by long transfusion of customs for the most part they were close alike). Camden slyly acknowledges the encomiastic nature of Lucian's writing. He is a moralising monk, and an encomiast, but amid the rhetoric Camden must have detected a kindred spirit. I quote from Camden's Lucianic insert, a passage to which, as I have discovered, Catherine Clarke in her *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England* also gives prominence.[66]

I retain the services of Philemon Holland. Camden in recontextualising this passage within his own age makes it into prophecy, which the second half of Holland's translation captures beautifully:

> First, it is to bee considered, that Chester is built as a Citie, the site whereof inviteth and allureth the eye, which beeing situate in the VVest partes of Britaine, was in times past a place of receipt to the legions comming afarre off to repose themselues, and served sufficientlie to keepe the keies, as I may say, of Ireland, for the Romans, to preserue the limite of their Empire. For, beeing opposite to the North-east part of Ireland, it openeth waie for passage of ships and mariners with spread saile passing not often but continuallie to and fro, as also for the commodities of sundrie sortes of merchandise. And whiles it casteth an eye forward into the East; it looketh toward not onelie the See of Rome and the Empire thereof, but the whole world also: so that it standeth forth as a kenning place to the view of eyes; that there may bee knowne valiant exploites, and the long traine and consequence of things; as also whatsoever throughout the world hath beene done by all persons, in all places, and at all times: and what ever hath beene yll done may also bee avoided and taken heed of.
>
> (Holland 1610, 606).[67]

[65] Holland 1610, 605.

[66] Lucian 1912, 45, Clarke 2006, 99–100.

[67] "Primo videndum quod Cestria qua aedificatur ut civitas cuius positio invitat aspectum, quae in occiduis Britanniae posita legionibus ex longinquo venientibus receptoria quondam ad repausandum fuit, et Romani ut servent limitem imperii, claves, ut ita dixerim, Hibernorum custodire suffecit. Nam contra aquilonare cornu Hiberniae opposita non tam crebro quam continuo ob caussas meantium et commoda mercium diversarum, velis aptatis viam aperit cursibus navium atque nautarum. Dumque in orientem protendit intuitum non

Chester was a place of welcome to the legions of the ancient Roman empire, whose task it was to guard that empire by holding the keys to Ireland, an empire which endured into the Norman empire to which Lucian belonged, and was to be a pattern for a British empire. On the edge of this world, trade passed to and fro through Chester to the benefit of all, along a well used sea route. Camden takes to the sea towards the end of *Britannia*. In the successive editions information on Ireland constantly expands, and his editions end in their different ways with the islands round Britain, some of quasi mythical nature, most of them exemplary, leading the eye beyond the limits of mainland Britain, suggesting what might be.[68] Because of trade and the ships and sailors which came to Chester, it was a place of knowledge, not found in books but as seen by the eyes, a place where to have visions, to see the papal power and that Roman empire which had endured through it, and beyond these to the world at large. Trade is the entry into history. Later he describes the four gates of Chester, the east with a prospect to India, the west looking to Ireland, the north to Greater Norway, and the south to where the ancient British by their own sins had been confined in Wales. Greater Norway was Scandinavia, including the Danes so badly served by Camden's *Britannia*, into whose thalassocracy Chester had once been taken up, when England only with difficulty existed, and whose voyages and journeys had taken them through Russian to contacts with the East and even to America.[69]

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solum Romanam ante se cathedram et imperium, verum et orbem prospicere universum, ut tanquam spectaculum proposita sit obtutibus oculorum. Fortia facta, series longissima rerum, et quicquid in orbe quibusque personis, locis, temporibus bene gestum etiam cognoscantur, quod male actum etiam caveatur." *Lucian the monk* (Camden 1607, 459–460).

[68] It is interesting to see how the section *Insulae Britannicae*, islands round Britain defined as being British, is revised between the 1590 edition, 741–62, and the 1607 edition, 846–860. The reach in the 1607 edition is much more audacious.

[69] McCormick 2001, 606–613.

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Intimations of Irish:

O'Meara's *Ormonius* and the display of vernacular learning

By Keith Sidwell

Dermot O'Meara's Latin epic Ormonius *(London 1615) was written by a native speaker of Irish who was also (at least) a good English-speaker. Though O'Meara's competence in both vernaculars is clear from the introductory material and from the poem itself, he appears to draw more attention to his knowledge of Irish through the use of Latin calques on place-names which directly reflect their Irish meanings. It is possible that O'Meara expected his target-audience – Gaelic-speaking Scots in the circle of King James I? – to pick up and appreciate these nuances.*

The Ireland of Dermitius O'Meara, author of the five book epic poem *Ormonius*, published in London in 1615, was a trilingual place.[1] It was Irish, English and Latin which made up this linguistic triumvirate. The two vernaculars, English and Irish, existed both separately and together. The eastern settlement, known as the Pale, was culturally and linguistically English and occupied by people who traced their origins back to the Norman conquerors of Ireland in the twelfth century. These were the so-called "Old English".[2] It was against the dilution of this vernacular that Richard Stanihurst (author of the *De rebus in Hibernia gestis* of 1584) wrote his strange and archaic versions of the *Aeneid*, just as Shakespeare was growing up in Stratford-upon-Avon.[3] The North, Ulster, was Irish-speaking, as were also, predominantly, the West and the South-West (Connacht and Munster). The Tipperary Liberty, however, and Kilkenny, the territory of the Earl of Ormond, were among a number of places where the long process of co-existence and the inevitable intermarriage it brought in its wake had created a mixed language environment. The tenth Earl, "Black" Thomas Butler (1532–1614), was honoured by many poems in Irish celebrating his military victories, describ-

[1] Published by Thomas Snodham, one of the foremost printers of Jacobean London. A modern edition, with introduction, translation, notes, commentary and full *apparatus fontium*, edited by Keith Sidwell and David Edwards, is due to appear as *Officina Neolatina* 1 from Brepols Publishers (Turnhout, Belgium) in 2010.

[2] See further Lennon 1978.

[3] Stanihurst 1582. See further Bernigau 1904.

ing his new house, and – paradoxically, you might think – his loyalty to the English crown.[4] The opening of the posthumous *Eolach mé ar mheirge an iarla* (Ms. Maynooth C.63) is typical:

> Well do I know the flag of the Earl,
> The beautiful, rich-bordered banner,
> The broadly-weaving, crimson ensign,
> The terror-striking victorious cloth.
>
> The variegated, living standard,
> The graceful and high weaving cross,
> The fang-poisoned dragon of a hundred battles,
> The power-charged and far-travelled jewel.
>
> (tr. adapted from Eugene O'Curry)[5]

But he was also one of the dedicatees of that quintessentially English poem, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596), which was composed in Ireland – in County Cork, as it happens – where its author was a "planter", a "New English" settler, whose land was hacked out of traditionally Gaelic territory. There is a suggestion he may even have stayed at Butler's "mansione", presumably the fine Elizabethan house at Carrick-on-Suir rather than Kilkenny Castle.

> Receive most noble Lord a simple taste
> Of the wilde fruit, which salvage soyl hath bred,
> Which being through long wars left almost waste,
> With brutish barbarisme is overspredd:
> And in so fair a land, as may be redd,
> Not one *Parnassus*, nor one *Helicone*
> Left for sweete Muses to be harboured,
> But where thy selfe hast thy brave mansione;
> There in deede dwel faire Graces many one,
> And gentle Nymphes, delights of learned wits,
> And in thy person without Paragone
> All goodly bountie and true honour sits,
> Such therefore, as that wasted soyl doth yield,
> Receive dear Lord in worth, the fruit of barren field.[6]

In Ireland, as in the rest of Europe – and of course, the New World too – Latin was the language of high international culture, of diplomacy, education and learning. It was sustained in this period by the newly introduced

[4] Carney 1945.
[5] Carney 1945, 67–73 poem XV.1553–1736.
[6] Spenser 1978, 28.

Grammar Schools and, from 1592, by the University founded by Queen Elizabeth in Dublin in 1592, Trinity College.[7] Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, increasingly fervent Protestantisation and the political factionalism it brought in its wake pushed Irish Catholics abroad to pursue their studies in the ever-increasing numbers of Irish Colleges which sprang up from Salamanca to Prague.[8]

O'Meara was born in Ormond territory and his family owed their position to the Butlers, as he admits in the prefatory letter to Earl Thomas.[9] It is clear that he knew English. Like many Irishmen of his day before the opening of Trinity College Dublin, he went to the University of Oxford to pursue his studies and eventually settled in London, where he practised medicine. Before leaving Ireland, he had published a medical treatise on hereditary diseases written in Latin (Dublin 1619), which was later reprinted with Latin works of his equally medical and literate son Edmund.[10] The language intrudes several times in *Ormonius* also. For example, in the *Argumentum* to book four, while outlining the Earl of Desmond's appropriation of the wine-taxes due by long-standing royal gift to the Earls of Ormond, O'Meara writes: "Vinorum enim vectigalia (vulgo *pricevine*)", where the vernacular is English. At I.327–328, when he wants to explain the origin of the surname "Butler", and why Theobald Becket took this name, he says: "pincernam idiomate namque/ Denotat Angligenum Butler." Similarly, at I.390, when he wants to evoke the actual title of the Tipperary Liberty, "the County Palatine" he writes "(Vulgo Palatini vocitant comitatus honorem)", though here the term had wider currency in Europe. In book five, a rushed composition, my collaborator and I think, O'Meara is less careful. Twice (V.113 and V.137) the singular honour paid to Ormond in the Queen's appointment of him as a Knight of the Garter is mentioned thus: "insignitus/insignitur honore Garterij." On the title-page, this honour is called "periscelidos ordinis", an elegant (if effeminate!) Graecism, as opposed to the blatant Anglicism in book five, for which, unusually, the author does not even stop to apologise.

O'Meara takes pains, as most of these examples show, to communicate the meaning of any "vulgar" – that is in this case English – words to an audience which he assumes may not be conversant with the language. But

[7] Hammerstein 1971 and 1992.

[8] O'Connor 2004. Harris & Sidwell 2009, 7–8.

[9] Ormonius A2 i: "Cumque decus omne meum meorumque, quantulum cumque sit, ab *Amplitudinis tuae* illustriumque tuorum Maiorum benignitate acceptum obliuisci nequirem" (And since I could not forget that my whole standing, and that of my family, little as it may be, was received through the benignity of your Greatness and that of your glorious ancestors).

[10] For details see Barry 2004.

there are even stronger signs also of this poet's desire to have his Latin show reflexes of the Irish language which had been his native tongue. In the rest of my paper, then, I am going to examine his use of this vernacular and ask whether his treatment is the same as that of English and if not, why not.

O'Meara, it is generally held, came from a Gaelic bardic family.[11] The treatment of Hibernia at the beginning of *Ormonius* book two as a female dream vision, an *Aisling*, draws on a motif typical of the Irish literary tradition, but one which is also made fully understandable within the classical tradition by the use of Morpheus, the shape-shifting god, to impersonate her. The coincidence that it is *Hibernia*, however, makes it pretty clear that O'Meara knew the Irish material and wished at least the Irish-speaking members of his ideal audience to catch the cross-reference. The poem I quoted earlier, *Eolach mé ar mheirge an iarla*, is an example of the *Cath Réim*, or 'military career', genre. It is possible to argue that *Ormonius* may reasonably be regarded as a very large example of this type of Irish writing. This view may still be held, despite the fact that more detailed analysis of the sources of the poem's language over the intervening period incline me to think that a more immediate concern (and more immediately accessible to the Latinate target audience) was imitation of Silius Italicus' *Punica*, the one ancient epic where a single hero (Scipio) defeats the nearly-successful attempts to overthrow the Roman empire of Hannibal, a parallel often evoked in language and imagery by O'Meara.[12] More specifically, O'Meara's ability – and desire – to use Irish is evidenced in the *Argumentum* to book two, where he first gives a Latin translation of a place-name "apud Campanae villam" and immediately follows it with the explanation "(Hybernice *baille in chluig*)". The Irish word *baille* (very often encountered today in names like Ballyferriter, Ballymaloe, and Ballykissangel) is perfectly translated by *villa*, a small settlement. *In chluig* is the genitive form of the word for 'bell' ('clog' in Modern Irish), which again is accurately translated by the Latin genitive *Campanae*.

[11] Barry 2004.

[12] Scipio was in O'Meara's mind as he composed the prefatory letter to Earl Thomas (*Ormonius* A2), but there are also several instances of an implied or explicit comparison between Ormond and Scipio, and his adversaries and Hannibal embedded in the poem, often in clear imitation of Silius` language. See II.602–603 (a line from Silius' description of Hannibal applied to O`Neill); III.100–104 (Mercury as Herimon, ancestor of the MacDonnells, using language from contexts in Silius Italicus where Carthaginians are involved); IV.2–4 (Ormond surpassing Scipio, a deliberate echo of Silius Italicus 17.651–2); IV.261–267, 304–305 (James FitzMaurice as Hannibal). But the modelling is not consistent: see II.587–588, where Ormond`s daring advance against O`Neill is compared to that of Hannibal crossing the Alps, and III.11–16, where the defections of O`Neill`s allies to Ormond and the crown are imaged in terms of the defection of *Rome's* allies to *Hannibal* after Cannae.

In fact, it is in O'Meara's treatment of place-names that the Irish language comes most to the fore in *Ormonius*. Perhaps, you will say, that is not surprising, given that the last four books of the poem are set in Ireland. But what O'Meara does in the example just cited, and many times elsewhere, far exceeds what would be necessary simply to communicate *where* a place is located: you can just give the name and, if necessary, a mileage from some other place. Take, for example, II.69–70: "Millia ter distat *Limbrici* quatuor urbe, *Maghagher* in Boream." A name is in some ways just a name, however foreign it may be. O'Meara, however, often seems bent on giving to the non-Gaelic speaking reader at least in some instances a sense of what these strange-sounding names might actually mean. So in my first example, the name *Baille in chluig* would have been as good as *Maghagher*, since immediately afterwards in the *Argumentum* we read: "locum circa novem milliaria distantem Eoum versus a Dungennain prima et praecipua Tironiae sede." Perhaps the only reason it differs is that at II.270–273, the Irish name is *not* given ("indigenis Campanae villa vocatur"). But this does not explain instances where both the Irish name and its Latin translation are given.

Let me examine two instances of this tendency. The first is found in the *Argumentum* to book three: "Ormonius in Glinarmum sive armorum vallem…aquilas ducit." Unlike with *baille in chluig*, however, both the name Glenarm and its direct translation appear in the poem's text. At III.242–244, O'Meara writes: "Est locus Ultoniam Borealia ad aequora iungens,/ Nomine Glinarmus; vox armis valleque ducta,/ Armorum Hyberno signans idiomate vallem." This is perhaps the clearest instance of a real desire to communicate the details of a place-name's etymology. The *glen* element is of course familiar to English speakers from the Scots word, or should I say, the Gaelic and Gaelic word *gleann* (as it is spelt nowadays). *Arm* is Irish for 'weapon'. Both parts of the word would have been instantly recognised by a native English speaker in 1615, so the assertion that the place-name is specifically an *Irish* one is especially significant here. The second occurs in book five. This time, although the name *Monro* occurs in the *Argumentum*, it is without its translation. In the poem, however, at V.810, we read "Arma ad Sradbaliam rursus Rubramque paludem" and a marginal note informs us that "Rubra palus" is *Manro*. The Irish name appears to have been *móin rua*, where *móin* means 'peat', or 'bog' and *rua* means 'red'. The reason for this translation may, of course, be purely aesthetic, though it doesn't seem likely to have anything to do with problems of versification: O'Meara regularly uses Irish names in a variety of metrical shapes, depending upon his needs at the time, and he could easily have written "Manroque paludem", had he only wished to stress the nature of the place. This chimes in, however, with two other marginal translations, one of an Irish name and one of its Latin

equivalent into English. At V.506–507, in the aftermath of a disastrous defeat inflicted on the Viceroy Bagnal by the Earl of Tyrone, we read: "Angligenum at postquam stagnarunt sanguine ripae/ Duffavonae." In the margin, *Duffavonae* is glossed 'Blackwater'. It is, in fact, composed of the Irish words *dubh* 'black' and *abhainn* 'river'. Earlier, when the battle is described, at V.482–483, O'Meara had written: "confinia nigri/ Amnis at ut tetigit" and the marginal note on "nigri Amnis" also reads 'Blackwater'. One is beginning to get the impression that for O'Meara both his linguistic learning *and* the sounds of Irish are important.

My final set of examples perhaps underlines the last point further. For there are times when O'Meara appears to forget that his target audience will probably not know Irish (though there may be another plausible explanation which I shall essay at the end). On these occasions, he offers – in true Alexandrian fashion, presumably in imitation of Vergil – a description of a place which, though it is not presented as a translation, nonetheless alludes to the underlying meaning for those who do know Irish. The clearest instance occurs again in respect of a river. At IV.196–197, O'Meara writes: "Deciae pars ultima ab ortu/Aumori madefit spatiosi fluminis undis." (The westernmost part of the Decies (*Deise*) is watered by the streams *of a broad river*). The name *Aumor* is made up of the Irish words *abhainn* 'river' and *mór* 'big, large'. The Latin description "spatiosi fluminis" actually translates *Aumori* from Irish, but without any indication that this *is* a translation. A similar trope can be observed at III.488–490, a description of the location of Carrickfergus (famous from the Irish folk song "… I wish I were in Carrickfergus…"): "Alta Carigfergi rupes: sic rege vocata/ Scotorum a primo, fluctuanti illo aequore merso/ Fergusio." Now the explanation of the name focuses here upon the second part, the Irish king Fergus, who was drowned in the sea. But "alta…rupes", as well as describing the site of the citadel, also alludes to the etymology of the first half of the name: *carraig* is the Irish for 'rock'. My last example takes me into troubled waters. It is a passage I have already alluded to earlier, where I was dealing with the use of locational devices rather than translation. At II.69–70 we read: "Millia ter distat *Limbrici* quatuor urbe, *Maghagher* in Boream." This is then followed, however, by a parenthesis: "faecundo gramine campus/ Dives." Now there is no doubt that the first element of this place-name *magh* means 'plain' in Irish, and that *campus* therefore translates it (without alluding to the fact of translation). Given the other examples I have cited, this really should mean that "faecundo gramine" translates the second element *–agher*, perhaps representing a lenited form of *féar* 'grass'. However, my colleague Pádraig Ó Riain, the doyen of Irish place-names, tells me this is impossible. I do, chastened, nonetheless still wonder whether our passage is not evidence that

O'Meara *thought* that *Maghagher* meant 'grassy plain', a false etymology, then, but one he may have expected *some* readers to spot – unless, that it his linguistic games are merely for his own delectation.

This brings me back to my main question. Does O'Meara use the English and Irish vernaculars differently? I think the answer to that is "yes". While he does translate English names into Latin, and vice-versa, he does not so far as I can tell offer unmarked calques of the sort I have just been dealing with in Irish. There does, as I've suggested, appear to be some sense of O'Meara's enjoyment of being learned in three languages. But in respect of the unmarked calques, it may perhaps be something more. For if he *did* in fact expect some of his audience to spot these, they can only have come from two types of reader: either Irish Gaelic speakers or Scottish Gaelic speakers who were learned in Latin. I am flying a kite here, but David Edwards and I have recently been musing much upon the projected audience for *Ormonius* and the poem's ideological purpose. His view, as an historian, is that Ormond, through O'Meara, was attempting to reclaim the credit owed to him for his part in the Nine Years War, which by the time the poet sat down to write could be seen as having brought the definitive defeat of Gaelic aspirations, the crux coming at Kinsale in 1601, a battle which the already blind Ormond was involved in planning. Hence, the potential addressees whose linguistic apparatus would allow them to read O'Meara's calques might be seen as (1) on the Irish side, any remaining Gaelic lords still loyal to the English crown, (2) on the Scottish side, the group of Scottish nobles close to King James, who, though he was the first of England, was Scottish and the sixth of his ilk in Scotland. The second group would clearly have been more influential at this time, and in view of the overemphasis (David Edwards' view) upon the MacDonnells and the inclusion of long accounts of otherwise unheard of campaigns against the "Hebrideans", and the importance of Scottish issues after 1609, it is not entirely fantastic. But perhaps a few calques are too little evidence on which to build such an ideological reading?

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ROMANCING THE BARDS:

Early-Modern Latin Translations of Irish Poetry*

By Jason Harris & Emma Nic Cárthaigh

In 1647 John Colgan published a transcript and Latin translation of a mid-ninth-century Irish poem about St Patrick; in 1685 Roderic O'Flaherty produced a series of transcriptions and translations of Old Irish verse in his historical study of Ireland, the Ogygia*. This article examines the different approaches to translation employed by these scholars and the linguistic difficulties inherent in the process of translating Old Irish into Latin. The contrast between literal and literary translation is located in the differing antiquarian traditions represented by each author.*

In the early seventeenth century hundreds of Irish Catholics fled abroad as English Protestant rule tightened its grip in Ireland. In order to represent their plight at the courts of Europe, they sought to demonstrate to potential patrons the richness of the Catholic culture that they represented.[1] They boasted of Ireland's history as a land of saints and scholars, but were consistently undermined by Scottish exiles on the continent who, seeking patronage for themselves and the cause of Catholic Scotland, claimed many Irish saints for their own national heritage. Repeatedly, Scottish authors joked about the fact that the Irish could only cite evidence from vernacular annals that no-one had ever seen, which had never been edited or published, and which nobody could understand. The response of the Irish was to gather, edit, and begin to translate the corpus of medieval Irish literature, particularly the annalistic and hagiographical material.[2] Much of this was preserved only in the Irish language. In this article, we will examine the difficulties of translating into Latin the metrical texts belonging to this tradition. We will focus on two examples – John Colgan's translation of a medieval poem about St Patrick, and several fragments of bardic verse translated by Roderic O'Flaherty.

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[1] See, for example, O'Sullivan Beare 1621 and Lombard 1632.

[2] Recent studies include Caulfield 2004, McCafferty 2006, Bhreathnach & Cunningham 2007, Ó Riain 2009, and Caulfield 2009.

In 1647, John Colgan became one of the first to print an Irish language poem. He published it in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, a collection of source materials relating to the lives of Saints Patrick, Brigid and Colum Cille.[3] Colgan was a Franciscan from Donegal who had been based in Louvain from the early 1620s, where he began studying Irish hagiography, a field in which he quickly rose to prominence in collaboration with the eminent Jesuit scholar Jean Bolland.[4] The example of his work that we will focus on is his translation of *Fiacc's Hymn*, a verse life of St Patrick which is found in the *Liber Hymnorum*, a collection of Irish and Latin hymns and prayers used in the early Irish Church.[5]

The *Liber Hymnorum* exists in two manuscript copies, the earlier of which dates probably from the early years of the eleventh century and is housed in the collections of Trinity College Dublin under the catalogue number (and press-mark) TCD MS 1441 (*olim* E.iv.2). The later copy dates probably from the end of the eleventh century or perhaps even the beginning of the twelfth and is presently part of the Franciscan manuscript collection at University College Dublin, catalogued as UCD Franciscan MS A 2. It is this copy that Colgan used while preparing his translation of *Fiacc's Hymn*. Little is known of this manuscript's provenance, but it was kept in the Franciscan friary at Donegal until shortly after 1630, at which point it was sent to the Franciscans in Louvain along with other Donegal manuscripts.[6] These were then placed at the disposal of the scholars engaged in a project to gather and translate Irish source material, notably Colgan himself. The copy of *Fiacc's Hymn* in UCD Franciscan MS A 2 used by Colgan is found on pages 36–38 of that manuscript. The opening section of the poem is preceded by a prose preface occupying the top of the page while the poem itself is surrounded by later glosses in the margins. There is also an abundance of interlinear glosses throughout the text of the poem. These are written in both Latin and Irish and were reproduced by Colgan as an appendix to his edition.

Fiacc's Hymn is attributed to Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, who was a contemporary of St Patrick and is referred to in the short prose preface to the poem as its author. He is also mentioned in the martyrologies of Óengus and of Donegal.[7] However, on the basis of linguistic evidence, the hymn cannot be dated to the time of Patrick in the mid-fifth century. The editors of the *Liber*

[3] Colgan 1647.
[4] Ó Riain 1997.
[5] Bernard & Atkinson 1898, I 96–104; translation given in II 31–35; cf. Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903, I 307–321.
[6] Bernard & Atkinson 1898, I xiii–xv.
[7] Stokes 1905; Todd & Reeves 1864.

Hymnorum, John Henry Bernard and Robert Atkinson, suggest that the poem could not have been written before the eighth century and the later editors, Stokes and Strachan, state that the language is "not much later than 800".[8] A date in the middle of the ninth century is most likely. This places it in the Old-Irish period, which is generally said to date from *c*. 700 to 900. In terms of content, it is effectively a brief summary of the Latin prose lives of Patrick by Muirchú and Tírechán in the *Book of Armagh*, which are dated to the seventh century.[9] In producing the *Trias Thaumaturga*, Colgan consulted both of these texts and thus was able to interpret the poem against the backdrop of its own sources. Nevertheless, as we shall see throughout our discussion, although Colgan was a native speaker of Irish, the language of the poem regularly presents difficulties to him on account of the enormous phonological and morphological developments in the Irish language between the eighth and seventeenth centuries.

If we compare Colgan's transcription of the text of *Fiacc's Hymn* which he reproduced in the *Trias* with his manuscript source, the first thing we note is that it contains a number of errors. These are mostly minor matters of orthography (some of which could be attributed to the typesetter) but in some instances Colgan himself seems to be misled by the faulty transcription in his translation. For example:

Quatrain	**MS A 2**	**Colgan**
10	tua	*word omitted*
25	m**os**	m**ór**
30	**h**etsect	**b**etsect[10]

In quatrain thirty, the word *hetsect* has been transcribed as *betsect*, which renders it meaningless, but this may be regarded as incidental because it does not affect Colgan's translation and thus may have been mistakenly introduced by the typesetter. A similar explanation may be given for quatrain ten, where Colgan omits the word *tua* from his transcript of the Irish text although it is in the manuscript and his Latin translation clearly renders it by the phrase "sub silentio" (in silence) in the Latin text. The third instance is, however, more noteworthy. Colgan seems to have misread the manuscript and unwittingly created problems for himself. The line in the manuscript is "dochum nime mos-raga", which means literally 'to heaven soon you will go', the word *mos* being etymologically linked to the Latin *mox*. However, Colgan's version "do chum nimhe mór raga" could only mean something

[8] Bernard & Atkinson 1898, II 175–176; Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903, II xxxvii.
[9] Bieler 1979.
[10] Colgan 1647, 2–3.

like 'to heaven you will greatly go'. This being somewhat bizarre, Colgan has rationalised it by seeming to ignore the word *mór* and thus simply rendering the line as "ipse ad caelos venies" (you yourself will go to heaven):

MS A 2	"dochum nime **mos**-raga"	'to heaven **soon** you will go'
Colgan	"do chum nimhe **mór** raga"	'to heaven you will **greatly** go'
Colgan's translation:		"ipse ad caelos venies"

This instance is indicative of the impact of scribal errors upon Colgan's treatment of the poem. Thus, although his transcription of the poem as a whole is by and large faithful to the manuscript, nevertheless, his translation is vitiated by the few mistakes he makes.

It is also necessary to take into account Colgan's approach to translation. Although he follows the line breaks of the Irish text, he does not attempt to write Latin verse. *Fiacc's Hymn* itself is written in a common Irish rhyming syllabic metre, known as *rannaigecht*, which, in its relatively uncomplicated state during the Old Irish period, represents a precursor of the elaborate and highly-ornamented strict rhyming syllabic metre employed by the bardic masters of the Classical Modern Irish period between the years *c*. 1200 and *c*. 1650.[11] Colgan evidently put some thought into how best to represent such a poem in Latin. His decision to render the verse into prose allowed him to avoid the difficulty of providing an equivalent Latin verse form, and reflected his decision to provide a literal rather than literary translation. He explains his approach to translation in his notes to the poem:

> In versione sensum conati sumus assequi litteralem; & vbi aliquod verbum hinc inde (quod et raro fit) explicationis gratia inseruimus, quod in textu expresse non habetur; hoc ipsum fidei nostrae liberandae causa, charactere diverso adnotamus.
>
> (In this translation we have tried to follow the literal sense, and where for this reason we have inserted some word for the sake of clarity that is not expressly contained in the text (which seldom happens), we have noted this in a distinct font in order to discharge our [duty of] fidelity).[12]

Colgan's translation style is guided by antiquarian goals rather than literary criteria. Thus it seems appropriate to measure him against his own standard of accuracy. As an initial example, let us look at quatrain seventeen:

[11] Knott 1928, 13–15.
[12] Colgan 1647, 6.

Pritcadh Soscela do cách,	Praedicabat Euangelium populis:
do gnith mór fearta i leathu,	multas virtutes & signa simul operatus:
iccaid luscu la trusca,	curabat caecos & leprosos:
mairbh dos fuisceadh do beathu.	mortuos reuocabat ad vitam.

A literal translation of the Irish reads as follows:

> He used to preach the gospels to everyone;
> he used to perform many miracles far and wide;
> he healed the lame and lepers;
> the dead, he used to rouse them to life.

Colgan's translation appears to preserve some sensitivity to etymology. In the first line, *Pritcadh* is a loan word from Latin, derived from *praedicare*. *Soscela* means 'good stories' and thus is a calque of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον. However, he clearly had more trouble with "do gnith mór fearta i leathu", which means 'he used to perform many miracles far and wide'. The etymology of *fearta*, sing. *feart*, is from medieval Latin *virtus*, meaning 'a miracle'. In medieval Irish manuscripts the singular is often glossed *signum* or *miraculum*; only the plural forms are glossed *virtutes*.[13] The addition of "et signa" may be explained as hendiadys, a common feature of medieval translation, used to clarify the meaning of complex words or to bring out their full force. However, Colgan stated that words which he added for the sake of clarity were placed in a separate font, but that is not done in this case. One might therefore suppose that "et signa" must translate something else in the line. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that Colgan has not understood the phrase "i leathu" correctly. In this he is not alone. Two medieval glossators interpreted the word as "in latitudine saeculi", while one added the possibility that it might mean "i n-Etail" (in Italy), evidently understanding the phrase as "i Leatha" (in Latium). The latter is the translation given by Colgan for "i llethu" in the next quatrain, which adds to the difficulty of trying to understand why he rejected that translation in this case.[14] Colgan follows neither of these readings; rather, his translation, *simul*, may suggest that he had the Old Irish adverb *immalle* in his mind.[15] This adverb, which means 'jointly, together, at the same time' (as reflected in Colgan's translation), is structured in such a way that it ends with the preposition *le* meaning 'with' which originally derives from the Old Irish noun *leth* meaning 'side'.[16] This is the same *leth* that Colgan is attempting to translate in the phrase "i leathu". The same preposition makes up part of another Old Irish adverb *ille* meaning

[13] *Dictionary of the Irish Language* 1983, *s.v.* fiurt.
[14] Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903, II 316.
[15] *Dictionary of the Irish Language* 1983, *s.v.* immalle(i), immelle(i).
[16] Thurneysen 1993, 523 §845.

'hither' or, in a temporal sense, 'since, down to the present time'. This adverb forms part of the Old Irish idiom *ó shoin ille*, later replaced by *ó shoin i leith* (the dative singular of *leath*), which can mean 'over and above that'. Supposing that Colgan may have been aware that *leath* in the phrase "ó shoin i leith" replaced Old Irish *ille* and that *ille* displays a similar morphological formation to *immalle*, it is possible that he had these things in his mind when he was translating "i leathu", a phrase which closely mirrors the adverb *ille*.[17] Perhaps he confused the semantics and, in reading *i leathu* as if it were related to *ille*, translated it with *immalle* in his mind. If this is the case, then "virtutes et signa" is simply hendiadys for *fearta*, perhaps deliberately echoing Acts 8:13 ("signa et virtutes") or else more generally employing the medieval linguistic register appropriate to the genre of hagiography.

In the next line, Colgan seems to have been misled by a false friend to translate *luscu* (which derives from the Latin *luscus*) as *caecos*, whereas its primary meaning in Irish is 'lame' rather than 'one-eyed' or 'blind'. The mistake is all the more noteworthy given that *luscu* is glossed in Irish as *bauchu* in the margins of the manuscript that Colgan consulted (more correctly spelled *bacachu* in TCD MS 1441 [*olim* E.iv.2]), making the meaning 'lame' perfectly clear. In the last line of the quatrain, *mairbh* and *beathu* are etymologically linked to *mortuos* and *vitam*. Colgan is not going out of his way to reflect etymology, rather the religious character of the Irish text ensures that it is permeated either with loan words from Latin or cognate vocabulary. The task of translation is thus made considerably easier. Colgan does, however, introduce one dissonant note in his translation of this quatrain. The Irish phrase "do cách" means 'to everyone', whereas Colgan has translated it as *populis*. It is probable that the religious language of the quatrain prompted this Biblical echo, but it also rather nicely, in an Irish context, alludes to the apostolic injunction to transmit the Word to the outermost reaches of the world.

Irish verse is not always, however, so readily turned into idiomatic Latin. One of the most common problems is that Irish employs parataxis much more widely and in a broader range of contexts than Latin. A good example is found in quatrain twenty:

Conda tanic in Tapstal do faith gidh gaethe dene pritchais tri fichte bliadhna croich Crist do thuathaibh Fene.	Donec aduenit Apostolus, qui eos praeseruauit, licet turbines vehementes; qui praedicauit annis sexaginta Crucem Christi populis Feniorum.[18]

[17] *Dictionary of the Irish Language* 1983, *s.v.* ille, illei; Thurneysen 1993, 516–518, esp. 517 §D.
[18] Colgan 1647, 2.

The Irish text may be rendered as follows:

> Until the Apostle came to them;
> he led [them] though they were strong winds;
> he preached for three twenties of years
> Christ's cross to the peoples of the Féne.

At this point the poem is explaining that the Irish were in a state of perdition prior to the coming of Patrick, the great Apostle. "Conda tanic" consists of three distinct elements – *co*, *da*, and *tanic* – with nasalization following the first of these, the conjunction *co*. The second element, *da*, is an object pronoun infixed between the conjunction and a verb in the preterite/perfect tense, third person singular, *tanic*.[19] Thus "conda tanic" means 'until to them he came'. The word 'until' refers back to the previous quatrain, which states that "The transgressor flung them into the deep vast pit."[20] The subsequent lines cannot be dependent upon *conda* because the verbs are not in the conjunct forms that use of the conjunction *co* would require.[21] The second line of the Irish text is problematic. The standard edition of the *Liber Hymnorum* translates it "he sent ... of a swift wind."[22] In other words, "do faith" is understood as 'he sent', and "gaethe dene" is understood as a noun and an adjective in the genitive singular, meaning 'of a swift wind'. The lacuna in Bernard and Atkinson's translation relates to the middle word *gidh*, which means 'although it be', rather like the Latin *licet* or *quasi*. In a later edition, Stokes and Strachan rendered the line as "even the wind's swiftness led him", translating *cid* (*gidh*) as 'even', reading *dene* as a substantive and the subject of the verb, and assuming that Patrick is the absent object of the verb.[23] Neither of these translations is satisfactory but both convey the fact that there is no syntactical link between the first three lines.

Colgan, however, treats the whole passage rather differently, making the second and third lines into relative clauses dependent upon *Apostolus*. This enables him to avoid repetition of the personal pronoun *eos* by treating *aduenit* as intransitive and making *eos* the object of *praeseruauit*, which is an elegant rendering of "do faith".[24] Thus, in order to render the Irish into idiomatic Latin, Colgan treats the three verbs *-tanic*, "do faith", and *pritchais* as though they were dependent on *conda*, whereas in fact only the first is. His translation of the couplet may therefore be rendered "Until the

[19] Thurneysen 1993, 255–264.
[20] Bernard & Atkinson 1898, II 33.
[21] Thurneysen 1993, 554–556.
[22] Bernard & Atkinson 1898, II 34. Elipsis is in the original.
[23] Stokes & Strachan 1903, II 317.
[24] *Dictionary of the Irish Language* 1983, *s.v.* do-fed.

apostle came, who looked after them even though they were wild whirlwinds".

Quatrain twenty-two reveals further difficulties that Colgan faced as regards parataxis:

In Ardmacha fil righi	Ardmachae est regni Sedes,
is cian do reracht Emhain	futura aeterni nominis populis Emaniae:
is Cell mór Dun-leth-glaisse	& est Ecclesia celebris in Dundalethglas;
nim dil cidh ditrubh Temhair	nec gratum quod Temoria deseratur.[25]

The Irish text reads as follows:

There is sovereignty in Ard Macha;
it is a long time Emain has been abandoned;
Dún Dá Leth Glas is a great ecclesiastical site;
Temair is not dear to me though it be a wilderness.[26]

The quatrain contains four separate sentences, but whereas Irish verse can link units of sense without conjunction, idiomatic Latin tends not to do so. Colgan therefore attempts to articulate the sense of the quatrain as a whole by turning it into a single sentence, but in doing so he misunderstands the poet's meaning which is built upon a contrast between the Christian and pagan world. The two couplets of the Irish quatrain are not syntactically linked but are written in contrasting pairs. Thus, sovereignty lies in Christian "Ard Macha" (Armagh), not pagan *Emain* (Navan), and Christian "Dún Dá Leth Glas" (Downpatrick) is now an imposing site whereas *Temair* (Tara), the seat of the pagan high-kings of Ireland, has become a wilderness. This adversative structure is not reflected in Colgan's translation. He breaks the pattern in his rendering of line two, where he fails to identify the verb correctly, probably because the verb "do reracht" 'has been abandoned' was no longer in use during the early-modern period. Colgan therefore interprets

[25] Colgan 1647, 2–3.

[26] This quatrain clearly presents the reader with a contrast between the fallen former pagan centres of power and the present flourishing Christian centres of power. The first couplet is unequivocal in its setting forth of this contrast. The wording of the second couplet, especially the final line, is not as clear. The sense of the final line would appear to be that even though Tara has long since ceased to be a pagan seat of power, has been rendered empty of inhabitants and is no longer a threat to the Christian strongholds of Ireland, it is *still* not dear to the author: he continues to distrust it. Colgan's notes reveal that his only concern in regard to the interpretation of this line was as to whether the subjunctive verb could be interpreted to mean that Tara was already desolate, or whether it meant that it would become desolate in future. Since he dates the poem to shortly after Patrick's death, at which time he supposes that Tara was still a significant site, he interprets the line as a prophetic allusion to the fall of Tara after it was cursed by St Ruadhán in the mid-sixth century.

the copula *is* in the adverbial phrase "is cian" (it is a long time) as the main verb of the sentence. He then assumes that the subject of the verb is *Ard-macha*, and therefore uses a participle construction to link to the previous line, translating "is cian" as "futura aeterni nominis". Since he does not recognise "do reracht" as a verb, he interprets the pre-verbal particle *do* as the preposition *do*, which takes the dative case in Old Irish, and surmises that *reracht* must be an inflected form of *rerach*, meaning 'an old man' or 'patriarch', which he then translates *populis*.[27] Oddly, in the lemma of his note on this line of the poem, he writes "proceribus Emaniae", but explains the phrase as a general reference to the peoples of Ulster. It seems probable that this line of thought prompted him to emend his translation from *proceribus* to *populis*, but that he neglected to emend the lemma in his note. At any rate, the effect of Colgan's mistranslation of this line is to obscure the adversative structure of the quatrain as a whole.

A further consequence of this interpretation of the quatrain may be seen in his translation of the fourth line where he interprets *cidh* as *quod*, introducing an explanatory object clause instead of a concessive clause. In this he was followed by the editors of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, Stokes and Strachan, who translated the line as "it is not dear to me that Tara should be desolate."[28] This translation supposes that the poet has a positive view of Tara which, it has been suggested, reveals a nostalgic attitude towards the pagan past.[29] However, the line can better be translated with the opposite meaning, since *cidh* (*var. gidh* – see discussion of quatrain twenty) commonly means 'even if it be' or 'although it be'. In other words, Tara is not pleasing to the poet even though it has been destroyed.[30] This reading is lent weight if the line is considered within the context of the structure of the quatrain, but since Colgan's translation of line two obscured that structure

[27] In fact, the dative plural of *rerach* ought to be *rerachaib*.

[28] Stokes & Strachan 1901–1903, II 317.

[29] See Lambkin 1999, 147 n. 58: "A similar tolerant, almost nostalgic attitude is found in the eighth century *Fiacc's Hymn:* "is cell mór Dún Lethglasse : nímdil cid díthrub Temair" (Downpatrick is a great church; it is not dear to me that Tara should be desolate). This is emphasised by the attempt of the eleventh century glossators to reverse the sense: "ni hinmain lem Temair cid fas" (not dear to me is Tara though it be desolate), Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus* ii, 317.7, 16, 40–41." Cf. *Félire Óengusso* or the Martyrology of Oengus, Stokes 1905, 24 §165: "Atbath borg tromm Temra/ la tairthim a flathe/ col-lín corad sruithe/ maraid Ard mór Machae" (Tara's mighty burgh perished at the death of her princes: with a multitude of venerable champions the great Height of Machae (Armagh) abides).

[30] Glosses found in the two surviving manuscripts of the poem support this interpretation of the line, as Lambkin points out, though he sees this as evidence of later discomfort with the poet's supposed sympathies towards paganism.

he had no reason to prefer it to the translation that he eventually opted for, since both are viable interpretations of the Irish text.

In assessing Colgan's translation of *Fiacc's Hymn*, we have focused on problematic passages which reveal the process by which Colgan worked. The Patrician scholar Ludwig Bieler rather sharply asserted that Colgan's translation was of little or no value:

> Of Fiacc's hymn and of the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick, which were originally written in Irish, we have no Latin versions except those by John Colgan, which are practically valueless.[31]

However, this judgement is too harsh. Lacking lexicographical tools or access to most of the now-extant corpus of Old Irish, Colgan managed to interpret with reasonable accuracy language that was almost a thousand years old to produce a broadly accurate version of the majority of the poem. In many instances this is done with considerable elegance, such as his rendering of "ochus cuilche fliuch imme" (and a wet quilt about him) as "cassula amictus madida", or in the numerous places where he employs Biblical phrasing to enhance the sense of Patrick's apostolic character. It is clear that Colgan's governing principles in producing this translation were antiquarian, and that stylistic effects were accordingly of secondary concern to him when compared with the priority of giving a verbally accurate rendering of the Irish text. Nevertheless, the differences between Latin and Old Irish, particularly their habitual modes of conjoining disjunct thoughts through co-ordination and conjunction, naturally shaped the means Colgan had available to him to express the meaning of his source text through idiomatic Latin.

A better sense of the strengths and weaknesses of Colgan's translation style can be gained by comparing it to the Latin translations of Irish verse produced by Roderic O'Flaherty, who was writing some forty years later. O'Flaherty was an antiquarian from Galway whose work is part of a second generation of seventeenth-century scholars who devoted their studies to representing the Irish-language corpus in the world of Latin learning. In 1685, he published a history of Ireland called *Ogygia, seu, Rerum Hibernicarum chronologia*, a title which alludes to the island of Calypso mentioned by Homer, which many scholiasts sought to locate in the Atlantic, and which some Irish scholars identified with Ireland. O'Flaherty drew much of his material from Gaelic Irish sources such as annals and verse chronicles. Like Colgan, he was concerned to quote directly from these in the original language with accompanying translation; however, unlike Colgan, he chooses to render quatrains of Irish verse into Latin hexameter couplets. For example:

[31] Bieler 1942, preface.

Atá sunn forba feasa: fhear Néirionn gan aincheasa,
Rémeas gach Rígh ro ghabh Gíall: Lóaóghaire go Laóchbhrían.

Vera datur series, quos fudit Hibernia, Regum
Loegari a primis ad tempora summa Briani.[32]

The Irish text may be rendered literally as follows:

Here is the foundation of knowledge of the men of Ireland without
[difficulty,
The reign of every king who seized a hostage, [from] Loeghaire to
[heroic Brian.[33]

O'Flaherty prints each quatrain as two lines, which is how most Irish verse is set out in manuscript. This clearly helps to keep the correspondence between Irish and Latin, with two distichs parallel on the page; yet it also reflects a notion that we have seen in Colgan's translation of *Fiacc's Hymn* that the quatrain is itself a coherent unit of sense. Naturally, the decision to translate the poetry into verse results in a less precise rendering of the source's meaning. For example, in the case just mentioned, the Latin is not a literal rendering of the Irish but rather distils the essence of the Irish quatrain's meaning, ignoring words superfluous to the historical content. For example, "gan aincheasa" meaning 'without difficulty', refers to the poet's prowess and is a formulaic bardism typical of the Irish poetry of the period. Since it is a literary trope of little historical relevance to his work, O'Flaherty dispenses with it in his translation.

Nevertheless, O'Flaherty is conscious of the difficulty of maintaining a balance between accuracy, Latinity, and length in his translations. Thus, in the following example, which is a list of common bardic epithets for Ireland, since he is unable to keep his translation down to a distich, O'Flaherty prints the quatrain as four lines but writes three hexameters:

Goirthear teach Tuathail Déirinn,
Cró cuinn, is fonn Finnfheidhlim,
Iath Ugoine, is Eachoidh, Airt,[34]
Críoch Chobhthaigh, is clár Chormaic

The Irish text may be translated as follows:

Ireland is called the house of Tuathal,
the enclosure of Conn, and the territory of fair Feidhlim,

[32] O'Flaherty 1685, 2.
[33] 'Loeghaire' is a reference to Laegaire mac Néill, a fifth-century Irish king; 'Brian' is a reference to Brian Bórama, an early eleventh-century Irish king.
[34] Read *Achadh Airt*.

the country of Ugoine, and field of Art,
the land of Cobhthach, and the plain of Cormac.

O'Flaherty translates it:

Dicta Tuathalii domus Eria, regia quinti:
Fedlimii fundus, plaga Cobthaca, et Hugonis arvum:
Arturi regio, vestrum et Cormace theatrum.[35]

In this case, O'Flaherty's translation is quite close to the Irish, although the use of a vocative construction in the last line, and the change in the order of places referred to, are metrical conveniences. In most instances, it is only fragmentary quotations that he chooses to translate, but in several places lengthier quotation is required. In one striking case he is able to employ elegiac couplets, but only by leaving out considerable detail in his translation, with a resulting reduction of three quatrains (printed as distichs) to four lines of Latin verse:

Ní uairiodar loch no linn: an Eránn air a ccionn
Acht trí locha ionradh gann: as deich srotha seanabhann.
Slionnfheadsa go fíor iadsin: Anmann na ttrí seanlochsin.
Fionnloch Irrius ucht glain: Loch Lurgan: Loch fordreamain.
Laoi: Buas: Banna: Bearbha buan: Samér: Sligeach: Modhorn: Muadh.
Fionn: Bife [*sic!*] a Baighnibh [*sic!*] go gleth: is íad sin na seanhaibhne.

The Irish text may be translated literally as follows:

They did not find a lake or a pool: before them in Ireland
Save three lakes of scant fame: and ten streams of old rivers.
I will name those truthfully: the names of those three ancient lakes.
The pure-breasted *Fionnloch* (fair lake) of *Irrus*: *Loch Lurgan*: *Loch Fordhreamhain*.
The *Laoi* (River Lee), the *Buas* (River Bush), the *Banna* (River Bann), the enduring *Bearbha* (River Barrow), the *Samér* (River Erne), the *Sligeach* (River Sligo), the *Modhorn* (River Mourne), the *Muadh* (River Moy).
The *Fionn* (River Finn), the *Life* (River Liffey) in *Laighin* (Leinster): these are the ancient rivers.

O'Flaherty translates it:

Fordremannus, Finnloch, Loch-lurgan stagna vetusta:
Quos, quam culta prius, fudit Ierna lacus.
Banna, Sligo, Bosius, Finn, Liffeus, Erna, Modhornus,

[35] O'Flaherty 1685, 19.

Berva, Lius, Muadus Flumina prisca decem.[36]

The technical feat of producing this list of names in metrical form is made easier by the freedom he has allowed himself in the spelling and scansion of Irish names. For example, the double 'n' in *Fordremannus*, which represents the final slender 'n' of the Irish, is scanned short; the 'dh' of *Modhornus* counts as a single consonant; no epenthetic vowel is shown in *Berva*; the 'i' in *Lius* is scanned short though it would have been pronounced long; and the Erne and Sligo rivers are Latinised from their English forms rather than representing the Irish *Samer* and *Sligeach*. Further, he has totally omitted to translate the first quatrain, but seems to have felt unable to leave it out altogether from the Irish text, since the streams and rivers mentioned in it are the grammatical antecedent of the pronoun *iadsin* (those) at the start of the second quatrain. In reproducing the entire syntactical unit, O'Flaherty shows sensitivity to his Irish source, whereas the Latin rendering of it appears to be a virtuoso performance designed to entertain and impress his reader rather than to inform him.

Elsewhere in the text O'Flaherty takes this approach to its logical conclusion. Having composed a masterful translation of one quatrain from an Irish poem, he goes on to expand it into his own poem on the same theme as that contained in the quatrain:

Sinsireacht ni ghabhann ceaart
A ttír do ghabhthar le neart:
Calmacht na bhfear is ceart ann
Sni sinsireacht fhear nanbhan.

The Irish may be translated as follows:

Seniority does not give a right
in a land which is taken by force.
Bravery of men is fitting there
and not the seniority of weak men.

O'Flaherty translates it:

Senioris agris jus cadit,
queis vi domari contigit:
virtus virorum aetatibus
non cedit imbellum senum.[37]

This is a remarkable example of O'Flaherty's ability to compose in lyric metres, in this case the iambic quaternarius, while also producing a very

[36] O'Flaherty 164.
[37] O'Flaherty 1685, 406–407.

close rendering of the Irish text. The careful structure of the quatrain is evident: it begins with *senioris* and ends with *senum*; there is also a balance between *cadit* and *non cedit*. However, as we have said, O'Flaherty does not content himself with merely translating this quatrain, rather he goes on to write a longer paraphrase, introducing it as: "Quod per Paraphrasim variatis verbis ludens aliquando meditatus sum" (Which at one time I tried to paraphrase, playing with varied phrases).[38] He then goes on to give us his "variata verba", an original poem which is a paraphrase or adaptation of the sense of the original quatrain into eleven elegiac couplets:

Jus nihil est natale solo, quod quaeritur armis:
fortior imbelli fit seniore prior.
Non fratrum natu, sed robore maximus est dux
in terris, victrix quas premit ense manus.
Non frater senior praestat, sed dignior armis;
cum ruit hostiles vis inimica lares.
Res igitur ferro siquando; non quotus annis,
sed quotus est palmis anteferendus erit.
Si plagis subigenda plaga est, maturior aetas
posthabita est ausis praecocis ingenii.
Jura paterna domi seniorem ex besse manebunt:
parte ex asse foris prosperioris erunt.
Naturae abripuit virtute, quod illa negarat
tempore; germanum gignier ante suum.
Marte suo, non forte patrum quem laurea cingit,
antevenit meritis tempora iniqua suis.
Concedunt animis anni, spoliisque potitur
non citius genitus, sit nisi Marte prior.
Devictis potitur fundis praestantior armis:
non refert natu an major, utrumve minor?
Junior aut senior partos vi possidet agros
frater uter terris acer, et acer aquis.[39]

This poem is a literary exercise in creating as many different renderings of the same sentiment as possible within the form of elegiac couplets:

There is no natural right to soil, which is won by arms;
the stronger takes precedence over the unwarlike elder.
Of brothers, not the eldest, but the strongest is leader
in lands that the conquering hand subdues by sword.

[38] O'Flaherty 1685, 407.
[39] O'Flaherty 1685, 407.

Not the elder brother but the worthiest in arms excels
when enemy force rushes upon unwelcoming homes.
Thus if any matter is to be decided by sword, not the
number of years but victories is to be preferred.
If by blows a region is to be subdued, older age
is set aside for deeds of precocious genius.
Ancestral rights entitle the elder to inheritance at home;
elsewhere, spoils belong solely to the more successful.
He takes by virtue of his nature what nature denied
in time – to be brought forth before his brother.
By war, not lot of birth, he whom the laurel binds
circumvents by his own skill inequality of time.
The years concede to spirit; not the soonest born
but the best in war acquires the spoils.
The greatest in arms rules the conquered lands.
Does it not matter whether one is older or younger?
By force a brother, be he younger or older, owns
the fields he has gained, whether strong by sea or land.

The notion of "variata verba" underlies O'Flaherty's approach to translation, to a greater or lesser degree, throughout the *Ogygia*. It is the Irish text which bears the burden of historical evidence in his work, leaving to his translations the role of entertainment. Their virtuosity is indicative of the sense of intellectual flair that characterises the book as a whole, with its wide-ranging diversions through complex Old Irish antiquarian lore, published at a time when the traditional institutions of Gaelic learning were crumbling under pressure from the English regime in Ireland. Yet in his poetic translations, O'Flaherty is unmistakeably *ludens* in a way that is not evident in the prose of his antiquarian analyses. The result is an approach to translation which conveys something of the poetic character of his sources without losing the core of their historical import.

What O'Flaherty gained in poetry he lost in accuracy, just as Colgan gained in accuracy what he lost in poetry. The different approaches taken by both men reflect their varying concerns as scholars, but is also part of a larger shift in the intellectual culture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In translating into verse, O'Flaherty is concerned to reflect the poetic character of his sources, but the desire to demonstrate his own virtuosity is still more evident. Colgan's struggles to represent word for word the precise meaning of his sources have no counterpart in O'Flaherty. He gives the appearance of greater accomplishment, but that is a carefully crafted appearance. The free adaptations that he produces are the literary predecessors of the MacPherson forgeries of the mid-eighteenth century,

though without any of the latter's desire to deceive. By printing his sources prior to adapting them, O'Flaherty allowed himself a freedom that was grounded in historical legitimacy. Nevertheless, his poetic translations are intentionally loose and, accordingly, of less heuristic value than Colgan's. It is not always possible to gauge in detail his understanding of the syntax and vocabulary of Old Irish because he does not attempt to convey it with sufficient precision in his translations. Thus, although O'Flaherty may have put more romance into bardic verse, it is through Colgan that we are better able to assess the complexities of rendering bardic verse into a romance language.

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