New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World

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The Restoration of Classical Bilingualism in the Early Modern Low Countries and Beyond

By

Raf Van Rooy

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The volume would never have materialized if it weren't for the support of Han Lamers, my New Ancient Greek partner-in-crime since the very beginning. I also owe many corrections to Xander Feys and Andy Peetermans, and am obliged to them, as well as to Jan Papy and Gilbert Tournoy for sending me relevant primary materials and secondary literature. I am thankful also to Janika Päll and Filippomaria Pontani for their stimuli in writing and finishing this contribution, as well as for the input of the participants in the Latin–Greek code-switching workshop that took place in Leuven on October 13–14, 2022. Furthermore, the reviewers greatly helped me with matters of presentation and content. Needless to say, all errors remaining are to be attributed to me only. This project was an opportunity for me to combine aspects from my earlier research, often conducted in collaboration. This means that there will be extensive self-referencing, for which I hope the reader will forgive me. On the subject of forgiveness, I thank series editor Gesine Manuwald for dealing with delays on my side so patiently and so professionally.

I dedicate the book on the two classical languages to those other great twins in my life, Jerom and Jules, who have made sure that I spent sufficient time outside of my ivory tower. I admire them, as well as Elien and Maurice, for putting up with me and my particular brand of work.

Raf Van Rooy
Leuven, November 7, 2022

Conventions

Throughout the volume, I offer diplomatic renderings of Greek, Latin and occasional vernacular texts from early modern prints and manuscripts. I do not, however, adopt the *s longa* ⟨ſ⟩ for Latin, which I simply render as ⟨s⟩. Guillemets (⟨⟩) indicate conjectures for passages where the text is for some reason corrupt or incomplete. Abbreviations have been silently resolved in order not to overload citations with non-alphabetic signs, unless otherwise indicated. This choice is also partly motivated by the fact that the distinction between abbreviation and ligature is not always very clear in the case of Greek orthography. For Greek, I leave diacritic mistakes and idiosyncrasies (accents, spirituses, diereses, punctuation marks) as they are, in order to give the reader an accurate impression of the early moderns' mastery, and conventions, of Greek diacritics. However, I do adapt the placement of diacritics in diphthongs (e.g. ⟨ἔυ⟩) to modern practice (⟨εὖ⟩) for technical reasons, since short vowels such as omicron ⟨ο⟩, when placed at the beginning of a diphthong, currently do not allow a circumflex accent in Unicode. I have largely preserved the capitalization of the original sources, unless it might confuse the reader too much. I have not marked mistakes with [*sic*], but offer the expected modern orthographies in footnotes or after the quotations for readers wanting to compare both spellings. I have maintained grave accents before punctuation marks, which is another idiosyncrasy of early modern Greek typography. Omissions are marked by […]. I quote from modern editions, when available, unless I have good reasons to mistrust the edition. I refer to the authors of ancient works as they were attributed in the early modern period.

When there is no page or folio number, I have used signature marks for reference, whether they are explicitly marked or deducible from the signature set-up of the book. In the latter case, when the deduction is not straightforward, I have used square brackets to indicate that the signature mark has been deduced from other signature marks in the book. I have adopted a similar practice for unnumbered pages and folios. Unless indicated otherwise, English translations of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek texts are my own. If a passage shows Latin-to-Greek code-switching, English renderings from Greek are marked by italics, while those from Latin remain in Roman type. Out of convenience, I quote classical texts and English translations from the online Loeb Classical Library. I refer to ancient authors and works with the abbreviations of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (fourth edition).

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The Restoration of Classical Bilingualism in the Early Modern Low Countries and Beyond

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Abstract

The present volume outlines research perspectives on the restoration of classical bilingualism in the early modern period. The active use of Ancient Greek during and after the Renaissance has been attracting increasing attention over the past few years, but the phenomenon's strong embeddedness in Neo-Latin culture has been taken somewhat for granted. Likewise, many Neo-Latinists have neglected the pervasive Greek element of Renaissance humanism and early modern intellectual life, especially the way many scholars deeply internalized the language of ancient Greece and actively used their New Ancient Greek knowledge in various contexts and forms. In this contribution, I aim to bridge the gap between Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek studies by laying out research paths I find most promising from my own perspective and background. My discussion focuses on Greek production in the early modern Low Countries (*c.*1484–1700), with occasional excursuses to other areas. I have, however, selected research suggestions that are broadly applicable to Latin–Greek bilingualism as a pan-European phenomenon. Part 1 situates this volume within the broader scholarship on early modern Hellenism, and argues for a bridge between Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek studies (Section 1). In Section 2, I define my central concepts and survey the current state of the young field of New Ancient Greek studies. Part 2 offers my research perspectives, first on a macroscale, from a bird's-eye perspective, then on a microscale, zooming in on particular approaches and case studies. Overall, I advocate an inclusive and broad-spectrum approach sensitive to historical contingencies and local contexts, but also paying attention to the transregional and pan-European dimensions of Latin–Greek bilingualism.

Keywords

New Ancient Greek – Neo-Latin – classical bilingualism – Early Modern Low Countries – code-switching

PART 1: SETTING THE STAGE

1 Introduction

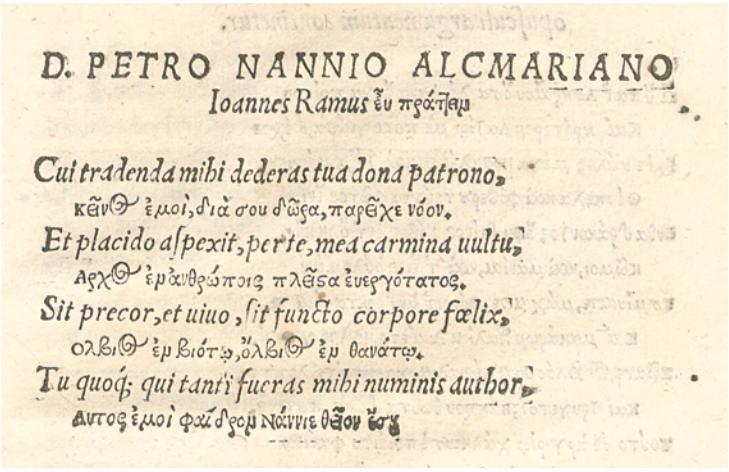
Vienna, 1550. When Jan Meyer (1529/1535–1578), a young professor of Greek from the Low Countries, came across the Hesiodic poem about Heracles' shield, he was immediately star-struck. A "deceitful desire" had lured Meyer into reading and rereading it, always laying bare new layers of interpretation.[1] He could not keep his eyes from the work, and was enticed to compare the poem attributed to Hesiod with its Homeric model in the *Iliad* (18.478–608), and the Vergilian imitation in the *Aeneid* (8.617–731). In order to facilitate comparison, he translated the Hesiodic poem from the original Greek into Latin hexameters, a feat he boasted of having achieved only in a few days. The merits and flaws of these three descriptions of the shields of three different heroes—Heracles, Achilles, and Aeneas—are discussed at length in a letter to Meyer's prospective patron Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568). Olahus, a Transylvanian dignitary, worked in 1550 as bishop of Eger in Hungary but had spent more than ten years in the Southern Low Countries, especially Brussels, as secretary to Mary of Hungary. During his time there, between 1531 and 1542, Olahus learned from the humanist teachers he encountered, including the Danish scholar Jacobus Jasparus and the Hellenist Adrien Amerot from Soissons, both of whom assisted Olahus in his study of Greek.[2] Meyer himself was born in the city of Goes, today part of Zeeland, in the south of the modern Netherlands, and was probably trying to secure the patronage of Olahus on account of their shared past in the Low Countries. He dedicated his Latin translation to Olahus, to whom he reached out through the intermediary of Petrus Nannius from Alkmaar (1496–1557), Latin professor at the Collegium Trilingue (Three-Language College) in Leuven, himself prolific translator of Greek texts, and a fellow countryman of Meyer.[3]

1 Meyer in Hesiod 1550, fol. [a 1v]: "Cvm nuper in Hesiodi opusculum quod de Herculis Clypeo scripsit incidissem, […] nescio quam insidiosa uoluptate me retinuerit, ut non semel legisse contentus fuerim, nisi iterum atque iterum de integro euoluerem. adeo postrema mihi lectio semper noui aliquid promittere uidebatur."

2 Amerot 1875, 467–71; Van Rooy 2020a, 101.

3 On Meyer, whose Greek studies are still to receive closer scrutiny, see e.g. Hutton 1946, 231–32 and Verheye 2013, and the references there. It is unclear when Meyer was born, but the traditional birthdate of 1535 seems rather late, as this would mean that he was only fifteen years old when he became public professor of Greek in Vienna. Hutton's 1946, 231–32 suggestion to place his birth in 1529, although more likely, seems to have no sound basis either.

In an attempt to butter up both Olahus and Nannius and convince them of his linguistic abilities, Meyer showcased his skills in Latin and Greek in his first publication, his *primitiae* as he called it himself.[4] On the title page he presented himself under his Latin alias Johannes Ramus, in keeping with humanist praxis.[5] Meyer's linguistic acumen would be revealed not only in his translation of the Hesiodic Greek hexameters into Latin verses, but also in his dedicatory letter to Olahus, in which he code-switched from Latin to Greek, and from a bilingual letter-poem he addressed to Nannius. To Olahus, the humanist from Goes first expressed in Latin the hope that his firstling "would get some embellishment from the splendor of your name," before adding in Greek and in brackets, that "*it is approved to dedicate the first fruits of one's pursuits to a guide with such power and fame*."[6] In the poem to Nannius, Meyer's linguistic display is even more striking, alternating a Latin hexameter with a Greek pentameter. He thus composed four bilingual elegiac couplets in an almost macaronic fashion (Fig. 1).


D. PETRO NANNIO ALCMARIANO
Ioannes Ramus ἓυ πράτμα

Cui tradenda mihi dederas tua dona patrono,
κεῖνῳ ἐμοὶ, δι᾽ σου δῶρα, παρεῖχε νόον.
Et placido aſpexit, perte, mea carmina uultu,
Αρχῳ ἐμ᾽ ἀνθρώποις πλεῖσα ἐυεργότατος.
Sit precor, et uiuo, ſit functo corpore fœlix,
ολβιῳ ἐμ βιότῳ, ὄλβιῳ ἐμ θανάτῳ.
Tu quoq; qui tanti fueras mihi numinis author,
Αυτος ἐμοὶ φαίδρος Νάννιε θεῖος ἔσῃ

FIGURE 1 Meyer's bilingual poem to Nannius
SOURCE: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION

4 Meyer in Hesiod 1550, fol. [a 2v]: "istas nostri ingenij primitias."

5 Previously, Meyer was thought to have the Dutch surname Tack, but a poem he wrote on the topic of his Latin alias makes clear it was Meyer, a name he dropped for Ramus ("Branch") to mark a new beginning and flourishing in Vienna: see Ramus 1551, fol. C iijr.

6 Meyer in Hesiod 1550, fol. [a 2v]: "Ad te redeo Reuerendissime Præsul, obsecrans ut istas nostri ingenij primitias ex tui nominis splendore, aliquid ornamenti decerpere patiaris (ἔνδοξον γὰρ τοιούτῳ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ἡγεμόνι τινὸς τῶν ἑαυτοὺ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπάρχεσθαι)." In modern orthography, one would expect ἑαυτοῦ instead of ἑαυτοὺ.

D. PETRO NANNIO ALCMARIANO Ioannes Ramus εὖ πράττειν

Cui tradenda mihi dederas tua dona patrono,
Κεῖνος ἐμοὶ, διὰ σου δῶρα, παρεῖχε νόον.
Et placido aspexit, per te, mea carmina uultu,
Αρχος ἐν ἀνθρώποις πλεῖστα εὐεργότατος.
Sit precor, et uiuo, sit functo corpore fœlix,
Ολβιος ἐν βιότῳ, ὄλβιος ἐν θανάτῳ.
Tu quoque qui tanti fueras mihi numinis author,
Αυτος ἐμοὶ φαίδρον Νάννιε θεῖον ἔσῃ.[7]

Johannes Ramus *wishes* Petrus Nannius from Alkmaar *to be well*

You gave me your gifts, to deliver them to the patron [i.e. Olahus]. *Through your gifts, he paid attention to me.* And through you he looked at my poems with a gentle expression, *an utmost beneficent leader among mankind.* [5] May he be happy, I pray, both alive and dead, *blessed in life*, *blessed in death*. You, too, who have secured me such great godlike power, *to me, you will be, Nannius, a bright divinity yourself*.[8]

Here, the twin languages of classical antiquity have been resuscitated to create a new text, unmatched by anything in the ancient corpus. Ramus paired Neo-Latin with a new humanist form of Ancient Greek, which I call New Ancient Greek throughout this work (see Section 2.1 for a detailed definition), so as to compose a poem honoring both his fellow humanist Petrus Nannius and Olahus, the patron he was trying to secure for his work and, thus, his social advancement.

The two languages interact in various ways in this short piece, raising all kinds of different questions. For instance, how did Ramus distribute the contents of his composition linguistically? Do the Greek pentameters simply paraphrase or echo the themes of the Latin hexameters, or do they add new elements? In what ways did he interweave the Latin and Greek verses? How are the lines intertextually connected to classical literature, if at all? What is

7 Meyer in Hesiod 1550, fol. [a 3r]. Modern orthography standards for Ancient Greek would require Ἄρχὸς (l. 3), Ὄλβιος (l. 5) as well as Αὐτὸς and φαιδρὸν (both l. 6). The infinitive formula εὖ πράττειν expresses a wish (see the introduction to Section 3).

8 My English rendering is partly inspired by a work translation kindly provided to me by Nannius specialist Xander Feys, who was also generous enough to share his notes on the poem.

the cultural capital of Latin versus Greek?[9] These and many other questions remain thus far basically unaddressed in the vast early modern corpus of texts in which Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek co-occur, a lack of interest which this contribution hopes to help remedy by suggesting pathways and perspectives for future research. However, before considering how researchers might proceed to address and answer such questions, I need to briefly dwell on the basic aims of this contribution while situating them in the wider scholarship.

1.1 *Latin–Greek Bilingualism in the Scholarship on Early Modern Hellenism*

The early modern restoration of Latin–Greek bilingualism has thus far remained under the radar, with most attention going to the revival of humanist Greek learning and scholarship in Italy.[10] It does not lie within the scope of this volume to survey the full range of Greek studies in the Neo-Latin world of early modernity, especially since an excellent kaleidoscopic picture is already available in a recent volume edited by Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers.[11] This work offers a diverse collection of papers showcasing the wide range of early modern Hellenism, which in its "inclusive" sense

> encompass[es]—*in nuce*—Greeks, Greece, and Greek: the classical as well as the Byzantine, and even the post-Byzantine, traditions; the material culture associated with them, including books, artistic objects, and artefacts of diverse kinds; the Greek language (ancient and vernacular, as well as what some authors have called "humanist Greek"), as well as people claiming, or being assigned, Greek identities.[12]

More importantly, however, the comprehensive introduction to the volume maps the existing scholarship in great detail, making it superfluous to repeat the effort here.[13] It will, however, be useful to sketch the main research foci at the intersection of Neo-Latin and Greek studies, including both active uses

9 See Bourdieu 1986 for the concept of cultural capital, referring to the use of certain personal assets such as language competence as leverage for social mobility.

10 See the surveys and discussions in, for instance, Setton 1956; Geanakoplos 1962; Weiss 1977; 1989; Pertusi 1980; Cortesi and Maltese 1992; Monfasani 2004; Konstantinou 2006; Celenza 2009; Reynolds and Wilson 2013; Sandy 2014; Kraye 2016; Wilson 2017. See also the relevant chapters in Sandys 1908; Pfeiffer 1976.

11 Constantinidou and Lamers 2020b.

12 Constantinidou and Lamers 2020a, 2.

13 See especially Constantinidou and Lamers 2020a, 3–20, which constitutes an important beacon for the discussion here.

of the Greek language and, more broadly, the historical study of the Greek language and the cultural, literary and intellectual heritage it transmits.

A tremendous amount of work has been done on the study of Greek in early modern Europe. This Greek study generally occurred through Latin, the main scholarly metalanguage throughout the period. Indeed, Greek was almost always learned through Latin, even if the first early modern grammar handbooks were still written in Greek following Byzantine tradition.[14] The secondary literature on Greek teaching and learning in early modernity is substantial, especially regarding the history of Greek scholarship in the Italian Renaissance.[15] The many existing focused studies usually concentrate on Greek teachers in Italy or other major centers of Hellenism after the turn of the sixteenth century, such as the Holy Roman Empire, France, England, the Low Countries, and Spain.[16] The scope is, however, steadily widening, and interest in Greek learning is especially starting to flourish in Scandinavia and the Baltic States.[17] Below, I will identify some major themes that have received extensive attention and have bearing on the topic of the present contribution.

First of all, the initial motivation for studying Greek in the early modern era was to make advances in the history of scholarship and literary studies of Roman antiquity, which "one could not fully understand or appreciate [...] without a knowledge of Greek," as James Hankins has put it.[18] Greek served Latin in this higher intellectual goal, whereas for the basic discipline of grammar it was the other way round, as mentioned earlier in this paragraph. Gradually, however, especially over the course of the sixteenth century, the Greek heritage

14 A crucial recent contribution on Latin as the metalanguage of Greek language learning is Ciccolella 2018.

15 For important surveys and collected volumes, see e.g. Kukenheim 1951; Grafton and Jardine 1986, 99–121; Mondrain 1992; Förstel 1992; 2000; Cortesi 1995; Saladin 2000, to be read with the corrective account of A. Pontani 2002, also for later reeditions; Botley 2002; 2010; Percival 2002; Hankins 2003; Ciccolella 2008; 2009; 2010; 2022; Rollo 2012; 2016; Guzmán Ramírez 2013; Nuti 2013; 2014; Ciccolella and Silvano 2017.

16 For Italy, the heartland of Greek humanism, the literature is truly vast: see e.g. Cammelli 1941a; 1941b; 1954; Pertusi 1962; Bernardinello 1971–1972; 1976–1977; Geanakoplos 1974; Cortesi 1986; Berti 1987; Martínez Manzano 1994; 1998; Vergnano 1996; Papadimitriou 2000; Rollo 2001; Hankins 2002; Maisano and Rollo 2002; Thorn-Wickert 2006; Gastgeber 2014; 2015; Tikkanen 2018; Nousia 2019; Silvano 2019. For the Holy Roman Empire, see e.g. Ludwig 1998; Ben-Tov 2009. For France, consult e.g. Sandy 2002; Boulhol 2014; for the Low Countries, see e.g. Gerretzen 1940; Bot 1955; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a. For Spain, see e.g. López Rueda 1973. The work on English Hellenism has been very reception-focused: but for Greek learning see especially the contributions of Micha Lazarus, e.g. 2015.

17 See e.g. Korhonen 2007; 2022b; Päll 2018.

18 Hankins 2003, 281.

developed into a valid research object in its own right, a field of scholarship for which Latin naturally became the main metalanguage, in order to open up the vast body of new knowledge encoded in Greek and previously largely inaccessible or consultable only in inept translations. In the early 1500s, Erasmus of Rotterdam (*c.*1469–1536), inspired by Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla (*c.*1407–1457), studied Greek for various reasons but crucially in order to arrive at a better Latin translation of the New Testament, for him the core text of Christianity.[19] Such instrumental uses of Greek became accompanied by an interest in the Greek world in and of itself, especially in later decades of the sixteenth century, of which the Tübingen Hellenist Martin Crusius (1524–1607) can be said to be one of the major exponents. Crusius developed a thorough interest in all things Greek, both ancient and contemporary.[20] In other words, Latin and Greek became cemented into a tight relationship of mutual intellectual need, becoming the twin languages of scholarship for a large part of the early modern era, especially the years 1500–1700, on which I focus in this volume.

The mentioning of Erasmus' translation project brings me to a second important theme that has been central to early modern Latin–Greek scholarship: the proliferation of Neo-Latin translations of Ancient and Byzantine Greek works and the occasional New Ancient Greek versions of Latin works. The Greek migrant scholar Theodore Gaza (*c.*1400–*c.*1475), for instance, produced both, providing new Latin translations of Aristotle's work and Greek renderings of Cicero's *De senectute* and *Somnium Scipionis*.[21] The substantial body of literature on this topic, again especially rich for Italy, focuses on such themes as translation histories, theories and methods (sense-oriented versus word-for-word), primarily of the enormous corpus of Neo-Latin translations of Greek texts.[22] An important question that arose concerned "how much Greek could be tolerated in Latin translations": could one accept Greek loanwords or should everything be pure Ciceronian Latin?[23] The busy humanist translation activities formed part of

19 See e.g. de Jonge 1988.

20 On Crusius, see Calis 2020 for a recent discussion, with focus on his interest in contemporary Greece.

21 See Geanakoplos 1989, 68–90, especially 71, and the references there.

22 See the ongoing project *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, where, however, important authors such as Homer are still lacking, and e.g. also Rummel 1985; Botley 2004; Cortesi 2007; Deligiannis 2017; den Haan 2019; Pade 2020.

23 Ramminger 2014; see also Section 2.1.

> a central project of Renaissance culture to 'make the Greeks speak Latin'; to 'empty the treasuries of the Greeks', so that the epic and lyric poetry, oratory, mathematics, geography, medicine, rhetorical theory, history, biography, theology, patristic writings and natural science of ancient Greece became available in translation to readers of Latin.[24]

Furthermore, the renewed intensive contacts between the Latin and the Greek worlds brought up questions of identity as well, in which language played a prominent role, as can be expected. Most Greek migrants in the Latin west identified themselves as Christians and heirs to the Roman Empire; hence, they initially called themselves "Romans" rather than "Greeks," whereas the term "Byzantines" only gained currency in the later sixteenth century. The migrants' relocation to Italy and beyond, however, pushed these "Roman" Christians into an identity crisis, as they came across different groups also claiming the Roman heritage, including most notably the Italian élite, both rulers and humanists, and the Holy Roman Emperor.[25] These westerners moreover contended to practice the correct form of Christianity, in contrast to the Greeks, who from a western perspective had broken the union of the Church in 1054, a schism that eventually proved insurmountable, despite numerous attempts at reconciliation, most notably at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1439).[26] To fit in, and especially to make a living, the Greeks learned the local languages, often both the vernacular and Latin, a subject in need of more concerted study.[27] Some, like Basilios Bessarion, converted from their Orthodox faith to Roman Catholicism.[28] These Greeks catered to the needs of their western hosts, including the humanists. Representatives of this new intellectual movement wanted direct access to the major sources of classical Greco-Roman antiquity, considered far superior to medieval culture in intellectual, esthetic, literary and linguistic terms. While the Greeks studied Latin, an increasing number of westerners eagerly applied themselves to the study of Greek. This reconvergence of the Latin and Greek heritages, which first culminated at the crossroads of transregional contacts in different parts of Renaissance Italy, gradually turned into a self-evident given, as their joint study spread to other

24 Hankins 2003, 282.

25 The classic historical account of Greek migration in this era is Harris 1995. For the Greeks' identity crisis and negotiation of Greekness, see the comprehensive analysis in Lamers 2015.

26 Constantinidou and Lamers 2020a, 15–16.

27 See, however, already Deligiannis, Pappas, and Vaiopoulos 2020.

28 See most notably Märtl, Kaiser, and Ricklin 2013.

parts of Europe and became institutionalized across nearly the entire continent, not only at universities and other places of higher education, but often also in contexts like Latin schools and Jesuit colleges, where teachers prepared boys for academic studies.[29]

The result is that the literary, intellectual and linguistic heritage of ancient Greece, a remote region in both space and time, became firmly entrenched in western culture, even though this appropriation and domestication did not occur without a struggle.[30] In particular, the spread of Protestantism and its *sola scriptura* principle, the emergence of which more or less synchronized with the diffusion of Greek learning beyond Italy, led to close associations between the new confession and the new subject of study, crystallized into the saying: *qui graecizabant*, *lutheranizabant*. If you pursued Greek studies, you must have Lutheran sympathies.[31] Tellingly, Luther's close friend and seasoned Hellenist Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) held that "scripture could not be understood theologically until it was first understood grammatically," indicating that knowledge of Greek and Hebrew held a key position in his reform program.[32] However, Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers are right to emphasize that "we should be particularly sensitive to the specific contexts, personalities, and circumstances involved," and hence be very careful not to conceive of early modern Hellenism as a purely Protestant precinct.[33]

More generally, pedagogues voiced moral concerns about Christians engaging with pagan Greek literature much as they did with Latin authors such as Ovid, which also explains why a text like Basil the Great's address "to youngsters on how they could benefit from pagan literature" (Πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων) gained popularity, and, more broadly, why humanists engaged intensively with Early Christian Greek literature.[34] Further contestations about Hellenism resulted from emerging national sentiments, with humanists hauling in Greek as their ancestral language, either along with Latin or on its own. This tradition boasted representatives all across Europe but probably grew strongest in France, where intellectuals looked to rival Italian claims on the Roman heritage by appropriating Greek through etymology and

29 For the Low Countries, see especially the still valuable Bot 1955.

30 See Saladin 2000, Goldhill 2002 as well as Lamers 2018.

31 See Matheson 1990 and especially the classic work of Rummel 2000 on the confessionalization of humanism. For more references, consult Constantinidou and Lamers 2020a, 12–15. See e.g. also Rhein 2017.

32 The paraphrase is from Keen 2022, 355.

33 Constantinidou and Lamers 2020a, 14.

34 See the survey in Backus 2014.

historical colonization.[35] Additionally, scholars imagined national traditions of Hellenism.[36]

Finally, the humanists' insistence on pure, grammatically correct and elegant language focused on the usage of classical authors, especially Roman ones. The obsessive engagement with classical Latin usage almost naturally meant adopting the practice of Latin-to-Greek code-switching found in certain ancient works, most notably Cicero's idolized correspondence. Even though the early modern imitation of this linguistic phenomenon has barely received any scholarly interest, one dimension of the humanist obsession with linguistic correctness has attracted attention in the scholarship: the original pronunciation of Ancient Greek.[37] Modern scholarship has somewhat forgotten that early modern intellectuals often approached this problem in conjunction with the pronunciation of Latin, as is apparent from Erasmus' 1528 dialogue on the matter, which, although important because of the high profile of its author, was certainly not the first to offer a reconstruction of Greek pronunciation.[38] Knowing how to pronounce Greek also served one's Latin competence, mostly because Latin vocabulary housed many Greek loanwords, but also because many humanists believed the two languages to be related.[39] This claim usually boiled down to increasingly creative variations on the ancient idea that Latin descended from Greek through its Aeolic dialect branch.[40] This perceived bond of privileged kinship between the two classical languages no doubt enhanced the early modern sense of their belonging together, and hence the appropriateness of using them in conjunction.

In sum, a present-day scholar can resort to a vast secondary literature on the uses and appropriations of Greek in the Neo-Latin world of early modern Europe, first and foremost in the Italian heartland of the Renaissance but increasingly also in other regions. This same scholar will, however, be disappointed as it comes to New Ancient Greek, although numerous humanist teachers considered active language use a key pedagogical method.[41] Only in

35 See Demaizière 1982; Van Hal 2011; Lamers 2017, and the references there.

36 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 453–55.

37 See Bywater 1908; Hesseling and Pernot 1919; Errandonea 1945; and especially Drerup 1930–1932. More recent contributions include Dillon 2001; 2013; Barnard 2017; Van Rooy 2020c; Simpson 2022, with the references there. On humanist Latin–Greek code-switching, see e.g. most recently Van Rooy & Mercelis 2022.

38 Erasmus 1528. On some of Erasmus' precursors, see Bywater 1908.

39 See e.g. Giovanni Tortelli's *Orthographia*, on which see Tomè 2017.

40 See Van Rooy 2020b, 78–80, and the references there.

41 See e.g. Swiggers 2017 on Nicolaus Clenardus' Latin grammar.

the last two decades or so, with the exception of work by some earlier pioneers, has New Ancient Greek in early modern Europe started to attract closer scholarly attention, as I outline in greater detail in Section 2.2. Still, its interactions with Neo-Latin have been poorly studied and understood, beyond a few recent investigations, and the gap between Neo-Latin versus New Ancient Greek studies could hardly be greater, despite the great kinship between the two fields.[42] One of the main aims of this contribution, therefore, consists in bridging this unexpectedly great gap.

1.2 *Bridging the Gap between Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek Studies*

The vast body of texts composed in Neo-Latin since Petrarch is well-known and over the last fifty years has become the object of study in an autonomous subfield, which carries the well-established label of "Neo-Latin studies." Neo-Latin literature boasts its own institutes, such as the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* at KU Leuven and the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, to be integrated into the Department of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies at the University of Innsbruck in 2025. The field boasts several journals, including *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, and *Journal of Latin Cosmopolitanism and European Literatures* (*JOLCEL*). The International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (IANLS) organizes large-scale conferences every three years, if the circumstances allow it. In 2022, this conference came home to the cradle of Neo-Latin studies: the university city of Leuven. KU Leuven has played a pivotal role in the promotion, autonomy and flourishing of the field thanks to the efforts of its scholars, especially the late Jozef IJsewijn (1932–1998) and many of his pupils, including Gilbert Tournoy (b. 1944) and Dirk Sacré (b. 1957). IJsewijn also authored an invaluable companion, which since 2014 can be consulted in combination with *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* and other guides to Neo-Latin studies.[43] Neo-Latinists can moreover rely on several book series and anthologies.[44]

The study of New Ancient Greek in early modernity lags far behind its sister discipline. It boasts no institutes, no journals, no international association, no large-scale conference, and no companions or encyclopedias, although the recent anthology coordinated by Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise might

42 An important recent volume is Abbamonte and Harrison 2019.

43 IJsewijn 1990–1998, with the assistance of Dirk Sacré; Ford, Bloemendal, and Fantazzi 2014; Tilg and Knight 2015; Moul 2017.

44 Examples of series are *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, *The I Tatti Renaissance Library*, and the *Bloomsbury Neo-Latin Series*, which thus far hosts three anthologies, including Hadas, Manuwald, and Nicholas 2020.

constitute a tipping point.[45] Even more tellingly, the field lacks a widely accepted label and definition, a problem revisited in Section 2.1. Scholars have devoted only a few volumes to the Greek texts of the Renaissance and after, a substantial body of work, even if not nearly as vast as that of Neo-Latin. Moreover, at the time of writing, the scholarly community of New Ancient Greek studies only had a mailing list ("humgraeca") and the Twitter account *Hermes*, paired up with a namesake website, devoted to "early modern Hellenism" in general. The contrast between the two fields could hardly be greater, but the tide seems to be slowly turning, as more scholars, typically classicists, are turning their attention to New Ancient Greek texts. This small volume joins in the recent enthusiasm for this considerable, barely charted text corpus, but its limited scope will lay painfully bare how far removed we are still from an encyclopedic view on the field.

The main aim of this contribution is to bridge the gap between the two fields by looking for common denominators and interests, as well as intersections and interactions between Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek, always starting from the perspective of the latter for two reasons. On the one hand, my experience with this part of the corpus is greater. On the other hand, I want to bring the phenomenon of New Ancient Greek to the attention of Neo-Latinists. I consider this second goal to be particularly crucial, since it is my impression that a considerable number of Neo-Latinists tend to ignore the presence of Greek, either because they lack the necessary background or, worse, because they regard it as a fundamentally uninteresting aspect of the Neo-Latin-dominated world they study. In the latter case, one sometimes assumes that the Greek compositions by humanists and later scholars are by definition unoriginal, in that they are at best heavily dependent on Greek models, at worst merely flawed centos. The code-switching to Greek in Neo-Latin texts is also too easily dismissed as consisting only of quotes from earlier works (see Section 2 for references). As such, this volume constitutes an attempt to offer Neo-Latinists and early modernists food for thought about the many aspects of learned Latin–Greek bilingualism, making the case that the Greek side of the story far exceeds simple copycat behavior and presents an entire spectrum of uses and attitudes.

I proceed in two steps. First, I define the main concepts of my account, survey the state of New Ancient Greek studies in greater detail, and elaborate on the relevant methods and skills required for the interdisciplinary field of New Ancient Greek studies. Second, I present a selection of research perspectives

45 F. Pontani and Weise 2022b, which also surveys earlier, smaller-scale anthologies.

I find most promising, introducing key concepts, presenting case studies, and fielding questions. Here, I also characterize the corpus as far as the present state of research allows. My selection of research perspectives is bound to be biased, not only because the field is still in its infancy, but also because I am most at home in the vast New Ancient Greek poetical output of the early modern Low Countries between 1500 and 1700, which forms only a small slice of the corpus. This background means that I draw substantially on earlier studies to which I have contributed, but I have made sure to include enough new materials and insights. Additionally, I approach the matter from my own perspective, which because of my background has substantial linguistic leanings, in addition to cultural-historical and book-historical preferences. As such, my suggestions stem from my own limited competence and experience of working with the source materials I know best, and by necessity neglect a much larger corpus of relevant texts produced in and beyond Europe. It is therefore my sincere hope that this volume might inspire fellow scholars to direct closer attention to the many aspects of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism, whether it is along the lines I suggest here or along other paths that they find equally or even more interesting.

2 Preliminaries

2.1 *Central Concepts: Definitions in Context*

This volume takes as its central object the manifestations of early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism, with special reference to the Low Countries. Before turning to my suggestions for investigation of these manifestations, I have to make clear a number of things, including how I define the central concepts of the subject: bilingualism and the code-switching that often goes hand in hand with it; Neo-Latin; New Ancient Greek; and the early modern Low Countries.

1. I define *bilingualism* as competence in two different languages, to varying degrees of fluency; it is thus a specific form of multilingualism, which on a global scale is currently the dominant linguistic situation—not monolingualism, as one might intuitively assume.[46] In the case of Latin and Greek in the early modern period, this bilingualism, in fact, formed only a slice of a broader multilingualism. After all, Latin and Ancient Greek were by that time no longer native languages. Hence, early modern Latin–Greek bilinguals always had at least one other vernacular language as their mother tongue, a situation which

46 For an introduction to bilingualism, see Edwards 2006.

has been called "vertical multilingualism."[47] The spatial metaphor, ultimately drawing on Heinz Kloss' influential conceptual framework, refers to the elevated ("roofing") status of the two learned languages (*Dachsprachen*), which exerted tremendous influence on the native forms of speech beneath them.[48] These vernaculars were, unlike Latin and Greek, still being codified as written media, a standardization process that took several centuries, completed for most languages only in the modern period. Whereas vernacular forms of speech may not always have been easily distinguishable from closely related varieties (e.g. Dutch and German in their borderlands), they were all different enough from both Latin and Greek to be perceived by early moderners as concerning a third distinct language group, despite any potential close historical kinship (e.g. Latin and Italian). Hence, the label "multilingualism," and the implication of competence in more than one "language," although still a thorny issue in modern scholarship and day-to-day use, should hardly be controversial in the case of Latin, Greek, and the vernaculars in early modern Europe.[49]

For the earliest humanists, the native vernaculars were either Italo-Romance varieties, descending from Latin, or forms of contemporary Greek. This situation of multilingualism could constitute a research object in its own right, but I restrict myself here to learned Latin–Greek bilingualism. People knowing these two classical languages were usually scholars—and mostly men, though certainly not exclusively—so that I would propose to call this type of bilingualism "learned" in a double sense. On the one hand, Latin and Greek were never native forms of speech but learned after the so-called critical age; around the age of six, most children lose the ability to gain native speaker level in a new language. On the other hand, the combined use of Latin and Greek flourished especially in learned culture. It was at the same time an individual competence connected to literary cultivation and a membership ticket for the Republic of Letters. This metaphoric republic constituted a Europe-wide community of scholars that was by no means homogeneous, but its members were to various degrees invested in higher culture and connected through networks of correspondence and other types of intellectual exchange.[50] Typically, the citizens of this imagined scholarly society showed an imbalance in their learned bilingualism. Westerners tended to have a better mastery of Latin, whereas those with a Greek background were more likely to excel in their

47 See Swiggers and Van Rooy 2017; Swiggers, Szoc, and Van Hal 2018, with the references there.

48 Kloss 1978. For a visualization, see Ureland 1986, 36.

49 For a historical view on the question of what constitutes a language versus a dialect, see Van Rooy 2020d.

50 On the Republic of Letters, see e.g. Bots and Waquet 1997; van Miert 2014.

heritage language. Proficiency levels could range from knowing a few words to near-perfect mastery. Additionally, learned Latin–Greek bilingualism was always accompanied by competence in at least one native vernacular language, possibly in addition to other vernaculars and learned languages. In exceptional figures, the languages mastered could run to impressive numbers, as in the case of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). Using diction that reminds of trilingual Roman poet Quintus Ennius, several of Junius' admirers attributed eight "hearts" to him: in addition to Latin, Ancient Greek, and his native Dutch, he had a command of Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English.[51] Polyglots such as Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) added other learned languages such as Hebrew and Arabic to their intellectual gallery.[52] The first foreign languages to become institutionalized in higher education were Greek and Hebrew, a fact demonstrating their significance in the intellectual climate and linguistic landscape of the day.[53]

Just as for early modern cases of vernacular bilingualism, we do not have any recordings and thus have to rely on written documentation for learned Latin–Greek bilingualism. Notably, however, and unlike vernacular bilingualism, its learned equivalent probably prevailed not in speech but in writing, the active composition of Greek usually requiring careful study and preparation. The written nature of this learned bilingualism emerges from the highly formal character of most New Ancient Greek texts we have, although code-switching to Greek also occurred in formalized spoken contexts such as teaching and oratory. For instance, student notes from classes on Vergil and Homer at the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven from the 1540s are predominantly in Latin but with frequent switches to Greek. Orations held at the same institute also contain Latin-to-Greek code-switching.[54]

2. A major manifestation of bilingualism which holds a central position in this volume is *code-switching*. Code-switching can be defined as alternating from one language to another within one single communicative act, either orally or in written form.[55] It can occur on different levels: within a sentence,

51 Van Hal 2011, 188–89. Quintus Ennius boasted of having three "hearts": Greek, Oscan, and Latin. See Gell. *NA* 17.17.1: "Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret."

52 Grafton 1983.

53 For a useful recent synthesis on the institutionalization of trilingual education, see Van Hal 2022.

54 The student notes are digitally edited in DaLeT, Database of the Leuven Trilingue: see Van Rooy et al. 2022. For an example of an oration, see Amerot's 1545 introductory speech, ed. Van Rooy 2017a.

55 Gardner-Chloros 2009; Schendl 2012.

between sentences, or between even larger textual units such as paragraphs and chapters. Typically, code-switching has been investigated by linguists in modern oral settings, as spoken language is considered the best gateway to the study of this human capacity. For historical code-switching, however, one has to rely on the available textual evidence. Early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism was largely a written phenomenon, though many texts were read out loud or even performed, or reflect oral interactions such as teaching. Though principally a linguistic concept, code-switching has implications beyond the study of language, as it can serve various purposes, including literary, intellectual, and social ones.[56] These dimensions will prove to be of central importance for my ruminations in Part 2 (especially Section 4.5).

3. *Neo-Latin* is a modern term denoting the form of the Latin language that emerged in reaction to medieval Latin as part of a purist movement, oriented toward the usage of classical authors, most notably Cicero but also Apuleius, Tacitus, and others.[57] As such, the term has both chronological and stylistic implications. The scholarship traditionally underlines Petrarch's game-changing role, as he sought to imitate and emulate the ancients in their own language form, a literary endeavor that soon won popularity in his tracks.[58] At the same time, rediscoveries of ancient texts in different registers further supported the return to classical Latin. For Latin–Greek bilingualism, I can highlight Petrarch's 1345 discovery of Cicero's letters to Atticus, which contain frequent code-switching to Greek, for instance to express philosophical ideas or to convey secret information to his correspondent.[59] As early as 1407, Guarino Veronese (1374–1460), a pioneering Hellenist and student of Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1360–1415), appreciated the use of Greek code-switches in Latin, as "they sprinkle a little welcome variation" in a text, an idea no doubt inspired by Ciceronian examples.[60] The issue of Greek-to-Latin translation fueled debate about Latin lexical purity, since scholars held different opinions about the acceptability of certain Greek loanwords such as *democratia* from δημοκρατία, "democracy." Most humanists, however, tended to welcome new borrowings from Greek, but the microhistory of many of these loanwords still

56 For the poorly studied literary aspects of code-switching, see e.g. Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015; Weston and Gardner-Chloros 2015.

57 For an extensive definition and characterization of Neo-Latin, on which I draw, see Ramminger 2014, with the references there.

58 Hankins 2012.

59 See *CSRL* s.d., e.g. IDS 548 and 399, discussing *Ad Att.* 6.4 and 9.4, respectively.

60 "gratioris aliquid varietatis aspergunt," cited from Ramminger 2014, n. 55.

awaits close scrutiny, an undertaking hampered by a lack of corpora and the complexity of certain borrowings.[61]

Neo-Latin served as the main vehicle of Renaissance humanism, which began in Trecento Italy. The new classicizing form of the language served at first as a stylistic directive for literature but soon spread to scientific writing and other fields such as law, theology, and medicine. Neo-Latin even came to be used in administration, as many humanists served at courts or were otherwise engaged in politics and public affairs.[62] This wide range of use made Neo-Latin "a language encompassing many layers and strong contradictions," resulting also in hybrid humanist-scholastic styles.[63] As in this contribution, Neo-Latin is often closely associated with the early modern period, even though modernity has also witnessed its fair share of Neo-Latin authors. Something similar holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for New Ancient Greek, albeit on a much more limited scale, with only few modern writers producing new texts in Ancient Greek.

4. What I call *New Ancient Greek* or *active Greek* in this volume can be defined largely in parallel to Neo-Latin, both on chronological and stylistic grounds, albeit with some important qualifications. Since, as far as I am aware, no one has attempted to define this language form in detail, I put forward a first proposal here, no doubt to be adjusted by further research.[64] New Ancient Greek refers to varieties of the language of Ancient Greek literature—the so-called literary dialects, especially Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, as well as Homeric and Koine Greek—as it was first used by humanists of Greek and Italian extraction during the Renaissance. As such, New Ancient Greek emerged as the result of an intense encounter between scholars from two different geographic backgrounds, which were, however, culturally cognate. Active use of this language subsequently

> reached its heyday and most impressive peaks between the 16th and the early 17th century in Germany, the Low Countries and partly in France: despite a certain decline since the mid-17th century, and its rather

61 See in general Helander 2014. Greek loanwords are recorded in Ramminger's online *Neulateinische Wortliste* and Hoven 2006, but it is worthwhile to look at the history of individual Greek borrowings. For example, on the complex case of *dialectus*, see Van Rooy 2019.

62 See e.g. Burke 2004, especially Chapter 2, on Latin as "a language in search of a community."

63 Ramminger 2014.

64 My suggestions are, however, inspired by existing literature, not least F. Pontani and Weise 2022b. Korhonen 2022b arrived too late to be included in the discussion.

> elitarian (if conspicuous) reviviscence in the 19th-century academic circles, it never petered out down to our own day.[65]

Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise made the above generalization in the introduction to their co-edited anthology of New Ancient Greek versification, which probably can be extended to prose genres. Overall, it seems that Greek composition in the Renaissance and after amounted to an intellectual niche, a hermetic fashion even, in contrast to Neo-Latin writing. Furthermore, standards of Greek composition tended to be lower than for Latin, and the mere ability to produce a text in Greek could overshadow literary goals and even grammatical correctness (cf. Sections 4.4 and 4.6). Indeed, New Ancient Greek writing never reached the same large scale of production as its Neo-Latin equivalent, but it nonetheless resulted in a substantial text corpus of variable quality, thus far barely charted, let alone studied in its Neo-Latin context (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3). Similarly, the envisaged audience formed a small group of peers, usually elite groups of philologists or nobility, most of whom would not have understood Greek. Neo-Latin, however, could appeal to a considerably larger readership and at the same time had a stronger canon rooted in Italy—with Petrarch and others—than its Greek counterpart. Greek's less enthusiastic use in Italy also followed partly from the Protestant associations evoked by Greek (cf. Section 1.1) but no doubt also from the lack of a clear canon and the occasional nature of the majority of Greek compositions. The small readership of Greek moreover made it interesting as "an encrypted code [...] to veil intimate or delicate information," following Cicero's lead in his *Letters to Atticus*.[66]

In addition to the occasional nature and smaller scale of Greek writing vis-à-vis Neo-Latin, the historical background to the phenomenon should also be qualified. Neo-Latin composition emerged primarily as the result of a playful literary encounter between the ancients and humanists reacting to medieval culture, whereas the background of New Ancient Greek writing presents a more complicated picture. The strong Byzantine tradition, and especially the Palaeologan Renaissance of the late Byzantine Empire (1261–1453), probably provides the most complex piece of the puzzle. This cultural-historical development emerged after the Byzantines recovered Constantinople in 1261 from the western crusaders, who had taken the city in 1204. Through its renewed fascination with ancient Greece, including its language and literature, Greek

65 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 2.

66 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 11. Cf. above, as well as Section 4.5 below.

philology flourished in late Byzantium, thus effectively forming ideal scholarly brothers-in-arms and teachers for the humanists on the Italian peninsula.[67] The Palaeologan Renaissance, then, entailed esthetic ideals of linguistic and literary archaism mirroring—even prefiguring—humanist ideals. As such, New Ancient Greek writing appeared at a double crossroads, not only of past and present, but also of east and west. This latter criterion in defining New Ancient Greek also emerges in the chapter on Greece in Pontani and Weise's anthology, which for the early modern period only features pieces from Greek poets active at the intersection of east and west.[68] More fundamentally, this east-west exchange also procured the material basis for New Ancient Greek writing, since Byzantines and Italians alike took pains to make the Greek heritage available again in its original language in the west by copying and importing manuscripts, as well as by translating Greek texts into Latin.[69]

In light of my attempt at defining New Ancient Greek, I would like to revisit the existing diversity in naming this variety of Greek, focusing on English terminology, which itself is greatly indebted to German. The strong German tradition in New Ancient Greek studies reflects at least partly the enormous historical productivity of the German lands, but also the strong expertise of present-day scholars such as Walther Ludwig and Stefan Weise.[70] The most popular term in the English scholarship is no doubt "Humanist Greek" (German: *Humanistengriechisch*), a popularity partly fostered by the title of a posthumously published collection of papers by Roberto Weiss (1906–1969).[71] Janika Päll and Ivo Volt explain the term as follows:

> since the 1970s [Humanist Greek] has referred to the usage of Ancient Greek language by western authors from the Renaissance to the Early Modern periods, as well as by the New Humanists from the 19th to the 21st century.[72]

Similar to "Humanist Greek" is "Renaissance Greek," as both terms highlight the historical origin and major peak of the phenomenon in the humanist

67 On the importance of the Palaeologan Renaissance, see Geanakoplos 1989; Fryde 2000.

68 Zoras, Yiavis, and Pontani 2022.

69 Reynolds and Wilson 2013.

70 See e.g. Weise 2011; 2017b; Ludwig 2014.

71 Weiss 1977. See e.g. Harlfinger 1989, esp. XVII; Korhonen 2004, esp. 9–10; Päll 2010; Korhonen and Sironen 2018; Päll and Volt 2018b; Päll 2020; Slavíková 2020; Weise 2020; F. Pontani and Weise 2022a.

72 Päll and Volt 2018a, 9.

movement that emerged during the Renaissance. Tua Korhonen proposes distinguishing them, restricting Renaissance Greek to "the Greek that was used by Byzantine scholars in the West and the first generations of Italian humanists."[73] Other recent suggestions include "Neo-Greek" and "(Neo-)Hellenic," while the plain designation "Greek" is also in widespread use.[74]

I prefer the aptly oxymoronic term "New Ancient Greek," based on the German designation *Neualtgriechisch* and going back to Dieter Harlfinger, who already used it as an alternative for *Humanistengriechisch*.[75] Variants on this term include "Neo-Ancient Greek" and "Neo-Paleo-Greek."[76] My preference follows from three considerations. The term "New Ancient Greek" has—in order of significance—the benefit of inclusivity, neutrality, and parallelism. First, "New Ancient Greek" does not imply Renaissance humanism or the so-called New Humanism of the modern period as "Humanist Greek" does, an implication I deem undesirable because the phenomenon of writing in Greek surpasses the limits of these movements. Greek composition flourished well into the eighteenth century, albeit on a smaller scale, and with even greater regional differences in productivity than before. The practice did peter out, for instance, in the Low Countries, but there and elsewhere it enjoyed a limited revival in modern times, mainly in academic and other élite intellectual circles. Today, it probably thrives most intensely in the United Kingdom, with revived contests such as the Gaisford Prizes at the University of Oxford and strong traditions of Greek composition at certain public schools, including St Paul's Boys' School, Westminster School, Eton College, and Harrow School. The globalism of the internet age also seems to be increasingly spawning Ancient Greek enthusiasts across the western world, whether in small social media communities or in isolation.

Secondly, while it is true that "the revival of Greek" was "a formative element of Humanist culture," and this movement played a foundational role in the popularity of Ancient Greek composition, the cultural-historical label

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73 Korhonen 2020, iii, giving "Humanist Greek" a wider application.

74 See Korhonen 2020, ii; F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 16–17, and the references there. For "Neo-Greek," see e.g. also Johnson 2006. Glei 2018, 549 proposes German *Hellenistik* as a name for the young discipline, inspired by *Hellenisti!*, the title of Weise 2017b. For Neo-Hellenism, see Veenman 2009, 131.

75 See e.g. Harlfinger 1989, XVII, where *Neualtgriechisch* appears between brackets following *Humanistengriechisch*; Weise 2016; F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 16; Van Rooy 2023 [in press].

76 For "Neo-Ancient Greek," see e.g. Barton, Bauer, and Korenjak 2022, 689. For "Neo-Paleo-Greek," see Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 27–28; Van Rooy 2020b, 41.

"humanist" can have evaluative, even triumphalist overtones.[77] This positively biased connotation contrasts with the modest nature of certain writings, including the "numerous student exercises, which reek of sweat and tears of more or less dutiful students, and occasional texts which mechanically follow established patterns." Some modern commentators have even called such and other texts a "downside" of New Ancient Greek writing.[78] As such, "Humanist Greek" seems less desirable as a scholarly label, which I believe should aim for as much neutrality as possible. For the same reason, I am not prone to follow the suggestion of using "New Ancient Greek" as an overarching term, restricting "Humanist Greek" to the Renaissance.[79]

Thirdly, and least crucially, although not entirely unimportantly, Greek writing started to flourish in the Neo-Latin world of early modern Europe, effectively developing into a kind of little sister tradition parallel to, and entangled with, Neo-Latin literature. It would, therefore, make sense to grant the language a name mirroring "Neo-Latin." The parallelism transpires best from the variant "Neo-Ancient Greek," but I find the more explicitly oxymoronic element in English "New Ancient Greek" an asset, especially because it has a historical backing in some strands of early modern Hellenism.[80] As such, this *argumentum ex antiquitate* for "New Ancient Greek" outdoes the one for "Humanist Greek," hearkening back as it does only to the posthumous editor of Weiss' important work. What historical backing do I have in mind? I am referring to a humanist ideology championed in, among other networks, the Hellenist circles of Bruges from the 1560s, members of which spread out across and beyond the Low Countries.[81] There, scholars organized around Maecenases Marcus and Guido Laurinus expressed strong preferences for ancient Greek culture, which they believed to have direct bearing on their own intellectual program. Enthused by the classical heritage, intellectuals such as Adolphus Mekerchus, Franciscus Nansius, and Hubertus Goltzius combined philology and antiquarianism—especially numismatics—to uncover and even restore the Greek origins of their present-day culture. They fashioned this program as "new-ancient," coining the neologism καινοπάλαιος in their compositions, as in the following couplet prefixed by Mekerchus to his treatise on Ancient Greek pronunciation:

77 Päll and Volt 2018a, 10.

78 Päll and Volt 2018a, 10.

79 Weise 2019, 7, n. 5.

80 Korhonen 2020, ii dislikes this oxymoronic formation for English, but at the same time finds that German "*Neualtgriechisch* captures the meaning very well."

81 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, esp. 95 & 106, n. 141.

> Ει νέα τέρπουσιν, δίδομεν νέα σὺν δὲ παλαιὰ
> μίξαμεν, ὥς τι νέον καινοπάλαιον ἔχῃς.[82]
>
> If new things give delight, it's new things we offer, but we have mixed in old things, so that you would have something new, a novel antiquity.

The same idea is by evoked in the playful Greek dialogue Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise used to adorn their recent anthology.[83]

Finally, in parallel to "Neo-Latinist" as designation for a scholar of the Neo-Latin language and literature, we might adopt the term "Neo-Hellenist," losing the "ancient" element for convenience. (A form like Neo-Paleo-Hellenist would sound all too exotic.) Of course, these remain but proposals, and if they are not adopted for whatever reason, I can only hope that they fuel debate and critical reflection on the terminology of the young field.

FIGURE 2 Pieter van den Keere (1571–ca. 1646), Leo Belgicus
PICTURE: REGINE RICHTER / SOURCE: DEUTSCHE FOTOTHEK, GERMANY—CC BY-SA, THROUGH EUROPEANA

82 Mekerchus 1565, 3. The English translation is adopted from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 95.

83 F. Pontani and Weise 2022b, IX.

5. The ***early modern Low Countries*** formed a cultural-historical area in western Europe that people of the time considered to be unitary, as witnessed by the *Leo Belgicus*, a cartographic depiction of the area in the form of a lion (Fig. 2).[84] The early modern Low Countries coincided roughly with present-day Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, but included other areas, especially parts of northern France, with cities such as Rijsel (Lille) and Dowaai (Douai), which boasted its own university from 1559. After centuries of existence as separate political units, the Low Countries came into the hands of the Habsburg dynasty in 1482, which worked to craft the territories into a single polity. Shortly afterward, in 1484, the Frisian pioneer Rodolphus Agricola (1443/1444–1485) became the first Lowlandish scholar to produce Greek pen exercises. I use the term "Lowlandish" in this contribution as the adjective corresponding to the phrase "Low Countries," since modern alternatives such as "Dutch" and "Netherlandish" do not entirely match the early modern concept of "the Low Countries."

In the early 1500s, the Seventeen Provinces became an integral part of Charles V's vast Habsburg empire. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the south remained under the dominion of Charles' son Philip II of Spain, while in 1588 the north, after years of revolt, succeeded in becoming the independent Dutch Republic. As a result, the south became a largely Catholic area under the influence of Spain, whereas the north attracted adherents of all kinds of beliefs, especially Protestants but also Jews and members of other religions, and acquired a reputation of liberalism and tolerance, although religious strife flourished there, too. This political and confessional separation caused a brain drain from the south, which had been the initial intellectual center of the Low Countries. Cities like Antwerp, Bruges, and especially the university town of Leuven lost intellectual elites to the north, where Amsterdam and particularly Leiden with its young academy grew into lively hotspots of cultural and intellectual exchange. These hotspots flourished throughout the seventeenth century, the so-called Dutch Golden Age of maritime and commercial dominance, which lasted from 1588 until the *Rampjaar* ("Disaster Year") 1672. The shift from south to north impacted on the production of Greek texts, which also gradually became a northern phenomenon and came to thrive there. The intellectual decline that had started in the late sixteenth century in the south reached the north about a century later, as reflected by, among other factors, the seemingly total absence of New Ancient Greek compositions after 1700.[85]

84 For a monumental account of the early modern Low Countries, with focus on the Dutch Republic, see Israel 1995.

85 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 218.

For a study of Latin–Greek bilingualism in the Low Countries, then, the years 1484–1700 constitute the most relevant timeframe.

My choice of the early modern Low Countries rests on my expertise but also on the fact that this area formed a multicultural crossroads, where people from different backgrounds spoke, read, studied and wrote in numerous languages, both learned and vernacular, including Latin and Ancient Greek. This multicultural and multilingual character moreover implies that the Low Countries entertained intense contacts with other areas to their south (especially France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland), west (England), and east (the Holy Roman Empire). The Lowlandish embedment in a transregional network will allow me to make occasional trips to other regions, giving me the opportunity to make the reader aware of the truly pan-European dimension of early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism, even if in the end one will have to accept that there are regional trends and even brands of this peculiar type of bilingualism.

2.2 *Early Modern Classical Bilingualism and New Ancient Greek Studies: State of the Field*

At the crossroads of classical philology, reception studies, intellectual history, and linguistics, the issue of early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism has never been elevated to the status of independent research object, even though scholars such as Stefan Weise have continued to emphasize the importance of this phenomenon.[86] This lack of interest in early modern Latin–Greek interactions stands in stark contrast to Latin–vernacular bilingualism, which was admittedly much more common than its Latin–Greek counterpart.[87] Some rare case studies focusing principally on Latin–Greek bilingualism include papers by Hans van de Venne, Irena Backus, Tomas Veteikis, Angelo de Patto, Johanna Akujärvi, and Jochen Schultheiß, as well as a few contributions on exceptional figures such as Erasmus and Constantijn Huygens (1586–1687).[88] As such, many present-day researchers seem to perpetuate the auxiliary status granted to Greek studies by the early humanists.[89] Nonetheless, volumes entirely devoted to New Ancient Greek texts have been appearing during the

86 E.g. Weise 2020, 403–4.

87 E.g. Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003; Hsy 2013; Deneire 2014a; 2014b; Bloemendal 2015; Frijhoff, Kok Escalle, and Sanchez-Summerer 2017; Moul 2022.

88 van de Venne 2000; Backus 2006; Veteikis 2017; de Patto 2020; Akujärvi 2020b; Schultheiß 2020. For Erasmus' use of Greek in his letters, see Rummel 1981. On Huygens' multilingualism, see Joby 2014.

89 See e.g. the narrative in Sandy 2014.

last decade.[90] Some of these volumes reflexively contemplate the status of Greek composition vis-à-vis Latin, as evidenced by generalizations such as the following:

> As opposed to writing in Latin, literary composition in Greek has not been a continuous activity in Europe from classical antiquity through the modern age: [...] autonomous composition in that language became a much bolder, more arbitrary and eccentric idea than any attempt to revive Latin poetry and prose by adopting ancient models and thereby departing from medieval standards—an idea that only a restricted elite of learned figures could reasonably conceive.[91]

All in all, however, the importance of Neo-Latin for New Ancient Greek studies has not yet been granted close attention. Vice versa, many Neo-Latinists seem to take the presence and use of Greek in their corpus texts for granted as a typical feature of humanism, focusing especially on how Greek sources have been Latinized through translation or literary adaptation rather than the active aspects of humanists' Greek knowledge (see Section 1). Christian Gastgeber, advocating an inclusive bilingual approach to humanism, has formulated it as follows in a recent piece offering useful methodological considerations that can help Hellenize Neo-Latin studies:

> the Neo-Latinists [...] would best be qualified for the [New Ancient Greek] material, but Neo-Latin studies tend to maintain or even foster a separation the humanists once fought against, and in their research the additional Greek segment of a modern "Latin" scholar's cultural and literary background is faded out as such studies are mainly interested in the Latin output although it creates an artificial separation.[92]

This neglect perhaps reflects concerns about the lack of originality of many specimens of New Ancient Greek composition, which exhibits "in an extreme form the negative aspects—frigidity, derivativeness, lack of inspiration—that have long marred the consideration and the reception of Neo-Latin poetry after the romantic revolution."[93]

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90 See most notably Weise 2017b; Päll and Volt 2018b; Kajava, Korhonen, and Vesterinen 2020; F. Pontani and Weise 2022b. See also selected chapters in, for instance, Constantinidou and Lamers 2020b; Van Rooy, Van Hecke, and Van Hal 2022.

91 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 3.

92 Gastgeber 2018, 23.

93 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 4.

Scholars who have greatly contributed to the emergent independence of the subfield of New Ancient Greek studies include Johanna Akujärvi, Tua Korhonen, and Janika Päll in the frame of the Helleno-Nordica project, as well as Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise. As a result, Italy, Germany, and the Nordic countries are no doubt the best studied. Still, existing publications tend to treat eclectic case studies, typically individual poems, poetical collections, or dissertations—not least because the corpus is so vast and uncharted, and the number of researchers willing and able to tackle it so small. As the field is still young and poorly surveyable, scholars have tended to focus on the most remarkable specimens of New Ancient Greek, which typically present little interaction with Neo-Latin in their main textual bodies. A similar eclecticism transpires from a modest proliferation of historical anthologies, going back as far as the early eighteenth century. Likewise, editions of remarkable New Ancient Greek authors flourished in nineteenth-century Germany and post-1945 Italy, which in recent decades have been joined by works addressing large parts of historically Protestant Central, Eastern and Northern Europe.[94] However, the most monumental landmark is without a doubt Émile Legrand's *Bibliographie hellénique*, started in 1885, and offering editions and translations of a wide range of Greek texts alongside precious bio-bibliographical information, especially on Greeks active in early modern Europe.[95] Although outdated and on some points inaccurate, Legrand's volumes still prove very useful for the present-day scholar, especially since in recent times there perhaps has been a disproportionate focus on non-Greeks writing in New Ancient Greek. Pontani and Weise's recent anthology suggests that the tide might be turning, as the Greeks' compositions deservedly feature at the very beginning of the geographically and chronologically organized anthology. The introduction to the chapter on Greece provides useful considerations and further references about the Byzantine background of New Ancient Greek writing.[96] Additionally, the Latin competence and output of late Byzantines and early modern Greeks are steadily attracting more attention.[97]

In this overall picture, the situation in the early modern Low Countries appears to be poorly studied, which provides an additional motivation to zoom in on this area in my contribution. Only studies of a limited scope exist,

94 Two eighteenth-century anthologies are Freyer 1715; d'Olivet 1743. See e.g. Meschini 1976; and Rhein 1987 for editions of Janus Lascaris' and Philipp Melanchthon's Greek poetry, respectively. For more details and references, see F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 16–18.

95 Legrand 1885–1906; 1892; 1894–1903.

96 Zoras, Yiavis, and Pontani 2022.

97 See especially Deligiannis, Pappas, and Vaiopoulos 2020. A volume on late Byzantine *Latinitas* is moreover in the pipeline.

highlighting either the New Ancient Greek oeuvre of notable authors such as Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) or texts related to one particular city, most notably Leiden.[98] The most complete surveys can be found in the anthology by Pontani and Weise, which is nonetheless selective by its very nature, and a paper on Lowlandish motivations for writing New Ancient Greek.[99] Editions of texts are scattered, reflecting a contingent interest in the work of one more or less major author rather than a concerted endeavor to organize and open up the corpus, let alone shed light on early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism. The Greek output of prominent writers such as Erasmus has been edited as an integral part of their literary oeuvre, as have the Greek compositions of prominent historical figures such as the humanist jurist Frans van Cranevelt (1485–1564).[100] Exceptionally, poets lesser-known today have also received editions, such as the substantial bilingual oeuvre of Johannes Foreestius (1586–1651), an acquaintance of Heinsius', and the likewise bilingual funerary compositions for Leuven Greek professor Rutger Rescius (*c.*1495–1545), to which the Spanish Hellenist Juan de Verzosa (1523–1574) contributed at least some pieces.[101] The *Harlemiad* of Nicolaes Jansz. van Wassenaer (*c.*1572–1629), a rare epic poem of 1460 hexameters, has attracted some attention, as have other Greek compositions of his.[102] The substantial but chaotic Greek text corpus of Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614) lies largely unedited and unstudied in the archives, especially in Leiden.[103] The Pindaric fashion of the decades around 1600 also manifested itself in the Low Countries, several representatives of which have been the subject of case studies.[104]

Greek writing in the early modern Low Countries has been done away with as a "curiosum," limited to the "imitation of Greek examples," and as a "pastime"

98 For Heinsius, see e.g. Golla 2008; Aydin 2018. For Schurman, see most notably the recent work of Pieta van Beek 2018; 2020, and more generally van Beek 2010. The Leiden anthology is van den Berg et al. 1993.

99 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b; 2022c. For the Netherlands and Belgium, see also the short accounts of Tholen 2019 and Laes, Maraite, and Paternotte 2019, respectively.

100 See Erasmus 1956; 1993. See e.g. also Huygens 2004. For Hugo Grotius, see Tiele, Cohen, and ter Meulen 1941; Meulenbroek 1972; 1973. For Cranevelt, see de Vocht 1928.

101 For Foreestius, see de Vries 2007. On the funerary collection for Rescius, see the complete edition in Feys and Van Rooy 2020. A partial edition is in del Pino 2021.

102 For a not-always-accurate Dutch translation of the *Harlemiad*, see van Wassenaer 1930. See also van de Venne 1997; 2000; Veenman 2009, 125–28, 131–33.

103 See, however, already van Dam 2009; 2010; Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 56–61.

104 See Tiele, Cohen, and ter Meulen 1941; Opelt 1968; Schmitz 1991. For the broader Pindaric fashion in New Ancient Greek, see the survey in Päll 2017.

of select humanists.[105] It is one of my aims to show that this characterization does not reflect historical reality, especially if one moves beyond free-standing texts in Greek. Looking at the entire corpus of active Greek makes it difficult to deny the considerable scale of the phenomenon, yet the strong embeddedness of Greek composition hampers a full appreciation of the corpus at this stage. New Ancient Greek texts feature predominantly in larger carriers of texts, typically prints and manuscripts with abundant Neo-Latin materials. As such, it is barely possible to study this corpus without knowing Latin, as the surrounding Latin almost always helps shed light on the Greek: if not on its content, then surely on its context. This consideration brings me to the skills ideally required by the present-day scholar working on early modern Latin–Greek bilingualism.[106]

The crucial skill consists in knowing the classical Latin and Greek languages and literatures, along the auxiliary disciplines of classical philology, including editorial techniques. In addition to this philological background, one would ideally also be familiar with Neo-Latin and Renaissance studies; early modern history, especially its cultural, intellectual, literary, confessional, pedagogical and institutional aspects; Byzantine studies; classical reception studies; codicology; paleography; and book history. A well-considered application of digital methods also helps to more efficiently map and process New Ancient Greek in the Neo-Latin world of early modern Europe, but can at this stage by no means entirely supplant the aforementioned skills. Most of these disciplines will recur throughout Part 2, devoted to research perspectives for the study of Latin–Greek bilingualism, although I am aware that nobody can come to fully master this wide range of disciplines and methods. For instance, I myself am trained principally as a classicist, who had the luck to take several courses on Neo-Latin and Byzantine studies during my curriculum. I also have a background in linguistics and early modern history, in the context of which I had the opportunity to familiarize myself with the basics of paleography and book history. Although my background covers the range of skills needed pretty well, my mastery of them is imbalanced, leaving substantial margin for progress in several fields, not only those partly covered by my background, such as Greek prosody and book history, but also in other skills like digital humanities, which I have been learning on the go.

105 Veenman 2009, 131, calling it a "tijdverdrijf," a "curiosum" in "imitatie van Griekse voorbeelden."

106 Cf. also the disciplines listed by F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 16.

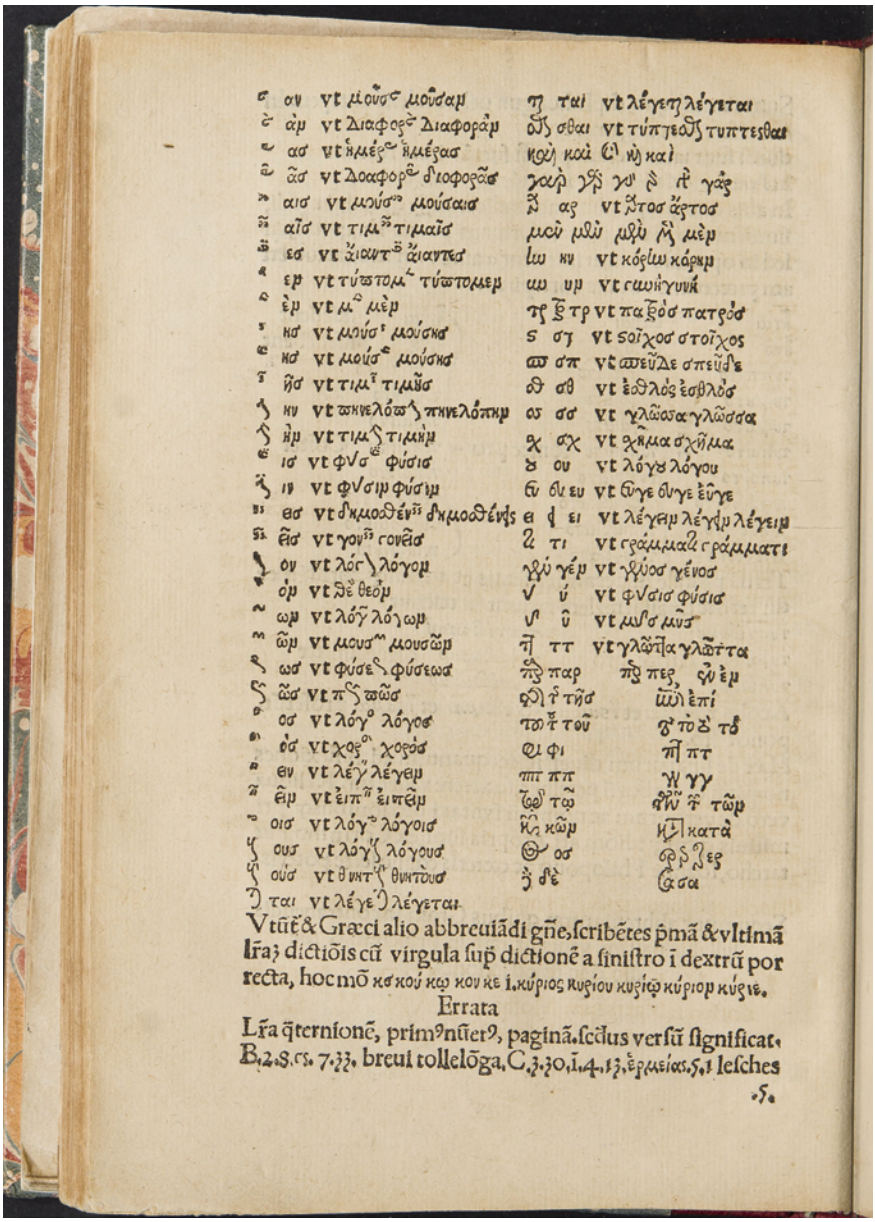

FIGURE 3 Ligature and abbreviation list at the back of Adrien Amerot's (*c.*1495–1560) Greek grammar of 1520, printed in Leuven

Note: Amerot 1520, fol. R iii v.

SOURCE: KU LEUVEN LIBRARIES, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, CAAA259—PUBLIC DOMAIN

The high number of required competencies can be scary, and the learning curve might seem excessively steep for many researchers interested in the phenomenon. The researcher may, however, derive comfort from the fact that some basic skills that seem complex at first sight do not take too long to acquire if approached methodically. For instance, for someone who knows Ancient Greek, the amount of ligatures and abbreviations in early modern Greek writing and printing might appear overwhelming. Yet, these practices largely continue Byzantine writing styles, which a reader might know from Greek paleography courses. Still, for a scholar not acquainted with Greek paleography, a practice of a couple of weeks at most, and probably less, will equip them with the necessary knowledge, especially when given that early modern-ers, too, had problems with the matter, as witnessed by many orthographic mistakes found in manuscripts and prints. For this reason, Greek manuals and alphabet books of the time often offered ligature and abbreviation lists with their full equivalents that still prove useful to the modern student of early modern Hellenism (see Fig. 3 for an early Lowlandish example).

PART 2: RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

3 The Bird's Eye: toward a Long History of Classical Bilingualism

The first research path I would like to highlight consists in expanding the historiography of classical bilingualism to the early modern period—and perhaps beyond, even though in modern times active Ancient Greek becomes academically anecdotic. Much work in the field of ancient Latin–Greek bilingualism has been done, especially since the early 2000s, with reference to the seminal contributions of the late James Noel Adams, who was among the first to apply modern linguistic insights to the matter.[107] I cannot discuss the multifaceted phenomenon of ancient bilingualism in detail here, but it will suffice to recall some of its main characteristics crucial for early modern classical bilingualism. The ancient Greco-Roman world contained numerous Latin–Greek bilingual individuals and communities, especially on the Italian peninsula and Sicily, but also in stretches of the Roman empire farther removed from its Italian heartland. Egypt forms a particularly well-studied area because of the tremendous amount of papyri preserved there, including texts in Latin and Greek

107 E.g. Adams, Janse, and Swain 2002; Adams 2003. See e.g. also Rochette 1998; 2010; Mullen 2015; Elder and Mullen 2019; *CSRL* s.d.

next to languages such as Coptic and Demotic, the great majority of which feature in the Trismegistos database.[108] In antiquity, Latin–Greek bilingualism often still was at least partly native, in that either Greek or more often Latin constituted a bilingual speaker's mother tongue, and not rarely both. As such, this bilingualism did not limit itself to the learned usage of an intellectual élite but at some places pervaded all social strata, as evidenced by the linguistic usage in Plautus' (*c.*254–184 BCE) comedies. Although based on Greek models of the New Comedy, these pre-classical Latin texts do not contain learned Greek. Instead, the Greek words and phrases reflect the Romans' contact and interactions with the inhabitants of Magna Graecia in southern parts of Italy and in Sicily, a considerable number of whom served as slaves in Rome. In this capacity, Greek added to the frivolity of the comic atmosphere.[109]

In antiquity, Latin–Greek bilinguals benefitted from the status of *linguae francae* which the two languages enjoyed in the Mediterranean world and its surrounding areas, at first Greek in the east, especially after Alexander the Great's (356–323 BCE) conquests, and a couple of centuries later Latin in the west. Because of its earlier tradition, and in particular the cultural and literary heritage attached to it, Greek developed into a fashionable colloquial and intellectual language for the Roman elite in the late Republic and the Roman Empire. Cicero (106–43 BCE), for instance, code-switched to Greek in his private correspondence, notably in letters to his friend Atticus, which also suggest that he often spoke Greek with his friends and acquaintances. The language served partly—but not solely—to create an atmosphere of intimacy.[110] In his published works, Cicero devised a proper Latin metalanguage for philosophy inspired by Greek terminology, while also commonly translating passages and even larger portions of Greek works by Aeschines, Demosthenes, Plato, Xenophon, and Aratus into Latin.[111] All these dimensions of Cicero's Greek competence would prove central to Renaissance humanism, too, but numerous representatives of this movement went far beyond Cicero's uses of the language. Faithful to Cicero, humanists writing in Neo-Latin eagerly imitated the epistolary code-switches to Greek, not least Erasmus, who advocated the same procedure in his popular letter writing manual.[112] For instance, on the subject of how to address a correspondent, the Rotterdam humanist noted ancient

108 Depauw and Gheldof 2014.
109 de Melo 2011.
110 Dunkel 2000; Swain 2002; Jackson 2014.
111 Poncelet 1957; Rochette 1995, esp. 252–253; Fögen 2011, 455–57; Aubert-Baillot 2021.
112 Rummel 1981.

usage for both Latin and Greek, suggesting that his contemporaries might adopt Greek alongside Latin practice:

> Eamque semper veteres a dicenda salute sunt auspicati. Idque tam a Graecis quam a Latinis, tertia persona factitatum videmus: siue quod vsus sermonis rex, personam mutauit; siue quod studio festiuitas quaedam, quam adfert personae hypallage, videtur affectata; siue quod olim salutatio non adderetur epistolae, sed in tergo tituli vice adderetur, velut ab eo recitandus qui literas perferret. *M. Tullius Cicero Trebatio imperatori S. D.* Graeci ferme ad hunc modum, Πλάτων τῷ Δίωνι εὖ πράττειν. Quae verba non hoc sonant Graecis, quod quidam existimant, quasi iubeamus illos, quos ita salutamus *bene viuere*, sed quod felicitatem precemur. Nam quibus res sunt sequundae, ii Graecis εὖ πράττειν dicuntur. Quidam pro εὖ πράττειν dicunt χαίρειν, quod apud nos sonat *gaudere*.[113]
>
> The ancients always began a letter with the expression of a greeting. We note that in both Greek and Latin this was habitually done in the third person, whether usage, the arbiter of speech, was responsible for this change of person, or whether there was an intentional courtesy affected by the syntactical change, or whether at one time the greeting was not joined to the letter, but added on the back like a title, to be read out by the bearer: 'Marcus Cicero sends greetings to General Trebatius.' The Greeks use a similar expression. '*Plato bids Dio fare well.*' To the Greeks these words do not mean, as some think, that we bid those to whom we give such a greeting to live well, but that we are praying for their good fortune. For those whose affairs are fortunate are said by the Greeks *to fare well*. Some people for εὖ πράττειν '*fare well*' say χαίρειν, which means 'rejoice.'[114]

Those who, like Erasmus, were not bound by an all too strictly Ciceronian language ideology, extrapolated the phenomenon to other prose texts, and even to poetry, where code-switching to Greek had hardly been common in antiquity, except for some Greek words and phrases in authors like Juvenal.[115] Still others, though Latin always remained their first academic language, took an even further leap and wrote entire texts in Greek for various reasons.[116]

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113 Erasmus 1971, 277.

114 Erasmus 1985, 50–51.

115 See e.g. Fögen 2014, esp. 87–88, on Juvenal's sixth satire, mocking the way Greek is used by Roman women.

116 Cf. Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b for a first survey of these reasons for Greek writing in the early modern Low Countries. Cf. also Sections 3.5 and 4.5–4.6 in particular.

This renewed blossoming of Latin–Greek bilingualism reemerged after about a millennium of what can be called learned monolingualism in medieval Europe, or perhaps diglossia or vertical multilingualism, where a learned language roofed great vernacular diversity (see Section 2.1). In the fragmented western parts of the continent, only Latin survived as the lingua franca of scholarship, religion, and administration, whereas Greek took up this role in eastern areas, largely reunited in the Byzantine Empire. Both the Latin and the Greek-dominated parts of Europe housed a notable number of learned bilingual islets. The literature on the western outposts of Greek knowledge is the more substantial, though the Latin knowledge of easterners is attracting increasing attention.[117] In the west, the most persistent admirers of Greek could undoubtedly be found at the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris, which cherished the royal privilege to study Greek, especially the works attributed to their patron saint Dionysius the Areopagite. As such, the abbey represents an exclusivist form of medieval western Hellenism, flourishing especially in the twelfth century.[118] To the Carolingian era (ninth century CE) date a short Greek manual and even modest poetry in this language.[119] The most skilled Hellenists included Roger Bacon (*c.*1219/1220–*c.*1292), who authored the first full-fledged grammar of Greek with Latin as metalanguage that we know of.[120]

As to the east, I can single out the well-known Latin teaching and grammatical work of Priscian (fl. *c.*500 CE) in early Byzantium, as well as the prominent legal status which Latin held up to Justinian's reign (reigned 527–565).[121] During the Palaeologan Renaissance, mentioned above (Section 2.1), scholars returned to the heritage of ancient Greece, but occasionally also to that of ancient Rome. Well known are, for instance, Maximus Planudes' (*c.*1260–*c.*1305) learned Greek translations of Latin works by, among others, Cicero and Ovid.[122] Late Byzantine migrants in Italy, too, came to master the language, as mentioned earlier (Section 1.1). They did so not only for intellectual reasons but also in the context of political and religious diplomacy between east and west, as Kenneth Setton has judiciously recalled. Setton argues for understanding the Greek revival in terms of continuity between medieval and early modern times, with Greek becoming not only "fashionable," but also "necessary in the

117 For the west, see especially Weiss 1977; Berschin 1988; Herren 1988; Kaczynski 1988; Boulhol 2014. For early Byzantium, see Garcea, Rosellini, and Silvano 2019. A volume on late Byzantium is in preparation.

118 Boulhol 2014, chap. III, VI.

119 Boulhol 2014, chap. III.

120 Bacon 1902.

121 Both topics feature in Garcea, Rosellini, and Silvano 2019.

122 See e.g. Schmitt 1968.

affairs of church and state" in the west, which vice versa also held for Byzantine diplomats and Latin. Intellectuals such as Manuel Chrysoloras could probably train their Latin competence within the confines of their empire in view of their diplomatic tasks.[123] Indeed, Chrysoloras seems to have practiced his Latin "more than ten years before his first trip to Italy."[124] This eclectic survey shows that by the end of antiquity, Latin–Greek bilingualism had become rare and confined to a very few learned contexts, as it was no longer connected to larger population classes.

It seems that the Latin–Greek bilingualism of early modernity combined properties of both the ancient and the medieval situations. Although the product of a return to the classical past, as well as a reaction against medieval culture, the learned bilingualism of humanism that interests me here has features typical of the medieval situation. As in medieval times, knowledge of Latin and Greek was learned in the double sense discussed above (Section 2.1), belonging primarily to intellectually engaged circles, members of which always had a vernacular as their native tongue, be it one historically deriving from the two classical languages (e.g. Italian or vernacular Greek), a more distantly related one (e.g. German) or an entirely unrelated one (e.g. Hungarian). Humanist scholars, however, conceived their learned bilingualism as a return to the classical situation, fashioning themselves as the great saviors of the Hellenic heritage, which provided the literary and intellectual foundations of Latin culture. In the words of pioneering Hellenist Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481):

> Cum superiore anno Bononiae docerem, […] coepere nonnulli et nobiles et magni uiri dare operam graecis litteris, quippe qui iam animaduertissent, si secus facerent, ne pro dignitate ad latinum eloquium eniterentur. […] Non enim eo graecas litteras tantopere omnes discere studemus quo iis apud Athenienses Bizantiosue utamur, ⟨sed⟩ ut illarum subsidio atque ductu latinam literaturam atque eloquentiam melius teneamus et lautius.
>
> While I was teaching in Bologna last year, […] a number of noble and prominent men began to study Greek, for they had perceived that, unless they did so, they would strive in vain to achieve eloquence in Latin. […] Now, we do not all strive to master Greek letters for use in Athens or

123 Setton 1956, 69.

124 Thorn-Wickert 2006, 34: "In jedem Fall liegt hier [in a Latin manuscript Chrysoloras owned in the mid-1380s] ein Indiz für Kenntnisse und Praxis der lateinischen Sprache mehr als zehn Jahre vor den ersten Reise nach Italien vor."

> Byzantium, but as an aid and guide to attaining greater fluency and eloquence in Latin.[125]

An early bilingual expression of this idea beyond Italy featured in Nicolaus Marschalk's (*c.*1470–1525) *Epigramma graecum de laude litterarum graecarum* (1502). An early teacher and publisher of Greek in Erfurt, Marschalk reprinted Aldo Manuzio's (1449/1452–1515) short introductions to Greek and Hebrew, including Marschalk's own Greek–Latin *Epigramma* specifically highlighting the Roman indebtedness to the Greek alphabet:

> ελληνων αιγλη του δεινου λειψανα καδμου
> ρωμαιοισ πηγη δωρα τα κλεια θεων
>
> Glory of the Greeks, heritage of powerful Cadmus,
> source for the Romans, illustrious gifts of the gods.
>
> Graecorum splendor: Romanae gloria linguae:
> Cadmea proles: munera clara deum
>
> Splendor of the Greeks, glory of the Roman language,
> offspring of Cadmus, illustrious gifts of the gods.[126]

Marschalk thus clearly cultivated the Hieronymean ideal of the *vir trilinguis* at an early stage, following Italian humanists, especially Aldo, but he also appreciated the classical bilingualism of a key figure like Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), some of whose Greek epigrams he even had printed as part of a poetical manual of his.[127] These Italian examples no doubt inspired Marschalk to compose in Greek himself, admittedly in a very modest form, since the above elegiac couplet is the only composition we have of his.

Because Latin and Greek were no longer native languages in early modernity, humanists could only partly restore the classical situation, mainly on the intellectual front. Cicero's manifold uses of Greek lived on in the humanists' continued program of Latinizing the Greek corpus and scientific terminology, as well as in the active practice of the language, typically in prose writing but occasionally also in speaking. Here, I can recall the primary example for the oral use of Greek: the New Academy (Νεακαδημία) at Aldo Manuzio's Venetian

125 Text and translation from Marsh 1994, 356 & 358. See e.g. also Sandy 2014, 120; F. Pontani 2017, 319.

126 Diplomatic edition of the two versions and English translation of the Greek are from Weise 2022a, 158. I have translated the Latin version myself in order to highlight differences in formulation.

127 Weise 2022a, 159.

publishing house, the statutes of which commanded its members to speak only Greek. This club probably remained largely aspirational, as Manuzio and his colleagues had to deal with "internal dissension and financial difficulty."[128] Yet, the humanists went beyond the uses of Greek by Cicero and his colleagues. For instance, in term of poetry, there were only a very few examples of active Greek composition by native Latin authors, most of which present complications, as G. O. Hutchinson has shown.[129] This lack of a clear ancient precedent could not hold back a pioneer like Filelfo, who "declaredly wished to introduce Greek versification in the Latin world," and hence enthusiastically advocated a "poetic bilingualism."[130]

These and other instances of New Ancient Greek leave the researcher to ponder the possibility that writing and speaking Greek acquired new social dimensions in early modern scholarly culture, as it seems that having Greek meant membership of an ingroup of Hellenists separate from Greek-less colleagues, or the "barbarians," as many humanists put it.[131] This separation could align with confessional dividing lines as well, given the fact that Protestant scholars appropriated Greek studies to a considerable extent (see Section 1.1). It remains an important task for future research to explore the post-medieval history of classical bilingualism, which seems to have eclipsed not only medieval but also to some extent even ancient bilingualism, if one considers the wide range of intellectual and socio-cultural uses it could serve in highbrow circles, far beyond classical literary practices.

3.1 *From Traditional to Digital Editions*

I cannot yet confidently formulate the above generalizations on the early modern period for lack of an extensive study of the New Ancient Greek materials in Neo-Latin Europe. In order to remedy this substantial blind spot in the history of classical bilingualism, the scholarly community is in dire need of editions before it will be able to assess the forms and functions of this phenomenon in its full breadth and variation. The above survey of the long history of classical bilingualism therefore mainly served to lay bare a lacuna of seemingly insurmountable proportions: the impossibility of navigating, let alone processing, the available source materials, many of which are either highly embedded, in the sense that they are part of larger Neo-Latin works, or lie buried and poorly

128 See Lowry 1976 for details (quote at p. 420), as well as F. Pontani 2017, 320, with further references. For the text of the academy's statutes, with English translation, see Manutius 2016, 288–93.

129 Hutchinson 2013, 143–46.

130 F. Pontani 2022b, 84. See also F. Pontani 2017, 313–15, for more details and references.

131 See e.g. Päll 2014. On the social dimensions, see also Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, and Sections 3.5 and 4.5–4.6 below.

catalogued in archives and rare books across and beyond Europe. A first major task for future research thus consists in making available as many relevant sources as possible in a convenient and meaningful manner, and hence turning the classical bilingualism of early modernity into a research object per se. This approach implies that one should go beyond writing the story of some great individuals and accomplished bilingual Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek writers, as has been the case until rather recently. One need only look at the available editions to draw this conclusion. The output of the Italian pioneers Francesco Filelfo and Angelo Poliziano, in particular, has been edited and studied, as have many pieces by Greek migrants such as Janus Lascaris and later exceptional humanists outside Italy.[132] A part of this corpus is even available in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database, which records literary texts in Ancient Greek up until 1453.[133] In general, the production in Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and Scandinavia has been treated most effectively in this regard, with a focus on the most accomplished texts or materials that are exceptional on some ground or other, which of course gives a rather twisted picture of the nature of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism.

For the Low Countries, a similar pattern of editorial focus on great men and the exceptional woman can be discerned (cf. Section 2.2), though perhaps less outspoken. In addition to the two existing anthologies, the *Peplus* poetry cycle of Daniel Heinsius has been projected to appear with *Les Belles Lettres*.[134] Beyond these publications, (partly) critical editions of selected works produced in the Low Countries exist for Rodolphus Agricola, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Juan de Verzosa, Jakovos Diassorinos, Frédéric Jamot, Bonaventura Vulcanius, Hugo Grotius, Johannes Foreestius, Petrus Bovillius, and Constantijn Huygens.[135] Uncritical modern editions of texts by, among others, Johannes Theodorus Nervius, Petrus Curius, Nicolaes van Wassenaer, and Anna Maria van Schurman are likewise available.[136] These publications often offer a translation into modern languages like Dutch, English, French, or German, the quality of which can vary quite considerably.

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132 See Poliziano 2002; Filelfo 1997; and especially the list in F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 19–21. On Poliziano's book of Greek epigrams, see also Verreth 2021.

133 Pantelia 2014.

134 D. Heinsius forthcoming. The two anthologies are van den Berg et al. 1993; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c.

135 Agricola 2002; Erasmus 1956; 1993; Feys and Van Rooy 2020; del Pino 2021; Van Rooy 2020a; Schmitz 1991; Tiele, Cohen, and ter Meulen 1941; Meulenbroek 1972; 1973; de Vries 2007; Opelt 1968; Huygens 2004. See also Section 2.2.

136 See, respectively, Van Kerchove 1974, 52; van Wassenaer 1930; van Beek 1997, with Dutch translation.

All in all, the corpus of New Ancient Greek texts from early modernity is poorly opened up, a situation which needs to be remedied if we want to draw firm conclusions on Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism, especially that of less exceptional figures, who never reached an advanced stage of bilingualism. The best and most efficient way to proceed, as far as I am concerned, seems to be the digital track. First of all, one should try to map the Greek corpus and find relevant texts, many of which are embedded in larger Latin wholes, whether editions of classical Latin authors or Neo-Latin works, or in editions and translations of Greek texts. This fact poses heuristic problems, and requires the researcher to carefully browse through catalogues, both print and online, and consider each individual specimen of New Ancient Greek, especially since it can sometimes be difficult to determine whether a text in Greek is a known ancient or medieval one, or a New Ancient Greek composition. To give a notorious example: some scholars have held that Daniel Heinsius might be the author of an epigram that has been traditionally ascribed to Philodemus (*Ep.* 38).[137]

Not all examples of New Ancient Greek are entire compositions. Code-switching to Greek in Neo-Latin works was widespread, a phenomenon which remains difficult to chart. Here, the problem of recognizing New Ancient Greek materials is much more pressing still, since it will often be necessary to search through databases such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in order to determine whether the Greek was newly written or drawn from an earlier source. Immediate recognition of whether a passage is New Ancient Greek or a quote might be possible thanks to artificial intelligence in the near future, which will, however, have to consider that early modern editions often read a text quite different from their modern counterparts. Additionally, authors might have rephrased the original text to fit it better into the syntax of their text, or have cited the text from memory, leading to all kinds of divergences from the original passage. At the moment, most New Ancient Greek texts are moreover poorly catalogued, in part because of librarians lacking the needed expertise, but also because of the texts' highly embedded nature. Scholars seem to have touched only the tip of the iceberg, and many more texts remain to be discovered, in manuscript, print, and other less common media, such as paintings and inscriptions (see Section 3.3), and perhaps music scores. In the end, one will probably have to conclude that, similarly to Neo-Latin, the New Ancient Greek corpus exceeds the classical corpus of Ancient Greek literature, although it remains to be seen by how far.

As a next step, one needs to collect and open up texts in databases, going beyond bibliographic metadata. This pursuit is still in its infancy, although

137 Sider 1997, 201.

scholars are increasingly pondering digital solutions, as shown by the pioneering Helleno-Nordica bibliographical database, a repertory of New Ancient Greek texts from the Swedish Empire, soon to be released. In the ideal world, one would have machine-readable text versions. To this end, it will be worthwhile to train an OCR or HTR model specifically for Greek fonts and handwriting, which in many cases do not actually differ too much from each other, since most early modern fonts are based on actual Greek hands.[138] As of 17 January 2022, the NOSCEMUS General Model in Transkribus already had 91% accuracy for Neo-Latin scientific prints, and was to a lesser extent sensitive to Ancient Greek and a number of vernaculars, but scholars of early modern Hellenism should try to further train this open access model or perhaps create their own Latin–Greek-focused one to drive accuracy even closer to 100%.[139] Training such a classical bilingual model should not be too time-consuming, since one can use images of early modern editions of classical texts of which there are modern transcriptions as a baseline (the so-called ground truth), but adjustment of the modern text to the early modern variants will be necessary. If this further training would prove successful, one would have a powerful tool to quickly generate highly accurate transcriptions of early modern texts showing Latin–Greek bilingualism, although perfection will remain difficult. Ultimately, however, perfection often turns out to be impossible for human-generated transcriptions, too, as evidenced by the presence of transcription errors in earlier editions, usually caused by the ligature-infested fonts and handwriting of Greek in early modernity.[140]

The combined effort of human and artificial intelligence may just prove to nearly approximate perfection. At the moment at least, artificial intelligence will not be able to turn imperfect automated transcriptions into critical editions or otherwise enriched transcriptions on its own. Human reason will, therefore, remain required in the production of editions following the principles of modern textual criticism, the foundations of which were laid in the Renaissance, as well as in the creation of encoded transcriptions, preferably those following the guidelines of the widely used Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), as is the case for a recent project on the German humanist Lorenz Rhodoman (1545–1606).[141] Yet, though no critical editions, the automated transcriptions will help researchers assess the size of the New Ancient Greek corpus in

138 Cf. Barker 1992; Irigoin 1992; 1997; Mastoridis 1998; Vervliet 2008a; 2008b; Marcos García 2015.

139 NOSCEMUS project 2021.

140 E.g. Van Kerchove 1974, 52, where final ν is often mistakenly transcribed as μ.

141 TEI 2022. The project on Rhodoman (2022–24) is led by Thomas Gärtner and Stefan Weise, and will include a TEI-formatted digital edition of Rhodoman's early bilingual poetical corpus. See also the ongoing IThAC project at Université Grenoble Alpes.

proportion to the much larger corpus of Neo-Latin works, to which most Greek texts are connected, if not through embedment, then at least through their authors. After all, in early modernity, there barely seem to have been any New Ancient Greek authors who did not also compose in Neo-Latin. Hence, the use of New Ancient Greek practically implied the use of Neo-Latin. Latin was "the silent norm language," "the 'eternal' language by which to make oneself heard," "the default language," whereas Greek, although having "a higher status," formed only "the second language medium of Humanism."[142]

The choice for a critical edition or an enriched transcription depends on one's research goals and source basis. If one wants to make available in a readable version the work of a widely recognized poet, for instance Daniel Heinsius, then it makes sense to go for a critical edition, since one will have careful compositions that are available in multiple versions, both manuscript and print. For instance, Heinsius' Greek poem *In arcam libris onustam, qua servatus est Grotius*, composed shortly after Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) famously escaped from Loevestein Castle in his bookchest on 22 March 1621, exists in two different manuscript versions at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and features in two different editions from the seventeenth century. The recent anthology by Pontani and Weise, which includes this poem, has very understandably adopted critical edition according to modern standards as its method of textual presentation, since one of the anthology's main aims is to draw the attention of especially classicists to this largely forgotten corpus.[143] Seeing the Greek text being accompanied by both a critical and a source apparatus will make classical scholars feel at home, the method of presentation being familiar to them from their own discipline. For instance, the anthology presents Heinsius' poem as follows:

> *In arcam libris onustam, qua servatus est Grotius* [paulo post 22.III.1621]
>
> Μουσῶν κτῆμα κιβωτέ, καλεῖ σε μὲν ἐς χορὸν ἄστρων
> Ζεὺς μέγας, ἢ Ζηνὸς τέκνον Ἐλευθερίη·
> θεῖον ἐπεὶ μετὰ πότμον ἐς ἠελίου τέκες αὐγήν,
> καὶ πάλιν ἐκ θανάτου ῥύσαο Γρωτιάδην.
> Δευτερόποτμέ μοι οὖλε, βιοῦν δέ μοι ἔμπαλιν ἄρχου, 5
> σῶς μετὰ τοὺς δεσμούς, ζῶν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον.

142 The quotes are from Päll and Volt 2018a, 11, Korhonen 2020, i, van Dam 2015, 67 (quoted twice), and Rezar 2018, 413, respectively.

143 F. Pontani and Weise 2022b.

Textus: Mss. A: Paris, BNF, Département des Manuscrits, Dupuy 837, n° 83. **B**: *Ibid.*, n° 112. Edd. c: *Poemata auctiora ed. Nicolao Heinsio, Dan. filio*, Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Francis. Hegerum, 1640, 110. d: *Poematum editio nova, longe auctior, editore Nicolao Heinsio, Danielis filio …*, Amstelodami, Apud Joannem Janssonium, 1649, 592.

Crit.: tit. In cistam qua evasit Grotius AB || **1** Μοῦσῶν B || **3** ζωὸν AB | τεκες A || **4** καὶ cd : ἢ AB || **5** Δευτερόποτμε, σὺ δ' οὖλε· AB | δέ μεν B || **6** σὼς cd

Sim.: 1 χορὸν ἄστρων] cf. e.g. Dionys. Per. 909; Nonn. *Dion.* 2.228, 9.238 & 35.337 || **3** μετὰ πότμον] cf. e.g. Nonnus, *Dion.* 47.725 || **4** ἐκ θανάτου ῥύσαο] cf. Aristid. *Or.* 49.4 (Jebb p. 310) || **5** Δευτερόποτμε] cf. Hsch. δ.746

Translation:

On the chest heavy with books, by means of which Grotius was saved

Property of the Muses, chest, you are called to the choir of stars
by great Zeus, or Zeus' child Freedom:
for you have brought divine Grotius back to the sunlight after his death
and you have delivered him from death.
Man with a second fate, may you be healthy, and please do start living again, [5]
safe and sound after the chains, alive after death.[144]

Such a method of presentation is perfectly suited to appreciate both the content of the poem and the literary genius of its author. However, other research goals will call for a diplomatic transcription of the text version one is interested in, for instance, if one wants to investigate early modern Greek accentuation practices, which involved putting grave accents even before punctuation marks (e.g. l. 6 "δεσμοὺς," rather than "δεσμούς,"). Alternatively, one might want to study the poem as a material artefact in its larger textual and book-historical context, as in the case of the two manuscript witnesses of Heinsius' bookchest poem appearing in poetical anthologies.

What is more, in many cases there will only be one textual witness, and making a critical edition may feel superfluous, forced, pedantic even, as such editions will often involve correcting the early modern author. Additionally, the Greek text may even be incomprehensible, as there are quite some cases of poetical compositions where concerns about contents were clearly overshadowed by

144 Source: Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 252, which offers further contextualization.

the mere desire for an esthetic display of Greek. In these cases, the convolute poetics of baroque mannerism seems to have gone rogue.[145] For instance, a largely unintelligible Greek poem in elegiac couplets features on an impressive handwritten poster dating to 17 April 1575, describing, in Latin, the curriculum of the Jesuit college in Bruges. The anonymous Greek composition adorning the poster is flanked by a poem written in perfectly understandable Neo-Latin, were it not for a few poorly readable letters and words, where the centuries-old ink has faded. Clearly, its author did not intend the Greek poem to offer a translation of its Latin companion. Instead, as the poster text instructed students to actively master both Latin and Greek, the poorly composed but beautifully written Greek poem might have constituted a visual stimulus for the students to pursue an active use of Greek. In this case, it seems reasonable to provide in the first place a diplomatic transcription, as in the rendering below, which has square brackets showing resolved abbreviations in the Latin text.[146] The modern transcribers have added guillemets marking their conjectures for the parts that are today difficult to read due to the faded ink.

AD LITERARVM STVDIOSA[M] IVVENTVTEM
Seirenum scopulos præter Laërtius heros
Dum vehitur sensit sese ita voce trahi:
O decus Argolicum, quin puppim flectis Vlijßes
Et nostrum placida percipis aure melos?
Quiq[ue] hominum mores multorum, & viderat vrbes;
Hîc adijt vitę penè, necisq[ue] diem.
Vos quoq[ue] fallacis voces horrescite mundi,
Queis pietas lectis quæritur alma libris.
⟨Hi⟩c canat; hic proponat opes; proponat honores:
Vos re⟨cto⟩ ad Christum tramite ducat iter.
Sic ⟨per⟩ vos pietas, et quę tentatur ab hoste
Viq[ue] doloq[ue] fides, viuet auita patrum.
Discite; fastus i⟨n⟩ers, & vanus Apollo faceßat,
Quem ⟨va⟩na merget sulphur & vnda styge.

An Dom. 1575.
15 Calend. Majas:

145 Cf. Van Rooy 2021a and Section 4.6.

146 See the discussion in Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 82–85, with reproductions of both the entire poster and the Greek poem alone. The transcriptions are in n. 55.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΝ ΝΕΟΤΗΤΑ.
Αμβρότερος σοφίη ζαθέην ἠλλάξατο μορφὴν,
Αστράψασ᾽ ἀγλαοῦ ἠελίοιο πλεόν.
Ουδ᾽ ἤβαιον, ἰδὲ στραφαται βίοτοίτε τρόποιτε.
Εἶτα δ᾽ ἀτασθαλίης ἔγρετο πημα λυγρόν.
Καὶ τῆς δ᾽ ὧρτ᾽ ἔργα, ζῆλος τε ἀμέλεια τ᾽ ἐφετμέων.
Ναὶ μὴν, καὶ φάμεναι ὅσσά κεν ἔργον ἔην·
Αισχρῶν δὴ ῥεκτῆρες, ἀγήνορες, ἠπεροπευταί
Τοιοί δ᾽ ἐάσιν οοίς οὔτι μέμηλε θεοῦ.
Ου τελέθει κρότος, οὐδὲ βοὴ, ἄνεῳ δ᾽ ἐγένοντο
Ποιμένες, οὐλαλέοι ἀργέες ἠδὲ κύνες
Ω οὗτοι αρνυσθε κλεος πραπίδεσσι νέῃσιν,
Οσσα θέμις, σοφίης μηδε προεσθ⟨ε⟩ κτεαρ.
Ως κεν χρηΐζοντες, ες ὕστερον ἄλ⟨κτηρ᾽⟩ εχοιτε
Ηλικίης, αλλους δ᾽ εξερύοιτε βυθῶν.

Ιησου Χριστῷ Σωτῆρι.

In sum, which kind of edition one chooses depends on the nature of the materials one is interested in and on one's research goals.[147] Given the limited number of scholars working on this topic, and hence also the limited funding available, the assistance of digital tools will be crucial to open up the corpus and, hence, obtain a fuller grasp of the phenomenon of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism. Providing critical editions and enriched diplomatic transcriptions will require a lot of work. Opening up the corpus in the original languages is, hence, already a thorny issue, especially since digital editions are not yet part and parcel of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek studies, although the tide is rapidly turning, especially in Neo-Latin studies. Making the texts available in translation poses even more challenges, not least in cases such as the Bruges Jesuit poem, where translation might even prove impossible, because of the predominantly exhibitory function of the hardly intelligible Greek. Such convoluted texts and even more straightforward ones turn out dramatic results when put into machine translation software, which for Ancient Greek is still not as accurate as for modern languages, or even Latin. One can, however, expect progress in this regard as well, due to recent advances in Natural Language Processing for ancient languages, including the development of so-called BERT models.[148]

147 Cf. Feys and Van Rooy 2020, where a dual method is adopted because of the different states of the textual basis.

148 E.g. Bamman and Burns 2020, and the ongoing research of Wouter Mercelis at KU Leuven. BERT stands for "Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers."

It is, in sum, to be hoped that students of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek will join forces with digital humanities natives in unveiling the vast bilingual Neo-Latin–Greek corpus, without, however, losing the critical philological skills needed to tackle the texts. It will be difficult—but crucial—to achieve this balance and join big data approaches with focused textual criticism.

3.2 *Mapping the Spectrum of Classical Bilingualism: the Case of the Low Countries*

The digital compilation of the vast corpus and the generation of processable text will, in the end, enable researchers to map how early modern Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism diffused across Europe, from the Italian-Byzantine interactions that culminated in the Quattrocento to the boom of Greek studies across the Alps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the same time, it will be possible to trace the diffusion of bilingualism in terms of genre and discipline, and answer questions such as: in which types of texts and branches of learning did humanists use Neo-Latin in tandem with New Ancient Greek? A reasonable assumption may be that grammar, a core discipline in the classical trivium next to rhetoric and dialectic, played a crucial role in the beginning, as its teachers constantly switched from Latin to Greek and back again while explaining the foundations of the newly learned language to their students. The revival of Greek learning tends to be attributed to great men, but studying the entire spectrum of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism might help portray this major intellectual development in premodern western history in a more nuanced way, including the perspective of the student. This revival did not reflect the feat of one exceptional bilingual such as Chrysoloras or his acclaimed pupil Guarino Veronese, but resulted rather from the cultural and linguistic negotiations between the self-proclaimed heirs of two closely entangled parts of the classical heritage. Their complementary efforts to produce adequate Greek teaching tools seem to support such an analysis. Chrysoloras designed a Greek grammar on the Byzantine model but with well-reasoned simplifications for his western audience, which became especially popular in an abridged version likely designed in dialogue with his Italian students, most notably Guarino.[149]

Mapping the New Ancient Greek corpus will help scholars determine definitively whether prose or poetry was more common, which genres boasted the most specimens, how genres evolved and perhaps complexified over time, and how these proportions relate to the much greater Neo-Latin corpus. My current impression is that poetry was by far more frequently composed than prose, which would mean that poetry-prose proportions differed from those of the

149 Rollo 2012.

more balanced Neo-Latin corpus. Then again, even though Greek occasional writing comprises a lot of poetry, prose occurred as well, both as self-standing texts and as code-switches in Neo-Latin texts. Greek is, in other words, often embedded in larger Neo-Latin corpora. Hence, Latin–Greek proportions can only be ascertained by building and analyzing largescale corpora in the two languages and by adopting a more inclusive perspective on New Ancient Greek. The existing scholarship on New Ancient Greek tends to present a bias toward exceptional collections by talented poets like Daniel Heinsius, and toward remarkable individual pieces of occasional writing (see Section 2.2). As such, the scholarship has to some extent ignored outputs that might be more representative of the Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism flourishing in early modernity.

In order to illustrate the broad spectrum of classical bilingualism, I turn now to the Low Countries, which constitute an early case of Transalpine classical bilingualism and which grew to be very productive in the years 1484–1700. What does the Lowlandish corpus of Greek texts look like, judging by the available secondary literature? The genres and meters of New Ancient Greek poetry produced in this area present a diverse picture, even in the present stage of poor charting, and largely "copy the patterns of Latin composition," but on a much smaller scale and with some important gaps, including most notably drama.[150] Epigrams, heavily inspired by the *Greek Anthology* and earlier tradition, probably became the most popular genre, written at the occasion of common life events such as births, weddings, and deaths, along with specifically academic situations, including graduations, appointments, and book publications. In academic contexts, the poetry usually served a commendatory function, in order to praise the academic, their work, or both, but sometimes also provided a medium to criticize a colleague and their scholarship. This occasional poetry moreover features various types of odes. Bucolic and epic poems exist, too, but are restricted to a handful of specimens, as are entire poetical cycles such as Heinsius', Frédéric Jamot's, and Johannes Foreestius'. Religious texts include hymns, prayers, and paraphrases of biblical texts, especially Psalms. The most common meters are no doubt the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, but iambic and lyric meters such as hendecasyllables, anacreontics, and various ode schemes—Pindaric odes, Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas—start to occur as the

150 The quote is from Slavíková 2022, 282, who applies it to the Bohemian output, but it has a wider application. The impressions in the following paragraphs are mainly based on Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a; 2022b; 2022c; Van Rooy 2023 [in press], in which various specimens are discussed and also edited and translated, with supplementation from existing secondary literature.

sixteenth century progresses.[151] The picture becomes even more diverse when looking at the great spectrum of skillfulness the New Ancient Greek poets display, with especially early authors "not hesitat[ing] to neglect elementary rules and produce wholly unmetrical pieces."[152]

Overall, in their Greek compositions, authors permitted themselves liberties, if not mistakes, much more easily than in their Neo-Latin pieces, perhaps because the critical audience was both less skilled and much smaller for Greek than for Latin. This is, however, only a general tendency. In fact, some rivalling authors did not fail to point out the errors and infelicities in their competitor's works, of which the invectives between the Amsterdam professor of eloquence Petrus Francius (Pieter de Frans; 1645–1704) and Johannes Jensius (1671–1755) provide one of the most remarkable examples. At the inauguration of Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715) as professor of eloquence in Leiden, his student Jensius had recited a Greek poem of his own making, which Francius, who had previously been offered Perizonius' position, unscrupulously criticized, leading to a bitter controversy that lasted for years.[153]

The language adopted is varied, since Ancient Greek is not a unitary language but boasts several literary dialects (cf. Section 2.1). Most poems tend to be based on the mixed language of Homer's epic poems, often in combination with elements from the Attic dialect of authors like Plato and the Koine, the common language that diffused across the Greek world in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests. In bucolic and Pindaric compositions, Doric and even hyper-Doricisms can occur, since this literary dialect was closely associated with such textual genres. The Aeolic dialect of writers like Sappho is conspicuous by its absence because of the very fragmentary exempla available to early moderners.[154] In the probably much smaller corpus of Lowlandish Greek prose, genre and dialect diversity seems to have been more restricted than in poetry. Prose language is largely limited to Attic-Koine Greek, sometimes with elements of the Ionic dialect, used in antiquity by, among others, the historian Herodotus and the physician Hippocrates. Correspondence in Greek is significant but has barely been charted, whereas only a few handfuls of Greek orations and dissertations have thus far been unearthed for the Low Countries (see below for examples).

151 Cf. F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 12–13; Akujärvi et al. 2022, 727. As in Latin-English poetry, there seems to be more metrical experimentation in the later period: cf. Moul 2022, e.g. 89, 114.

152 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 12.

153 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 269.

154 F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 13.

Even though a detailed characterization of the New Ancient Greek output must remain hopelessly impressionistic at this stage, it is nonetheless possible to give a rough typology of how New Ancient Greek and Neo-Latin co-occur in the Lowlandish corpus between 1484 and 1700. Quantitative data on the proportion of Greek versus Latin texts produced in the Low Countries or by Lowlandish authors are currently unavailable, but surveying the New Ancient Greek production in the region, it seems safe to state that Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism started shyly in the early 1480s with Rodolphus Agricola, who in the fall of 1484 hesitatingly started a letter to Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) in Greek but soon had to switch to his more familiar Latin.[155] Greek composition then got a boost in the early 1500s from Erasmus and other humanists active in the Southern Low Countries, especially in Leuven with its Collegium Trilingue (established 1517), Bruges where Greek was taught as early as 1518, and the commercial and printing center of Antwerp, before developing into a full-fledged boom in the second half of the sixteenth century. At this stage, Greek was a firmly established subject in many Latin schools and at the university level, and Greek writing gradually also spread to the Northern Low Countries, reaching its acme in the decades around 1600, with Amsterdam, Antwerp, and the young university city of Leiden probably leading the charts. This shift coincided more or less with the brain drain from south to north that occurred as a result of the south's definitive occupation by Spain and the north's emergence as an independent political entity (see Section 2.1). Accelerating the brain drain, the fall of Antwerp on 17 August 1585 presented a major turning point, soon after which Greek composition gradually became the prerogative of scholars in the north, with authors in the south sticking more to Neo-Latin. In the course of the seventeenth century, Greek production gradually dwindled in the north as well, finally petering out with the Jensius–Francius controversy, probably as a result of changing pedagogical realities and preferences. As a subject, Greek lost its prominence in Latin schools and even at many universities, especially in the south, a state of affairs which even government-imposed prescriptions and visitations could not alter.[156]

However, classical bilingualism did not manifest itself only or primarily as New Ancient Greek writings by authors who had Neo-Latin as their first learned language. Instead, I propose viewing Neo-Latin and New Ancient

155 Agricola 2002, 228; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 448–49. See Section 4.5 for text, translation, and discussion.

156 For the south, see Verwerft 2013, passim. For the north, where there was a Greek revival at the university level in the eighteenth century thanks to Tiberius Hemsterhuis, but seemingly without a lot of New Ancient Greek, if any, see Gerretzen 1940.

Greek interactions as a broad spectrum with many different types. At the one end, there are texts entirely in Neo-Latin, with no or barely any Greek content, such as the *Declamatio de bello Turcis inferendo* (1536) by Petrus Nannius, the Latin professor at the Leuven Trilingue but also a reputed Hellenist.[157] The war on the Turks, Muslim occupiers of large portions of the Greek lands, constituted an important topic among humanists, including Erasmus and Vives.[158] Hence, one might expect here an argumentation based on biblical and Christian Greek sources, but Nannius' account did not at all rely on his beloved Greek literature. In fact, he only used one Greek word, ἄποινα, "ransom," to refer to the restoration of Pope Clement VII by Charles V after the Sack of Rome in 1527.[159] It seems that Nannius' use of this Greek word in the first place had a linguistic motivation, since the classical Latin word for "ransom," *redemptio*, had undergone a semantic change to "redemption," under Christian influence.[160] The orator probably felt that he could not express himself adequately in Neo-Latin, so he exceptionally switched to Greek, a switch clearly marked by the parenthesis *quod Græci dicunt*, "as the Greeks say."

In general, however, Nannius avoided Greek in his oration on the Turks, probably in order to accommodate his speech to his broad academic audience, not all of whom would have understood this ancient language. Indeed, his *Declamatio* formed part of a series of *quaestiones quodlibetales* held at the arts faculty of Leuven university in December 1535, which could be attended freely.[161] In other words, the example of Nannius suggests that learned bilingual authors carefully considered whether the use of Greek suited the context and audience. This conclusion can be backed with a look at Nannius' Latin courses at the Trilingue, in which he readily switched to Greek and quoted Greek authors, not least Homer.[162] For instance, in his 1549 course on Vergil's *Aeneid* 12, he used Greek to offer the etymology of the word *panacea* in line 419, as follows:

> **Panaceam ·/·** Panaces quid sit uide Dioscoridem libro tertio capite 46 et sequentibus. Deriuatur ἀπὸ τοῦ πάν ἄκεστε, omnia sanare. quo nomine etia⟨m⟩ una ex Æsculapij filiabus appellata est.

157 Nannius 1536. On this text, see Jaspers 2020a, with the references there.

158 See the survey in Göllner 1961–1978.

159 Nannius 1536, fol. c iv r: "Pontifex una cum Roma captus, citra (quod Græci dicunt) ἄποινα, suæ dignitati restitutus est."

160 I owe this suggestion to Jaspers 2020b, 118, n. 234. Cf. Section 4.5 on linguistic motivations for code-switching.

161 For context, see Jaspers 2020a, 515–16; 2020b, 8–14.

162 Feys 2022.

> *Panacea*: On what *panaces* is, see Dioscorides, book three, chapter 46 and the following. It is derived from πάν ἄκεστε [i.e. πᾶν ἀκεῖσθαι], "to heal everything." One of Asclepius' daughters is even called by that name.[163]

Here, Nannius used a Greek preposition (ἀπὸ) and article (τοῦ) to express the etymological derivation of Latin *panacea* from the Greek infinitive phrase πᾶν ἀκεῖσθαι, which his student, Nicolaus Episcopius the Younger (Bischoff; *c*.1531–1564), miswrote as πάν ἄκεστε in his textbook, due to the Lowlandish brand of the Byzantine pronunciation common in that era, which probably resulted in something like [*pan akiste*]. Such switches to Greek occurred even more frequently in Rutger Rescius' 1543 course on Homer's *Odyssey* at the same institute.[164] The case of the Trilingue moreover suggests that classical bilingualism had a noticeable oral dimension that scholars should reckon with and further explore through notes reflecting live teaching and other oral exchanges.

Nannius' *Declamatio* is on the far Neo-Latin end of the spectrum, together with other sporadic uses of transliterated Greek words and phrases, a practice with roots in antiquity and widespread in Neo-Latin texts that betrays a lower-level engagement with Greek and would benefit from closer inquiry.[165] Nannius' and Rescius' spoken usage in their Trilingue courses, in turn, comes closer to the spectrum's middle, but with Neo-Latin still prevailing. The far Greek end of the spectrum hosts such texts as Cornelius Schutius' (fl. 1540s) 57-page dissertation Διάλεξις ἀστρολογικὴ καὶ ἰατρικὴ Κορνηλίου σχουτίου ἰατροῦ, κατα τοῦ Πέτρου βρουεζίου ἀπὸ ῥυθόβεν (1547), preceded by a four-page Greek letter to Frans van Cranevelt and reflecting an astrological-medical dispute Schutius had in Bruges with his colleague Petrus Bruhesius, centered on an almanac the latter had published that same year.[166] The title page contains some Latin, offering the title *Disputatio astrologica & medica Cornelii schutii medici, contra Petrum bruhezium a rythouen*, and an *impressum* in this language.[167] The book moreover features two Latin privileges, one at the front, and one at the back of the book, as well as three lengthy quotes from Neo-Latin works on astrology and medicine: from Giovanni Pontano's (1426–1503) commentary on Ptolemy, Johannes Virdung's (1463–1538/1539) *Nova medicinae methodus*,

163 Transcription and translation based on Feys 2022, DaLeT ID 2823.

164 Feys and Van Rooy 2022; Van Rooy and Feys forthcoming.

165 See e.g. Van Rooy 2019 on Greek διάλεκτος, transliterated *dialectos*, and Latin *dialectus* from antiquity to the sixteenth century.

166 Schutius 1547. We would expect κατὰ instead of κατα.

167 An *impressum* is a book-historical term referring to a formulaic statement in a printed book that typically offers information about place, publisher, and year of publication.

and the fifteenth-century physician Jean Ganivet's *Amicus medicorum*.[168] The other quotes, in Greek, mostly come from medical works, such as those of Hippocrates and especially Galen, on whom Schutius had lectured in Bruges the year before.[169] Sometimes, Schutius translated passages from contemporary Latin authors into Greek, in which cases he carefully marked the original language of the source by means of the adverb λατινιστί, "in Latin."[170] It remains to be seen which strategy he adopted when and why, and why exactly he adopted Greek as his main scientific language. Did he do so because he wanted to follow his great example Galen and inscribe himself in the esteemed Greek tradition of medicine? In any case, it is at this stage hard to imagine how Schutius' refutation of Bruhesius' almanac, written in the arcane Greek language, could be "for the well-being of the people," as he claimed in his letter of dedication to Cranevelt.[171] Schutius' dissertation has good company at the far Greek end of the spectrum with Daniel Heinsius' acclaimed *Peplus* collection and the Greek production of Petrus Francius, which features an entire poetry cycle and short orations.[172]

The two extremes of Nannius' *Declamatio* and Schutius' Διάλεξις bound many possibilities. Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek rarely have an equal distribution, and examples are largely restricted to compositions such as Ramus' bilingual poem to Nannius, discussed in the introduction (Section 1). Erasmus was equally honored with a bilingual poem alternating a Latin hexameter with a Greek pentameter in a funerary collection printed by Rutger Rescius in 1537:

Quod bonus atque pius fueris, quod doctus, Erasme,
τοῦτό γε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πᾶσι διὰ στόματος.
Quod non ipse tuos mores culpauerit vnquam
ζώϊλος, οὐκ αὐτὸς μῶμος ἔρασμε neget.
Quod diuorum auges numerum nouus incola cœli,
δείκνυτον ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦτο, τέοστε βίος.
Quod proferre parem valeant tibi sæcula nostra,
μὴ νέμεσις ῥητοῖς, τοῦτο μὲν ἀδύνατον.[173]

168 A privilege is another book-historical term that denotes the license, typically exclusive, that a publisher obtained to print a book during a specified period of time.

169 See the course oration printed in Schutius 1546.

170 E.g. Schutius 1547, fol. θ 1 r: ἔφη μὲν ὅμως ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ λατινιστὶ […].

171 Schutius 1547, fol. α.2.v-α.3.r: ταῦτα τὰ ἐγκεκλημένα κατά τινος Πέτρου βρουεζίου συνέθηκα. οὐχ ὅτι αὐτῷ φθονῶ, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας χάριν. Cf. also the title of the oration on fol. ε.1.r.

172 Heinsius 1613; Francius 1697; 1705, 279–81, 344–46; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 269.

173 Erasmi Epitaphia 1537, fol. A iv r. I do not quote from Rezar 2022, 414, as this edition features some unnecessary adaptations, including the substitution of the active dual verb form δείκνυτον (l. 6) by the middle singular form Δείκνυται. André (1989–1990, 97) reads

> That you've been good and pious, Erasmus, and learned too, *is exactly what's on the lips of all good people*. That *Zoilos* himself has never reproached your morals, *can't be* denied, *Erasmus, not even by Blame himself*. [5] That you add to the number of gods, new resident of the sky, *is shown by both your virtue and your life*. That our times are capable of producing your equal, *well, that—and let no one resent my words—is impossible*.

The poet is the Portuguese-Jewish humanist Diogo Pires (1517–1599), at the time of writing still a teenager studying in Leuven. Pires later found refuge in Ragusa, in present-day Croatia.[174] The poem formed part of a larger bilingual collection by Pires' hand but was the only specimen switching between the two classical languages. He honored Erasmus with two shorter poems entirely in Greek, which complete Pires' entire corpus of Greek composition thus far known, and three Latin poems of varying length.[175] Pires' Latin epitaph for the Mechelen Hellenist Johannes Varennius (d. 1536), author of a Greek syntax, featured alongside his pieces for Erasmus.[176]

More broadly, the Leuven epitaphs for Erasmus demonstrate that the local university attracted students and scholars from across Europe who could write in both learned languages. Next to more local contributors such as Johannes Lacteus (van der Biest?) from Ghent, Thomas Lineus (Vlas; *c.*1505–1579) from Zaltbommel, the young Andreas Masius (1514–1573) from Lennik, and a certain Leonardus Falesius (de Falais?) from Liège, one finds poets from the south (Portugal and Spain) and the west (England): aside from Pires, the collection included pieces by the Spaniard Decio Fernando Frias and the Englishman John Helyar (Heliares).[177] Lineus, Pires, and Helyar produced compositions in both Latin and Greek, whereas Frias occasionally code-switched to Greek in one of his poems. These poets thought it fit to honor Erasmus, no doubt one of the most accomplished and prolific Neo-Latin writers in history, and one of the most ardent advocates of Greek studies in the Renaissance, with specimens of classical bilingualism. It bears emphasizing that these bilingual poets can be considered second-tier scholars and humanists, perhaps with the exception of Pires, who later became an inspiring figure for humanists in and beyond Ragusa. The fact that fairly little is known about most of these poets urges one to acknowledge that early modern classical bilingualism, though the reserve of learned

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δείκνυνται. I have also opted to offer my own English translation. One would expect ζωΐλος rather than ζώϊλος: see Rezar 2022, 414.

174 Rezar 2022, 405, 414–16.

175 Rezar 2022, 414–15. For Pires' entire corpus of Erasmian epitaphs, with discussion and Portuguese translation, see André 1989–1990, 91–98.

176 Erasmi Epitaphia 1537, fol. A iv r.

177 On the contributors, see de Vocht 1951–1955, vol. 3: 415–31.

individuals, typically men, was not the precinct of a handful of great humanist luminaries. Instead, inspiring figures such as Erasmus, a modest bilingual poet himself, incited fellow scholars to actively use Greek alongside Latin, whether by code-switching or by putting pieces in the two languages next to each other.[178]

In most cases, the bilingual pieces in the funerary collection for Erasmus are not translations of each other but original compositions. Only in one case is a Greek elegiac couplet by Lineus followed by a Latin version of the same text:

> *Aliud eiusdem.*
> φαίδιμος, εὐδόκιμος, πολύφημος, ἔρασμε βιώσας
> ἀντίθεος μοῖραν ζῆς μέτ᾽ ἀῤ ἀθάνατος.
>
> *Another of the same.*
> Glorious, honorable, reputed, you were in life, Erasmus; with a godlike fate you henceforth live as an immortal.
>
> *Idem latine per eundem.*
> Vixisti clarus, celebris mirandus Erasme.
> Dijs similis viuis nunc quoque post obitum.[179]
>
> *The same in Latin by the same.*
> You have lived gloriously, in renown, wonderfully, Erasmus. Now you live like the gods also after death.

The spectrum of Latin–Greek bilingualism also covers such situations where one text has different linguistic guises. In this case, Lineus made a translation that is in the first place *ad sententiam*, a choice enforced by the metrical structure of the elegiac couplet he wanted to maintain in both versions, but the two couplets have very similar contents. It is, however, difficult to ascertain which version Lineus made first. Since Latin was the first learned language of all bilingual poets, Lineus may have started from a Latin basis, even if the order of presentation seems to give precedence to the Greek version. In other cases, the directionality of translation is clearer. I dwell on research perspectives in translation studies in greater detail below (see Section 4.3).

Another common practice transpires from Lineus' Greek poem: Latin titles headed numerous pieces of New Ancient Greek writing, whereas the opposite case seems to have occurred much less frequently. A notable specimen is the Ῥαψῳδία ἑκατόστιχος by the Bruges Hellenist Adolphus Mekerchus (Adolf van Meetkercke; 1528–1591), an exclusively Latin poem in 100 verses which explains

178 On Erasmus' inspiring role for Greek composition, see Van Rooy 2023 [in press].
179 Erasmi Epitaphia 1537, fol. A ii r.

the title page of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570). The full title is actually bilingual: ADOLPHI MEKERCHI BRVGENSIS *I. C.* ῾ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑ ῾ΕΚΑΤΟΣΤΙΧΟΣ, FRONTISPICII EXPLICATIO.[180] Mekerchus' inscription in Ortelius' *album amicorum* four years later, in turn, has a bilingual title and anacreontic poem, identified as such by the remarkable neologism ἀνακρεοντειομελοποιέω in the inscription following it:

πόσο χρῆμ᾽ ἀδελφός;
Res quanta frater?

ὡς ἡδὺ καὶ ποθεινὸν
ὁρᾶν φίλους ἀδελφοὺς
ὁμοφρονέοντας αἰεὶ,
ὁμοστέγους τε ναίειν!
O ter quater beatum,

O ter quatérq[ue] dulce
Tecto videre eodem
Fratres simul manentes,
Et vinculo ligatos
Amoris atque pacis!

BRVGIS FLANDRORVM

Abrahamo Ortelio Hispan[iae] Regis Geographo,
Adolphus Mekerchus οὕτως
ἠνακρεοντειομελοποίει
postrid. kal. Junij
M.D.LXXiiij.[181]

How great a thing is a brother?
How great a thing is a brother?

How sweet and desirable it is to see beloved brothers always agreeing, and to dwell under the same roof! Oh, three, four times blessed, oh, three, four times sweet it is to see brothers dwell together under the same roof and bound by the bond of love and peace!

IN BRUGES

For Abraham Ortelius, Geographer of the King of Spain,
Adolphus Mekerchus *made*
this anacreontic poem
on 2 June
1574.

180 Ortelius 1570, fol. A II. v.
181 Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS LC.2.113, fol. 31v.

The practice of adding Latin titles to Greek poems in the Low Countries goes back to the very first Greek compositions attributed to Erasmus: the epitaph for Jacob Batt (probably summer 1502), which he entitled *Iacobo Batto, Graeco dimetro iambico* ("To Jacob Batt, in Greek iambic dimeter"), and the Homeric cento celebrating the return of Philip the Handsome (1478–1506) from Spain to the Low Countries (late 1503), entitled *Illustrissimo principi Philippo reduci Homerocenton* ("A Homeric cento to the most illustrious Prince Philip, upon his return").[182] The reasons behind this practice deserve further scrutiny. For these early Erasmian cases, I dare to hypothesize that the Latin titles served to mark in advance, by way of preemptive strike, what kind of content the composition that followed was conveying. After all, in this early stage, only a few people had Greek, and most readers would have needed an explanation of the odd-looking symbols in Erasmus' writings. For the Batt poem, the editor even deemed it necessary to make explicit that the poem that followed was composed in Greek. Of course, the motivations for opting for a Latin rather than a Greek title will need to be determined for individual specimens and will need to be explored in the context of how the practice of giving Greek titles evolved through time, considering the question whether the author himself invented the title or someone else, like the editor or publisher. After all, the various dynamics of interactions between author, editor, and publisher are bound to have had an impact on classical bilingual choices, which depended on such factors as the editor's linguistic competence and the availability of multiple fonts.

The Greek poems of Erasmus, for instance, are typically headed by Latin titles at their first printing.[183] In later editions, however, Greek titles sometimes replace the original Latin ones, as with the Homeric cento, entitled Εἰς φίλιππον ὁμηρόκεντρον in two Italian editions of 1518–1519.[184] The title of his last known piece, however, mixes Latin with Greek: *Per Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum* φιλολόγου καὶ βιβλιοπώλου διάλογος ("*Dialogue between a philologist and a bookseller* by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Dating to the winter of 1530–1531, this dialogue adorned the title page of Simon Grynaeus' new Greek Aristotle edition, printed in Basel by Johann Bebel. Erasmus' correspondence shows that, while he might have been the dialogue's main author, he at least exchanged ideas with Grynaeus about certain phrasings. Hence, Grynaeus is traditionally considered Erasmus' co-author for this piece, even though sixteenth-century editions presented it as a single-authored piece. It

182 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 222–25.
183 See Van Rooy 2023 [in press], Table 1.
184 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 223–24.

is not unlikely that Grynaeus had asked Erasmus to compose a piece commending his new Aristotle edition, and that he gave feedback on it. As it was important for advertising that the potential buyer immediately gathered that the great Erasmus recommended the new edition, his name was put in Latin. The code-switch to Greek occurred on the next line, perhaps also for technical-typographical reasons, and the part of the title reflecting the content of the poem featured in Greek, revealing immediately that Erasmus had taken the pains to compose in Greek to commend his friend's new edition. As such, the twelve-line Greek poem in iambic trimeter provided a counterweight to the lengthy title above it, which, though technically bilingual, was heavily imbalanced toward Latin: Ἀριστοτέλους ἅπαντα. *Aristotelis summi semper uiri, et in quem unum uim suam uniuersam contulisse natura rerum uidetur, opera, quæcunque impressa hactenus extiterunt omnia, summa cum uigilantia excusa*.[185] The Latin part of the title not only appeared partly in bigger font but also commended the new edition for its editorial meticulousness. Hence, Erasmus' New Ancient Greek contribution served to grant the new edition an aura of authority by offering the name of the endorser in clearly readable Latin, at the same time highlighting the Greekness of the volume at a time when the Latin Aristotle still formed a core part of the academic curriculum. This case, then, suggests that book-historical and commercial reasons informed language choice, along with philological ones.

One last important position on the Neo-Latin–New Ancient Greek spectrum I want to spotlight here concerns the widespread practice of adorning Neo-Latin publications with New Ancient Greek compositions, whether alongside other Neo-Latin paratexts or not. On a European scale, this appears to be one of the most common bilingual set-ups: longer Latin texts being accompanied by shorter Greek pieces.[186] The Bruges circle of Hubertus Goltzius (Hubert Goltz; 1526–1583), briefly introduced already in Section 2.1, has produced one of the more remarkable Lowlandish examples of this practice. Goltzius authored and printed a historiographic-antiquarian work on Roman history entitled *Iulius Caesar* in 1563, the first to come off his newly established humanist printing press in Bruges.[187] Although the topic could hardly be any more Roman, Goltzius and his circle chose to embellish their firstling with both Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek compositions. The frontispiece is explained in four

185 Aristotle 1531. The title reads in English translation: "*Aristotle's complete works.* Of Aristotle, the greatest man ever, on whom alone the nature of things seems to have conferred its entire power, all works that have thus far appeared in print, published with the greatest care."

186 For an example from Wittenberg, see Akujärvi 2020b.

187 Goltzius 1563. See Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 86–107 for context.

Latin and two Greek poems by six different authors, all of considerable length. This substantial cycle is followed by poems about Goltzius' work on Julius Caesar: four poems in Latin, again all by different authors; a poem in a Greek and a Latin version by a certain Nicolaus Drumaeus; three Latin poems by different authors; a Greek poem by Jacobus Plantius; and again a Latin poem by Alexander Colonaeus. Next, a cycle on Goltzius' historiographic-antiquarian work on the Roman emperors includes a Greek poem by Mekerchus and three Latin pieces by different authors, including Jacobus Cruquius, a professor of literature in Bruges, who also added a Greek piece with a Latin version after his Latin composition. The last two pieces are again Latin poems, by Mekerchus and Melchior Barlaeus from Antwerp. The book closes with another cycle of poems, running to nine pages, starting with a *hodoeporicum* by Goltzius himself, singing of his travels through Europe, on which he collected ancient coins. The remainder of the cycle continues this theme with a Greek poem by Johannes Geldrius on Goltzius' travels, addressed to the enthusiastic researcher (πρὸς τὸν φιλιστοροῦντα). Then, six Latin poems by several authors and on different themes praise Goltzius and his work, as well as his Maecenas Marcus Laurinus. One interesting piece by Marcus' brother Guido stages a dialogue between Pluto and Tellus ("Earth") on a Roman treasure discovered in 1561 in the small village of Auberchicourt, now in northern France but then part of Flanders. This impressive corpus of bilingual paratexts, covering in total no less than 26 pages, deserves further scrutiny, on several grounds, not only for their contents and the entanglement of the Roman and Greek traditions in them, but also for cultural and book-historical reasons. For instance, according to the Universal Short Title Catalogue, this edition survives in an impressive 102 copies, among them dedication copies to high-profile figures such as one to King Philip II at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[188]

Vice versa, in the relatively rare Lowlandish texts where New Ancient Greek takes center stage, Neo-Latin often features in the paratexts, as Schutius' Greek dissertation shows. The same tendency appears, for instance, in Georg Schrögel's lengthy Greek praise of the city of Antwerp (1565), or also in Nicolaes van Wassenaer's *Harlemiad* (1605), a unique epic poem in Greek singing of the siege of Haarlem by the Spanish troops of King Philip II in 1572–1573.[189] In the edition of the *Harlemiad*, a Latin version follows its Greek title, and the

188 USTC 2022. As the USTC tends to be incomplete, the real number must be even higher than 102. The most comprehensive treatments of Goltzius' historiographic-antiquarian work are Napolitano 2011; 2020, but the New Ancient Greek materials are not the focus there.

189 Schroegelius 1565; van Wassenaer 1605. I am presently studying the Antwerp encomium together with Adriaan Demuynck and Reinhart Ceulemans.

rest of the title page is likewise in Latin. Wassenaer wrote the address to the prominent members of the Haarlem city council mainly in Latin, but with six code-switches to Greek. Two are quotes from the ancient poets Theocritus and Pindar. In four cases, all nouns, he resorted to Greek, seemingly in order to express weighty concepts. For instance, Wassenaer pointed out the hardships Haarlem had suffered: "and you have endured a very rough siege, even to the point of *famine*."[190] The Greek word for "famine" van Wassenaer used, βούβρωσιν, seems to be a typo for βούβρωστιν, from βούβρωστις, a relatively rare word attested in the meanings of "ravenous appetite" and "famine."[191] This mistake probably resulted from a typographic confusion of sigma ⟨σ⟩ with stigma ⟨ς⟩, a sign expressing the sequence ⟨στ⟩. Another typo is seemingly found in the Greek poem signed by a certain T. Κοδδαῖος following the letter of dedication, a designation probably referring to Willem van der Codde (1575–1625), or Gulielmus Coddaeus in Latin, at that time professor of Oriental languages in Leiden. In an earlier document, his Greek alias appeared as Γουλιελμὸς Κωδαῖος, suggesting that the "T." must be a typo for the very similar "Γ."[192] As such, Latin–Greek code-switching must have caused headaches to typesetters, especially when authors decided to switch alphabets within poems, as in the title of Coddaeus' poem: ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ εἰς Τὸν λαμπρότατον Ποιητὴν ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ ἐπικληθέντα à VVassenaer ("*Epigram to the most illustrious poet Nicolaus Janszoon, called* van Wassenaer").[193]

Two Latin poems by Daniel Heinsius and Petrus Scriverius follow Coddaeus' epigram, preceding in their turn a Greek epigram by the English theologian Hugh Broughton. The last text before the *Harlemiad* constitutes a long Latin ode by a certain M. Fabricius. The *Harlemiad* itself offers the Greek text next to a verbatim rendering in Latin, to help students understand the text, "though I would myself compare translated Greek authors to trees who in autumn cast off the honor of their leaves."[194] The unmetrical character of the Latin confirms that van Wassenaer composed originally in Greek, and that he intended his text also for pedagogical use. His epic poem was, hence, not a mere display of his Greek competence in honor of Haarlem, although the iambic Latin poem he attached to the *Harlemiad* indisputably also points to an honorific motive,

190 van Wassenaer 1605, fol. * 2 v: "obsidionemque pertulistis durissimam, imo usque ad βούβρωσιν."

191 Liddell et al. 1996, s.v. βούβρωστις.

192 Leiden, Leiden University Library, Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, 347, fol. 86. Cf. van den Berg et al. 1993, 38, n. 10.

193 van Wassenaer 1605, fol. * 3 v.

194 van Wassenaer 1605, fol. * 2 v–* 3 r: "licet ipse autores Græcos translatos arboribus quibus Autumnus foliorum honorem decussit comparem."

in addition to a patriotic-religious one. The text contains "a prayer of the author for the well-being of his fatherland and city."[195] Wassenaer flanked his *votum* on both sides with a pair of Latin chronogram poems as a way of consecrating his prayer. The former pair concerns the blockade (11 December 1572) and capitulation (12 July 1573) of Haarlem, whereas the latter pair bewails the deaths of two Haarlem notables, and is followed by a dry ΤΕΛΟΣ, "the end."

In sum, even the most impressive New Ancient Greek texts from the early modern Low Countries tend to abound in Neo-Latin. I would not be surprised if researchers ultimately conclude that in the Low Countries no printed publication with New Ancient Greek materials was produced that featured no Latin at all. Still, there are manuscript copies of Ancient Greek texts made in the region that do not contain any Latin, since even all paratexts are Hellenized and hence contain New Ancient Greek materials. These seem, however, to be few and far between. A conspicuous example is preserved at the KBR library in Brussels: a manuscript produced by the Rhodian Greek Jakovos Diassorinos (d. 1563), probably when he was in Brussels around 1555, and containing the *Theophrastus*, a work by the Christian Neoplatonic philosopher Aeneas of Gaza (d. *c.*518 CE).[196] A Greek epigram precedes the text, dedicating the manuscript to Adrien Amerot, then the Greek chairholder at the Leuven Trilingue.[197]

Thus far, I have been focusing on works where only Latin and Greek appear together. Indeed, the presence of Greek in a Neo-Latin work tends to preclude any vernacular materials. This general linguistic hierarchy, also noticed for other areas in Europe, by no means lacks exceptions, though.[198] In the Low Countries, Simon Stevin's (1548–1620) *Principles of the Art of Weighing*, first published in 1586 at the Leiden office of Christophe Plantin led by Franciscus Raphelengius, is a notable case.[199] The original title, *De beghinselen der weegh const*, announces that the main body of the text will be in Dutch, which Stevin tried to elevate to the status of a scientific language.[200] The book has two liminary poems, one in Latin hexameters, the other in Greek elegiac couplets, both bearing Dutch titles, indicating that the compositions concerned three works by Stevin: OM DE WEEGHCONST, WATERWICHT, ENDE LOCHTWIGHT ("On the *Art of Weighing*, the *Weight of Water*, and the *Weight of Air*"), and OM DE SELFDE ("On the same"). Their author was Stevin's friend Jan (Cornets) de

195 van Wassenaer 1605, fol. L 3 r: "VOTVM AVTORIS PRO SALVTE PATRIÆ, ET VRBIS."

196 Brussels, KBR, Manuscripts, MS 11373.

197 The poem is on fol. 1v. See Van Rooy 2017b; 2020a, 106–7.

198 See e.g. Päll 2018, 97 on Estonia: "Greek paratexts occur usually only in Latin books, not in the context of the vernacular."

199 Stevin 1586. The discussion that follows here draws on Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 450–52, and the references there.

200 Kool 1992.

Groot (Johan de Groot; 1554–1640), the father of the more famous Hugo Grotius but in his time a well-known scholar himself, who had visited the academies at Dowaai (Douai) and Leiden. De Groot conceived his two pieces as learned poetry, to which he added further explanations in the margins—quite extensively in the Latin piece, with ten marginal notes in Latin and Dutch, while the Greek only has one brief clarificatory remark in Latin. The two poems present a thematic diptych on three works by Stevin, including the now lost *Lochtwight*.[201] The Latin piece introduced the theme and innovative nature of the three works in the frame of the Greek tradition, alluding to Thales, Plato, Aristotle, and Archimedes, while also giving due recognition to Arabic learning, mentioning in particular Alhazen (Ḥasan Ibn al-Haytham; *c.*965–*c.*1040); the diction is reminiscent mainly of Lucretius but also of Vergil and Horace.

The second poem, invoking the Greek muse, pictured Stevin as an innovator going far beyond the contributions not only of Greek scholars but also of the Chaldeans, Hebrews and Romans. One elegiac couplet served as the poem's refrain and expressed the idea of Stevin as intellectual culmination quite clearly:

> Ειπ᾽ ἄρα, εἰ ποτ᾽ ἔην μεγάλου τ᾽ ἀνδρὸς μέγα τ᾽ ἔργον
> Μεῖζον ἂν ἢ οἷον Στεύνιος ἔργον ἔθη;[202]
>
> So do tell if there ever was a great work by a great man that could be greater than the work Stevin has made?[203]

In order to highlight how great a culmination Stevin's contribution was, de Groot singled out a number of his most important predecessors and their achievements, while also adding a metapoetic comment on Archimedes' name, impossible to fit into elegiac couplets because of its cretic sequence at the beginning of the word:

> Οἶδας δ᾽ εὐκλείδήντε Μαθηματικῆς φίλον ἦτορ,
> Ἄστρον ἀρίζηλον μουνοσόφης σοφίας,
> Ὅστις πάντα μέτρησε. καὶ εὗρε δὲ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν
> Ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλὰ μάτην* τ᾽οὔνομ᾽ ἔπεσσιν ἐρῶ.[204] Archimedem dico.

201 Schrier s.d. offers a Dutch translation and useful commentary, which I follow here.

202 Ειπ᾽ would be Εἶπ᾽ following modern conventions. The verb form ἔθη is odd, but a second aorist form like ἔθηκε must have been intended: see Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 451 n. 25.

203 Stevin 1586, fol. aA 3. The translation of this and the following quote is taken from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 451.

204 Modern convention would require Εὐκλείδην τε instead of εὐκλείδήντε on l. 1.

> You know Euclid, the beloved heart of mathematics, the radiant star of sole wise wisdom, he who measured it all. And the sand found its number from someone else, but I will say his name in vain* in verses.
>
> * Archimedes, I mean.

The interplay within the trilingual poetical diptych, as well as with the Dutch texts that follow, deserves further scrutiny. For instance, what is the status of Latin and Greek in Stevin's well-known praise of the Dutch language, which features a list of Greek monosyllabic words, and the actual text of his *Weeghconst*? How do de Groot's liminary pieces relate to Stevin's promotion of Dutch as a succinct scientific language that hosts more monosyllabic words than Latin and Greek and is hence more efficient?

By trying to answer such questions, one can come to a better understanding of the broader early modern context of Latin–Greek bilingualism, and the linguistic hierarchy in which it was framed, which always involved one or more vernacular languages, too. Latin seemingly acted as a shield between Greek and the vernaculars, filtering and shaping the interactions between them. The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), working in the Southern Low Countries, seems to confirm this impression:

> & quemadmodum latina lingua alias potest copia sua instruere, ac iuuare, sic græca tum latinam ipsam, tum alias quoque auget, & adornat. estque perfectioni latinitatis necessaria, non secus quam latina Italicæ, aut Hispanæ: nec vllus absolute fuit latini sermonis peritus, nisi & Græco imbutus.[205]

> And just as the Latin language is able to build up and increase his store of vocabulary, so the Greek increases and adorns the knowledge of Latin itself and sometimes in other directions. It is necessary to the perfection of Latin, not otherwise than Latin is necessary to the Italian or Spanish languages; nor was anyone ever thoroughly skilled in Latin speech unless he was imbued with Greek.[206]

The intermediary position of Latin appears to transpire from code-switching practices as well. Code-switches to Greek tend to occur in Neo-Latin texts, whereas vernacular texts typically feature code-switches to Latin or other vernaculars rather than Greek. It seems to be much rarer to have switches to

205 Vives 1531, fol. 97r.
206 Vives 1913, 94.

Greek in vernacular works, as in Stevin's peculiar case, or to Latin in the main text of New Ancient Greek works, for which Schutius' dissertation can be reckoned as an exception with its few but extensive Latin quotes. These impressions about linguistic hierarchies should, however, be tested by means of a systematic data-driven textual analysis, in order to arrive at a fuller and more accurate picture of early modern multilingualism, especially since poets could opt to treat the same topic in both the classical and the vernacular languages (see Sections 4.3 and 4.6).

It also remains to be seen whether my intuitions about the Neo-Latin–New Ancient Greek spectrum in the Low Countries stand up to closer scrutiny, and to what extent they can be extrapolated to other regions, where other vernaculars interacted with them.[207] For instance, Johanna Akujärvi and her co-authors have noted the following generalizations, largely based on their Nordic corpus of Greek poetry:

> Multilingualism is a common context for Humanist Greek. Out of three types of polyglot poetry clusters, two can be found in the Nordic countries. One of these, which includes different biblical and oriental languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, etc.), appears almost exclusively in Uppsala where the required printing types were available earlier. The other is universally popular, extending from simple Greek–Latin and Greek–Latin-vernacular poem clusters to poems with many different vernaculars; here the language choice varies from region to region and can reach up to 10 different languages as in the sumptuous *Europa in luctu* on the death of King Charles XI in 1697.[208]

What is more, one should not forget that Latin did not function as a go-between in all situations. Looking at linguistic ideas rather than scholarly and literary use, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that many early modern scholars saw a privileged relationship between Ancient Greek, on the one hand, and their native vernacular, on the other. Indeed, Greek seems to have had an emancipatory value for the vernaculars, in which grammarians found features such as the article and certain tense phenomena that many vernaculars shared with Greek but not with Latin. The vernaculars gained strength from this in their

207 See e.g. the Greek–Latin–Italian work by Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526–1555) and Giovan Battista Amalteo's (1525–1573) Greek–Latin–Italian triad on the battle of Lepanto: see Weise 2022a, 150; F. Pontani 2022b, 114. For a Greek–Latin–Castilian Spanish specimen, see Barton 2022.

208 Akujärvi et al. 2022, 727.

ongoing standardization processes, a fact well studied in secondary literature and therefore not further thematized here.[209]

In conclusion, a spectrum-based approach such as the one I have described and exemplified in this section may help researchers accurately map the early modern phenomenon of classical bilingualism, and its manifold functions and dimensions. Hence, an important future task will be to develop, refine, and systematize this framework in order to fully capture the broad range of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek interactions one finds in the rich source materials.

3.3 *The Media of Neo-Latin–Greek Bilingualism*

The oral dimension briefly mentioned in the previous section brings up a broader question: what media carried classical bilingual text corpora? Next to sound, ink and paper formed the most obvious carriers, in manuscript and print, a fact also apparent from the focus of modern scholarship, where these media understandably have taken center stage. However, scholars such as Anna Pontani have drawn attention to Greek texts conveyed through other media, especially paintings and inscriptions, some remarkable specimens of which also feature in the anthology collected by Filippomaria Pontani and Stefan Weise.[210] Recent editions and investigations of student notes, in turn, leave little doubt about the oral character of classical bilingualism, which can only be studied indirectly through textual artefacts, as there are no sound recordings from the period.[211] The oral character went, however, beyond pedagogical contexts, since intellectual discourse, celebration, and commemoration also provided occasions to speak or more often recite Greek—and on these occasions, Latin was never far away. This section, then, must first and foremost be read as a further encouragement to map, analyze, and appreciate the different media of classical bilingualism and their interplay, which I illustrate with two notable Lowlandish cases: an inscription and a painting.

For the first example I start from the epitaph Erasmus composed for his friend Jacob Batt (*c.*1466–1502), briefly mentioned above (Section 3.2), which is the earliest currently known New Ancient Greek verse composition from the Low Countries. The ultrashort piece in iambic dimeter reads as follows, with Erasmus' own Neo-Latin translation next to it:

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209 See Section 1.1, and e.g. Demaizière 1982; Trapp 1990; Dini 2004; Cummings 2007; Van Hal 2016; Van Rooy 2020c; 2022.

210 A. Pontani 1996a; F. Pontani and Weise 2022b, passim. See e.g. also Lundahl 2017; de Patto 2020.

211 For the Low Countries, see Feys 2022; Feys and Van Rooy 2022. See e.g. also A. Ellis 2020, 122–24.

Ἰάκωβε Βάττε, θάρσεο·	Iacobe Batte, ne time
καλῶς θανὼν παλιμφύει.	bene moriens renascitur.

Jacob Batt, have courage:
he who dies well is born again.[212]

Though trifling and insignificant at first sight, this early Greek composition of Erasmus' not only reveals several interpretive layers but also enjoyed a substantial reception history. First, the poet recalled the fourth idyll of Theocritus, in which a pastor named Battus receives comfort from Corydon:

> θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ᾽ αὔριον ἔσσετ᾽ ἄμεινον.
> ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες. (Theoc. *Id.* 4.41–42)
>
> Take heart, Battus my friend; tomorrow things may be better. While there's life there's hope; it's the dead who have none.

Furthermore, Erasmus Christianized the contrast between life and death Theocritus construed by invoking the resurrection before the Last Judgment, hence associating hope not only with life, as Theocritus had done, but also with death. If one lives a good and pious life, chances are one will be resurrected at the end of time and be judged by Christ himself. The poem additionally shows a connection with Italian humanism, since the form παλιμφύει, presupposing the verb παλιμφύω, has no authoritative backing from classical literature, with the Lucianic adjective παλιμφυής, "growing again" (*Am.* 2), presenting the closest possible parallel for Erasmus' verb. A much more likely source of inspiration was a fifteenth-century bilingual epitaph found in Rome, authored by the humanist gastronomist Bartolomeo Platina (1421–1481) for himself, his brother Stefano, and other relatives:

> Quis quis es, si pius, Platynam et suos ne vexes. Anguste iacent et soli volunt esse. Θαρσον ἄδελφε, καλῶς θνήσκων πάλιν φύεται.[213]

212 Text and translation from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 222, whose notes guide my discussion here.

213 Cited from Campana 1947, 47, which also has a reproduction of the tomb of Stefano and Bartolomeo Platina (Table 1). See also Citti 2007, 430–31, who offers useful discussion, on which I draw. One would expect Θάρσησον instead of Θαρσον.

> Whoever you are, if you are pious, don't disturb Platina and his relatives. They lie in narrow space, and want to be alone. *Have courage, brother, he who dies well is born again*.

The similarities between Platina's and Erasmus' epitaphs are striking. Both contain aberrant forms of the imperative of θαρσέω, although different ones. Both combine καλῶς and θνήσκω, albeit with different aspectual stems, as well as πάλιν and φύω, whether written as one word or not. Both allude to resurrection and, hence, Christian eschatology. Seeing that the Platina epitaph circulated in manuscript, Erasmus may have encountered it around the time his friend Jacob Batt died. At that time still a relative novice in Greek, Erasmus must have connected both the life-death contrast in the epitaph and the name of his friend to Theocritus' fourth idyll. This concurrence of circumstances led him to adapt the Greek part of the Platinas' epitaph to honor Batt, the idea of dying well even becoming a kind of topos in his later work, encouraged by the Platina epitaph, as well as writings of authors such as Seneca.[214]

In sum, the making of Erasmus' bilingual epitaph involved multiple media: from a humanist Italian inscription to a printed collection of Erasmus' epigrams.[215] The genesis occurred through the intermediary of at least one manuscript, as Erasmus must have jotted down the epitaph shortly after the death of his friend in the summer of 1502, but it only appeared in print in January 1507. Moreover, he probably encountered his Italian source of inspiration in a manuscript. Erasmus may have had the short poem recited at the funeral service for his friend, which would give the poem an oral appearance, too. All in all, then, although certainly neither outstanding nor very original, Erasmus produced an intelligent epitaph worthy of his stature and rooted in the most important material media of his day and age. The story of Erasmus' epitaph does not stop here, however, since it enjoyed a rich epigraphic reception, certainly in view of its modest appearance.

The second line of the epitaph, καλῶς θανὼν παλιμφύει, was to have an afterlife in funerary inscriptions in and beyond the Low Countries.[216] In these cases, the makers of the monuments obscured the Erasmian origin of the line, fittingly for a line he had largely copied himself from an earlier source without

214 Citti 2007, 430, esp. the examples and references in n. 132.

215 Erasmus 1507, fol. B iii r. Cf. Lattanzio Tolomei's (1487–1543) epigrammatic inscription at Bagno Vignoni, where the interplay between media is, however, different from Erasmus' Batt epitaph: see F. Pontani 2022b, 105–7.

216 For more details, see Van Rooy 2023 [in press], partly inspired by Janssens and Pronay 2021.

giving credit. The line became very popular in the old cathedral of Basel, today known as the Basel Minster, where Erasmus himself lies buried under a tombstone without any Greek.[217] At the Minster, the line commemorates in a collective epitaph five children, those of the Swiss Protestant scholar Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1540–1617) and his wife Lavinia Canonia, who had died of the plague at the end of the sixteenth century. A nephew of Erasmus' correspondent Simon Grynaeus, Johann Jakob was in a position to be closely familiar with Erasmus' work. Another Protestant theologian, Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf (1561–1610), was honored upon his demise with a modest plaque containing a variation on the line: Καλῶς θανῶν ἐν Χριστῷ παλιμφύει, now illegible but attested through a 1625 printed version.[218] Eventually, Erasmus' iambs grew into a standard line—might I say adage?—honoring prominent Basel citizens, and is found on tombstones erected as late as 1818. The line probably appealed to the local Protestants because it expressed their interpretation of the Last Judgment rather well.[219] In the Low Countries, closer to the line's original place of composition, its reception seems to have been more modest, as I currently only know of a trilingual French–Latin–Greek memorial stone in the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Geboortekerk of Broechem (today in Belgium) for the local nobleman Philippe le Roy (1596–1679). This monument has the line ΚΑΛΩΣ ΘΑΝΩΝ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΦΥΕΙ (Καλῶς θανὼν πάλιν φύει) very prominently on its centerpiece.[220] Further research might, however, reveal other examples of reception, perhaps even showing new interactions between the different media of classical bilingualism.

My second example concerns a painting, the story of which suggests that early moderners considered Greek to have a distinctly esthetic and artistic quality. In 1558, the Bruges-born humanist artist Dominicus Lampsonius (1532–1599) composed an anacreontic poem to adorn a self-portrait by his Utrecht colleague Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (Antonio Moro; *c.*1518–*c.*1577), famed for his many portraits of prominent nobles. Lampsonius' poem has the appearance of an elegant handwritten paper note, fixed to an empty canvas by means of a thin pin (see Fig. 4b).[221]

217 All my examples are taken from Janssens and Pronay 2021.

218 θανῶν for θανὼν.

219 Janssens and Pronay 2021.

220 Janssens and Pronay 2021, 22–24, with reproductions of a seventeenth-century idealist engraving and a picture of its slightly more modest present-day state.

221 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 228–31, whose account partly guides my discussion. See also the references there, most notably Puraye 1949; A. Pontani 1996a, 242–43.

FIGURE 4A Anthonis Mor van Dashorst, self-portrait (1558) with a Greek poem by Dominicus Lampsonius
FLORENCE, GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI, INV. 1637

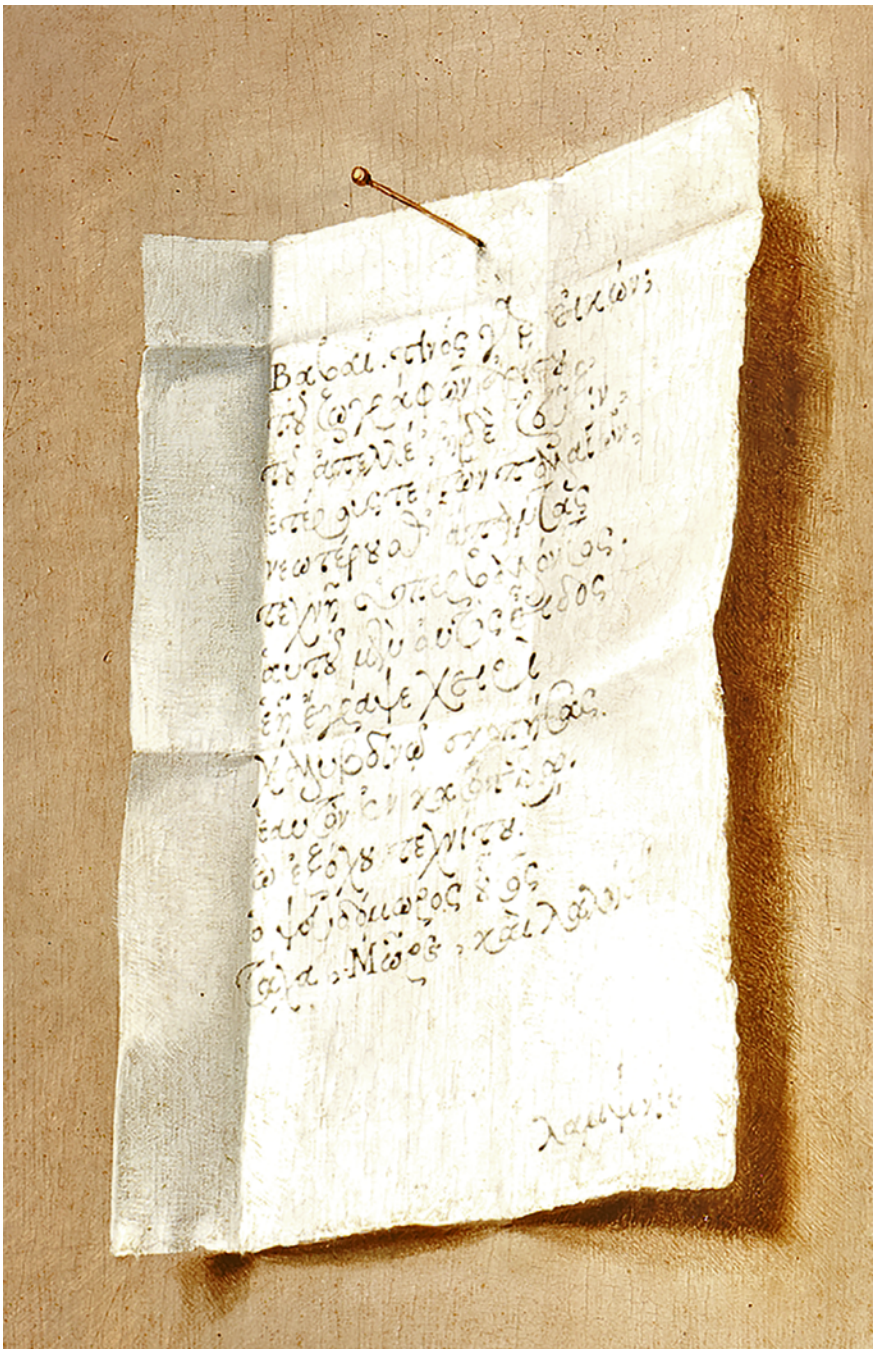

FIGURE 4B Detail of the painting, Lampsonius' Greek poem

The artwork, now kept at the Uffizi in Florence, shows Anthonis Mor ready to start painting, with several brushes and a palette in his left hand, but seemingly finding himself surprised by the note his colleague had left and hence looking somewhat distractedly to the onlooker rather than to his canvas (see Fig. 4a).[222] The piece of paper on which the poem is written shows signs of folding, which might evoke the idea that Lampsonius had carried it to Mor's atelier in his pocket and had secretly pinned it to the blank canvas on his friend's easel. Taking his seat, all prepared with his equipment, Mor then would have looked around in surprise to find out who had left the note there, at which point he met the gaze of his beholder. Mor's surprise might also have been fueled by the unfamiliar-looking script on the note, since it is not known whether he knew any Greek and would thus have been able to immediately recognize the hand of his friend Lampsonius or to read the subscription Λαμψον., probably short for Λαμψονίου, "by Lampsonius."

Lampsonius, in turn, expressed wonder himself at the portrait of Mor, the liveliness of which even made him conjecture that the portrait would come to life and speak:

> Βαβαί. Τίνος γὰρ εἰκών;
> τοῦ ζωγράφων ἀρίστου,
> τοῦ Ἀπελλέ' ἠδὲ Ζεῦξιν
> ἑτέρους τε τῶν παλαιῶν
> νεωτέρους θ' ἅπαντας
> τέχνῃ ὑπερβαλόντος.
> Αὑτοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶδος
> ἑῇ ἔγραψε χειρί
> χαλυβδινῷ σκοπήσας
> ἑαυτὸν ἐν κατόπτρῳ
> ὦ ἐξόχου τεχνίτου.
> Ὁ ψευδόμωρος οὗτος
> τάχα, Μῶρε, καὶ λαλήσει.
>
> Oh my! Whose portrait is this? Of the very best of painters, who in his craft outweighs Apelles and Zeuxis and all others of the ancients [5] as well as all moderns. He painted his own image with his own hand, looking at [10] himself in a mirror of steel. Oh, what a superb artist! This counterfeit Mor here will perhaps even talk, o Mor![223]

222 Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1637.

223 Text and translation from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 228–29 (with slight adaptation). Lampsonius perhaps engaged in a jocund play on the Greek word for "foolish," μῶρος,

Since Mor was unlikely to have known any Greek, was he able to produce the carefully executed Greek writing found on the painting, with its numerous elegant ligatures, especially at such an uncommon, slightly oblique angle (see Fig. 4b)? It is hence possible that Lampsonius helped Mor with this part of the painting. After all, the poem is signed "by Lampsonius," which might support this hypothesis. Whatever may be the case, the artist from Bruges was closely involved in the production of Mor's self-portrait, since in his poem he commented on the method Mor had used to realize his work: "looking at himself in a mirror of steel" (ll. 9–10). Hence, taking a closer look at the Greek dimension of this piece of art, one might just have to conclude that there is much more to this painting than Mor "sit[ing] at his easel with palette in hand, looking—as usual—at the viewer," as has been claimed.[224] More broadly, in order to fully appreciate the artistic appeal of Greek in a Latin-dominated world, further research is required, since past scholarship has tended to focus on exceptional specimens such as this one, disregarding many other early modern artworks containing Greek, whether on its own, or alongside Latin or other languages, as well as artistic ideas on the esthetic appeal of Greek handwriting and typography.

Aside from painting and the manuscript medium it imitated, Lampsonius' Greek poem can be linked to a print publication, too. Written in catalectic iambic dimeters (hemiambs), with two anaclastic ionic dimeters (anacreontics) in lines 4 and 13, Lampsonius' composition consciously imitated the Ancient Greek corpus of *Anacreontea*, first published by Henri II Estienne in 1554, only four years before Mor's self-portrait, and immediately engendering a new literary fashion in several parts of Europe.[225] Estienne provided his edition of the Greek text not only with a Latin translation and commentary but also with his own anacreontic poems, both in Latin and Greek, and a substantial Greek letter to the reader.[226] He thus provided Lampsonius with the material basis for his own poem (especially *Anacreon.* 3 & 16), while also showing him that humanists could aspire to imitate and emulate Anacreon, too, among the other ancient authors. In short, like Erasmus' epitaph for Batt, Lampsonius' poem presents rich interactions across media, this time involving painting, manuscript, and print. While these are somewhat exceptional cases, one could argue that the use of different media for New Ancient Greek, whether or not accompanied by Latin or other language materials, was omnipresent. After all,

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when addressing his Greekless friend Mor. I thank one of the reviewers for this insightful suggestion, which also recalls Erasmus' pun on his friend Thomas More's name in the title of his *Praise of Folly* (see Section 4.5 below).

224 Fredericksen 1978, 17.

225 Ludwig 2017, 138.

226 Anacreon 1554.

a considerable number of classical bilingual texts were written under dictation, and even more were transferred from manuscript to print in Europe's countless publishing houses. In many cases, manuscript exemplars and copies have been preserved, which leaves the researcher with rich source materials to assess the varied spectrum of media across which early moderners cultivated their Latin–Greek bilingualism. The manuscript dimension, in particular, can present considerably messy pictures, especially in the autographs of a figure such as Bonaventura Vulcanius, who jotted down, in different states of mental clarity and firmness of hand, various versions of his bilingual poetry, some of which also appeared in print.[227] Such chaos leaves modern researchers with challenging puzzles to solve.

To add even more complexity to the puzzle, classical bilingualism interacted in various ways with art, especially through the numerous cases of ecphrasis found in Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek compositions, usually poetry describing ancient or contemporary pieces of art in esthetic detail by way of stylistic exercise. This genre had its roots in classical antiquity, where it was practiced in poetry and prose, and also enjoyed popularity among humanists, especially in poetry.[228] Ecphrastic poetry started with New Ancient Greek pioneers such as Poliziano, whose Κύπρις ἀναδυομένη had an "evident relationship with the passage on the same topic in Poliziano's earlier Italian poem *Stanze per la giostra* (1.99–103) and with Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (ca. 1485)."[229] The Low Countries present many examples, such as Frédéric Jamot's dialogue on an Eros statue and Daniel Heinsius' epigram on *Manneken Pis*, imagining an Eros-styled young boy urinating and composed shortly before the current bronze statue was designed and crafted.[230] The idea seems to have been that a classical or classicizing artwork deserved a classicizing poem, in Latin, Greek, or both, either in entirely different compositions or in two versions of the same text. The esthetic aura of Greek handwriting perhaps fostered the use of this language for ecphrastic purposes, according to the ancient commonplace *ut pictura poesis*.[231] In addition to ecphrasis, many *alba amicorum* combined texts in multiple languages with images. Again, specimens of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism occur quite frequently in this text–image set-up. For instance, Adolphus Mekerchus' inscription in Abraham Ortelius' album featured next to an impressive coat of arms with bilingual text (cf.

227 See Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 240–43, and the examples and references there.
228 On ancient ecphrasis, see Squire 2015.
229 F. Pontani 2017, 316.
230 See Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 232–35, and Van Rooy 2020e, respectively.
231 F. Pontani 2017, 326.

Section 3.2). Anna Maria van Schurman's *album* also has Greek, next to Latin and other languages.[232]

There is good reason to believe that scholars will add other media still to the spectrum, although they can be expected to be much rarer than those mentioned above. For example parchment, which though increasingly rare as a text carrier, enjoyed a certain honorific use in the early modern period, also for learned bilingual texts. The Oxford-educated physician and grammarian David Tolley (*c.*1506–1558) had one of the copies of his *Progymnasmata Græcæ Grammatices*, published in Antwerp in 1547, printed on vellum.[233] This exceptional grammar, which as far as I am aware has not been studied in detail, lies undigitized at the British Library, despite the fact that its "titlepage and initial letters are illuminated," and it contains "the autograph of King Edward the Sixth on the verso of the title page."[234] Inspection of this document moreover reveals that the illumination includes a coat of arms of Edward VI which separates two Latin hexameters from a Greek formula, probably wishes expressed by Tolley for the glory of his royal addressee.[235]

> Principis Eduardi sunt hæc insignia sexti,
> Cuius honos nomenque precor persistat in œuum.
>
> These are the signs of Prince Edward the Sixth, whose honor and name, I beg, may persist in eternity.
>
> Κύριε σῶσον τὸν Ἐδούαρδον ἕκτον πρωτόγονον τοῦ Βασιλέος.[236]
>
> Lord, save Edward the Sixth, firstborn of the King.

The printed text reveals that Edward was still prince at the time of dedication, but when it came into his hands, or at least when he wrote the ex-libris, he already fashioned himself King Edward VI. It seems that the Tudors attached

232 van Beek 2018, 417.

233 Tolley 1547. On Tolley, see Hooper 1994. USTC records only two extant copies of Tolley's grammar.

234 See London, British Library, General Reference Collection C.28.a.14. The quotes are from the British Library's online catalogue <http://explore.bl.uk/BLVU1:LSCOP-ALL:BLL01003585506> (accessed 28 January 2022). Some discussion by Hedwig Gwosdek is in Lily 2013, 87–88, but only in as far as it is relevant to Lily's Latin grammar. The autograph reads "Liber Edwardi Regis huius nominis sexti" on fol. A i v.

235 Tolley 1547, fol. A ij r.

236 One would expect Βασιλέως rather than Βασιλέος as masculine genitive singular.

great value and prestige to classical bilingualism, since several of its members studied the two languages and literatures of antiquity closely, notably Queen Elizabeth I. They moreover attracted countless scholars who addressed poems to the Tudors in the two languages, especially scholars from Cambridge.[237] At the same time, the study of Latin and Greek literature provided a moralistic mirror, guiding them in their decisions with illustrious exempla.[238] In sum, the royals profiled themselves as inheritors of the double heritage of ancient Rome and Greece, thus claiming a powerful past and rich cultural capital to give additional splendor to their rule. The fact that the Tudors stimulated expensive projects such as Tolley's parchment grammar, intended as the Greek counterpart to William Lily's Latin manual, confirms their interest in classical education, which they considered to be bilingual by default.

The medium of architecture likewise deserves attention, since Greek text came to be incorporated as ornaments and inscriptions in certain buildings and other constructions. For the Low Countries, recall the five temporary triumphal arches which Frans van de Velde designed and erected to celebrate the entry of Prince Philip (1527–1598), Charles V's son and future king of Spain, in Ghent on 13 July 1549.[239] Each arch served as a mirror for the young prince, providing respectable examples of righteous political conduct from the Hebrew, Roman, Greek, German, and Flemish traditions, a project which the Bruges-born professor Johannes Otho (*c.*1520–1581) coordinated scientifically.[240] The Greek arch featured the Macedonian King Philip II and his son Alexander the Great, whereas its Roman counterpart showed Vespasian and Titus. These arches must have been decorated with extensive inscriptions in the corresponding languages, mostly quotes from ancient sources, except for the Roman one, where Latin was somewhat surprisingly kept to the bare minimum of identifying the emperors depicted.[241] Latin nonetheless constituted the metalanguage of the architect, who signed his printed models with "FRANCISVS VELDIVS ARCHITECTVS." A variation on this expression on the Dutch arch added the qualification "GEOGRAPHVS." The texts accompanying the woodcuts, too, are partly in Latin and Dutch. The Latin part, based on Otho's booklet, describes and explains the imagery of the arches in dry prose, whereas the Dutch does so in poetry.

237 See e.g. Jasparus 1546; The Etheridge Project s.d.; Barton and Bauer 2020.

238 On Greek in Tudor England, see Lazarus 2015; 2021. On "the Cambridge connection," see e.g. Simpson 2022 and other chapters in the same volume.

239 See Pauwels 2020.

240 For woodcuts of all the arches, see van de Velde 1549.

241 The inscriptions can, with Latin translation and contextualization, also be found in Otho 1549.

Finally, numerous early modern tapestries, many of which were produced in the Southern Low Countries, presented scenes from classical literature and history, not least Homer.[242] Further research is needed to assess the role of Greek alongside Latin in these artworks, although first impressions reveal that it must have been quite limited, though not entirely absent. Telling is, for instance, the pseudo-bilingualism appearing in the *Throne Baldachin* of around 1561, designed by the Frisian artist Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–*c.*1607) with the help of his southern Lowlandish colleague Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592), today preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[243] Aside from the Latin names of the four seasons and the date indication, the tapestry contains a Latin elegiac couplet describing the myth of Proserpina:

> Sex cum chara habitat menses Proserpina matre
> Sex cum dilecto coniuge dite manet.
>
> Six months Proserpina lives with her dear mother, six months she stays with her beloved rich husband.

The tapestry shows Greek, too, in the literal sense of displaying Greek-style letters at the bottom of the tapestry, at first sight meaningless inscriptions forming part of the decorative frivolities in the lowest band, much smaller than the Latin couplet and season names. Closer scrutiny reveals that the two inscriptions are subtle signatures of the main artist, written right-to-left according to the Hebrew rather than the Greek fashion: (1) ϽΣϽΗϥΦ for ΦΡΗΕΣΕ, which can be transcribed as *Friese*, referring to de Vries, and (2) ΝϬϺΔϽϽϥΦ for ΦΡΕΕΔϺαΝ or *Freedman*, a clumsily Hellenized variant of Vredeman. Some letters have been mirrored to match the uncommon writing direction: the rhos, the epsilons, which look like the number three, and the alpha.[244] The nu and the sigma have not, whereas others are identical when mirrored: the eta, the phis, and the delta. Most remarkably, the ⟨M⟩ in the second inscription appears to be a minuscule omega ⟨ω⟩ upside down. This use of Greek letters, flanking a presumed self-portrait of Vredeman de Vries, suggests that the Greek alphabet had a decorative quality, somewhat reminiscent of the widespread practice of using pseudo-scripts in Renaissance art, as

242 See especially the work of Anne-Sophie Laruelle, e.g. 2020; 2021, whom I thank for her help in weaving this part of my text.

243 See e.g. Campbell and Bauer 2002.

244 There are inscriptions known to be written from right to left and also boustrophedon ("as the ox turns"), alternating left-to-right with right-to-left writing. Such inscriptions were, however, probably unknown to most Hellenists of the time.

well as of a recent poor attempt of a sports brand at pseudo-Hellenizing their name as ΠΙΚΣ. The phenomenon had medieval predecessors and was akin to early modern forgings of Greek inscriptions that served to support claims of a Greek heritage, where "enthusiasm" could turn out to be "greater than [the forger's] technical abilities."[245] As such, it seems that the mere code of Greek, its alphabet, could serve to convey meaning not only through its linguistic contents but also through its formal, decorative qualities, by virtue of its strangeness and "script charisma."[246] Greek conveyed a sense of cultural prestige, even when it was largely nonsensical or fictional, and may have contributed to an atmosphere of esotericism, mysticism and alienation. Additionally, and with various degrees of success, the self-portraits of Mor and Vredeman de Vries received an intellectual aura through the presence of Greek, which thus undeniably also served as a means of self-fashioning and presentation.[247] Hence, pulling Greek into Neo-Latin and Renaissance studies can help one come to a fuller understanding of typical humanist activities like self-fashioning.

The presence of various types and degrees of bilingualism across the different media I have singled out requires study before one can firmly determine to what extent Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism pervaded the upper echelons of the intellectual and political élite. The available evidence suggests that the phenomenon did not remain restricted to the dusty books of scholars, more often than not closed on their shelves. Instead, classical bilingualism had notable oral and exhibitory dimensions as well. It played a wider role in society, especially its upper strata but also beyond, since spectacles such as Frans van de Velde's triumphal arches met the gaze of the people in the streets. Although my main examples come from the sixteenth-century Low Countries, the diversity in media clearly already started in Renaissance Italy. Examples include Uberto Decembrio's and Bartolomeo Platina's bilingual epitaphs chiseled on stone; the oral use of Greek at the Aldine New Academy; and the Greek hexameters on paintings at the Belfiore Studiolo, probably composed by the Byzantine migrant Theodore Gaza in Ferrara.[248] The diversity in media moreover reveals an important dimension of classical bilingualism in early modernity. Its manifestations could often only be realized through the collaboration of scholars with publishers, artists, and craftsmen, both locally and across borders.

245 Stenhouse 2020, 322. On pseudo-scripts in art, see e.g. Nagel 2011.

246 For the phrase "script charisma" as applied to Greek in early modernity, see Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 457, inspired by Aytürk 2010.

247 Greenblatt 2005.

248 See de Patto 2020; Campana 1947; Lowry 1976; F. Pontani 2017, 313, respectively. See e.g. also the bilingual elegiac couplet which Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) composed and probably displayed in order to advertise his Greek courses in Weise 2022a, 155–56.

The transregional ties I have pointed out between Broechem and Basel, between Lampsonius in Utrecht and Estienne in Paris, leave little doubt about the European scale of the phenomenon of classical bilingualism. The media diversity continued in the seventeenth century Europe-wide, as evidenced, for instance, by a bilingual tombstone in Estonia, produced around 1600 and alluding to Euripides, and in the Low Countries by the Greek Lord's Prayer which Anna Maria van Schurman elegantly wrote on a piece of fifteenth-century illuminated parchment.[249] Writing the media history of classical bilingualism will present a challenge, but one worth the effort, since it will bring into the limelight the great dynamism of the phenomenon in its broader multicultural, multilingual and socio-cultural contexts.

3.4 *The Spread of New Ancient Greek: Networks, Methods, Motives of a Humanist Mission*

A final major research perspective I would like to propose for the long history of early modern classical bilingualism concerns the methods and tools by which students and scholars learned to actively master Ancient Greek, the various degrees to which they succeeded in this goal, and the reasons for their success. Unlike for Latin, humanist teachers could not rely on an established tradition of Greek grammar teaching but had to carve one out for themselves, which left room for experimentation. Italian scholars, crucially, had to rely on the expertise of migrants from the Byzantine empire, before and after its fall in 1453, who simplified Byzantine grammar for them. These foreign scholars refused, however, to let go of Greek as their metalanguage, and Greek remained the standard language of new grammatical scholarship until the end of the century, when in 1497 Urbano Bolzanio (1442–1524) published the first edition of his successful Greek grammar with Aldo Manuzio. The movement occurred unevenly, though, since Manuzio himself composed a grammar completely in Greek, posthumously edited by his Cretan associate Marcus Musurus (*c.*1470–1517), perhaps an unsurprising fact in the context of the New Academy (see the introduction to Section 3). Negotiations to Latinize Greek grammar went back to the early decades of the Quattrocento, with Guarino Veronese making a Latin version of his teacher Chrysoloras' grammar that became popular in manuscript and later also in print.[250] Cross-cultural synergy led to the co-creation of bilingual tools, since only the metalanguage changed to Latin in Guarino's version, while the paradigms, examples, and other grammatical materials remained in Greek. This bilingual set-up, involving a clear separation

249 Päll 2020, 414–15; van Beek 2020, 269.

250 Botley 2010, 9.

of metalanguage from object language, became the norm for early modern Greek teaching.[251]

The definitive transition to a new metalanguage for Greek grammar, and more broadly for Ancient Greek literature and cultural heritage, may seem self-evident in retrospect, but humanists required about a century to print an original Greek grammar with Latin as metalanguage: from Chrysoloras' Florentine arrival in 1397, shortly after which he must have composed his grammar—by 1406 at the latest—to Bolzanio's grammar of 1497. If even westerners such as Aldo were somewhat hesitant to adopt Latin as metalanguage for Greek grammar, one can expect the Greeks themselves to have been even more reluctant. The great luminaries featuring prominently in the historiography of early modern Hellenism, especially Chrysoloras, Theodore Gaza, and Constantine Lascaris, might have gone to great lengths to learn Latin and use it as their metalanguage in their oral teaching. These are, however, the success stories. Lesser-known fifteenth-century teachers of Greek could adopt surprisingly stubborn attitudes toward the Latinization of Greek scholarship. Most notably, Gaza's rival Michael Apostolis vehemently argued against a Latin-mediated teaching method, suggesting always using native Greek teachers, with direct access to the source texts.[252] As western scholars started to take the wheel from the Greek migrants, a process intensifying especially around 1500, Apostolis' wish proved to be unrealistic. The learning curve turned out to be too steep, due to the new script, in combination with greater morphological complexity and lexical possibilities than Latin, and the fact that it always remained the second scholarly language a student had to learn, after Latin.

Renaissance Italy created the cultural conditions for learned bilingualism, with western Latin-trained scholars studying Greek and—to a more limited extent—their Greek-trained colleagues who migrated from the east studying Latin. The grammatical tools generated in this situation have received substantial attention already, especially the Greek base texts and to some extent also Guarino's Latin version.[253] More studies of the practical use of these texts are needed, and also of other tools such as bilingual dictionaries, thesauri, dialogue booklets, and manuals for composition.[254] The Greek and Latin annotations in individual grammar manuscripts and copies of printed books, as well

251 This can, for instance, be gathered from the sources surveyed in Hummel 2007, to be read with Donnet 2008.

252 A. Pontani 1996b.

253 See the literature cited in Section 1.1.

254 For Greek dictionaries, see already Thiermann 1994; Flamand 2005; Rollo 2019. On tools for New Ancient Greek composition more generally, see most notably Korhonen 2022a and the references there.

as Latin versions of Greek grammars in both manuscript and print, likewise still constitute a major blind spot, certainly with regard to the question of to what extent they reveal active Greek competencies. After all, New Ancient Greek in the Quattrocento largely remained the preserve of exceptional figures such as Filelfo, who had spent considerable time in Constantinople where he learned both Ancient and Vernacular Greek, and Poliziano. This picture might be to some extent twisted, as researchers barely have a clue about students who tried but failed to achieve a learned bilingualism. Overall, however, it seems that Greek teaching in the Quattrocento mainly served to instill a passive knowledge of Greek in the student, involving in most cases the study of grammar through Latin and the practicing of a basic reading competence that usually came quickly after the grammatical initiation, or even went hand in hand with it as part of an inductive method. After all, most of the basic concepts of Latin grammar—including declensions, conjugations, case, gender, tense, and mood—also applied to Greek, even if their formal realization tended to be very different, because of the different vocabularies, endings, and alphabets. Still, almost from the start humanists correctly felt the two classical languages to be related, a kinship which they put to use in their learning of Greek, even though they disproportionately magnified the kinship through the lens of Aeolism, the idea that Latin derived from the Aeolic Greek dialect (see Section 1.1).

The examples of Filelfo and Poliziano, who aimed to imitate and emulate their ancient predecessors by composing a poetical oeuvre in both languages, and the collaboration with Greeks, especially in places such as Venice with substantial Greek communities, further opened the window for an active classical bilingualism. For the story of New Ancient Greek in the early modern Low Countries, one figure seems to have been particularly important: the inevitable Erasmus, although his influence in this regard may seem less obvious, given the small corpus of exclusively Greek texts he authored.[255] Erasmus, who in the years 1500–1502 had learned Greek largely on his own in northern France and Leuven, gradually grew comfortable citing Greek words in his correspondence and printed works, notably his *Adages*, for which he even translated sayings from Latin to Greek.[256] This newly acquired competence resulted also in the composition of two modest and highly derivative poems, the Batt epitaph and his Homeric cento (see Sections 3.2–3.3). In 1506–1509, Erasmus traveled

255 For more details on Erasmus as an unsuspected superspreader of New Ancient Greek, see Van Rooy 2023 [in press], an account I partly enrich here.

256 Biographical information is mostly based on the recent monumental account, in Dutch, of Langereis 2021.

to Italy, where he spent time at Aldo's publishing house, which he greatly admired, and where scholars cultivated New Ancient Greek, from which he profited for expanding his collection of *Adages*. One of the more promising youngsters he came across there was Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542), then in his twenties and already living up to the scholarly ideal of Latin–Greek–Hebrew trilingualism, an apt tribute to his name, Hieronymus Aleander in Latin—or in Manuzio's words:

> Optime igitur a patre tuo, excellenti philosopho ac medico perinsigni, factum censeo, cum divo Hieronymo voluit te esse cognominem, quo illius fores et doctrinae aemulus et probitatis; id quod a te factum videmus miro successu.
>
> So I think your father, an excellent philosopher and distinguished doctor, did well in wishing you to share your name with St Jerome, so that you might aspire to his learning and honesty; and we can see you have been remarkably successful in that.[257]

This Venetian environment cannot but have encouraged Erasmus to further internalize the Ancient Greek language, and indeed, upon his return from Italy to England, where he taught Greek in Cambridge using Chrysoloras' grammar, he started to compose—albeit still only very occasionally—more original pieces in Greek. Probably in the spring of 1512, he wrote a votive offering to the Virgin of Walsingham, which he intended to hang at her local shrine for display, as he informed his close friend Andrea Ammonio:

> Visam virginem Vualsingamicam atque illic Graecum carmen votiuum suspendam. Id, si quando te illo contuleris, require.[258]
>
> I am to pay a visit to Our Lady of Walsingham, and I will there hang up a votive offering of a Greek poem. Look for it if ever you visit the place.[259]

Erasmus' poem found an audience in the Low Countries and was translated into Latin by Alardus of Amsterdam (1491–1544) in the summer of 1516, in

257 Text and translation from Manutius 2016, 166–67.
258 Erasmus 1906, 513.
259 Erasmus 1975, 230.

Leuven. Alardus sent his version to the author and later included it also in his 1538 edition of Erasmus' *Carmen bucolicum*.[260]

Around the same time, code-switching to Greek in Erasmus' correspondence and other works, such as his *Praise of Folly*, seems to have increased, covering both quotations but also original uses of Greek, an increase which follow-up research could easily try to quantify.[261] Additionally, he composed several epitaphs in Greek, most notably an ecphrastic piece for Jerome of Busleyden (*c.*1470–1517), the material founder of his brainchild, the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven.[262]

> Epitaphium ad pictam imaginem clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidiani, praepositi Ariensis et consiliarii regis Catholici, fratris reverendissimi patris ac domini Francisci, Archiepiscopi quondam Bizontini, qui Lovanii magnis impendiis instituit Collegium, in quo publice tres linguae doceantur, Hebraica, Graeca, Latina
>
> Ἰαμβοι τρίμετροι
>
> Ὁ τήνδε γράψας σώματος μορφὴν καλῶς,
> ὤφελες ἄγαλμα ζωγραφεῖν καὶ τοῦ νοός.
> Ἐσιδεῖν ἂν εἴη πίνακος ἐν μιᾶς πέδῳ
> ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν ἐρατὸν ἐγγύθεν χορόν.
> Τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν ἱεροπρεπῆ πάνυ,
> τὴν σεμνότητα τήν τε σωφροσύνην ἅμα,
> τὴν χρηστότητα τήν τε παιδείαν καλήν.
> Καὶ ταῦτα κἄλλα μόνος ὑπῆρχ' Ἱερώνυμος
> ὁ Βουσλεδιακῆς οἰκίας σέλας μέγα.[263]

260 Erasmus 1910, 271. For the Latin version, see Erasmus 1538, fol. D vi r.

261 See Van Rooy and Mercelis 2022 for a first quantification attempt. Erasmus was also closely involved in the making of More's *Utopia*, the Greek puns in which have an important organizational function: see Nelson 2004.

262 I cite below the edition I had prepared for the anthology Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, but which did not make the final cut.

263 This footnote offers references to the text editions I used (Textus), as well as a text-critical (Crit.) and a source (Sim.) apparatus, following the practice outlined in Section 3.1.

Textus: a: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami ad eruditos, et horum ad illum*, Basel 1518, 141–142. b: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Epistolae … ad diversos et aliquot aliorum ad illum …*, Basel 1521: 143. c: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Opus epistolarum …, per autorem diligenter recognitum, et adiectis innumeris novis …*, Basel 1529, 131. d: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Operum tertius tomus epistolas complectens universas quotquot ipse autor unquam evulgavit, aut evulgatas voluit …*,

> Epitaph to the painted image of the illustrious Jerome of Busleyden, provost of Aire and councilor to the Catholic King, brother of the most reverend father and lord François, formerly archbishop of Besançon, who established at great expense in Leuven a college in which publicly the three languages are to be taught, Hebrew, Greek, Latin
>
> Trimetric iambs
>
> O you who drew this body's shape beautifully, if only you had painted an image of the mind as well! It might have been possible to see on the surface of one painting the lovely dance of all virtues from close by: [5] piety entirely benefitting the sacred, dignity and temperance at once, uprightness and good education. And these and other things Jerome embodied on his own, Jerome of the house of Busleyden, great light.

The poem was attached to a 1518 letter Erasmus wrote to Jerome's brother Gillis (d. 1536), together with the revised version of a Latin epitaph. Erasmus intended the ecphrastic Greek epitaph as accompaniment to Jerome's portrait on his tombstone in St Rumbold's Church (since 1559 a cathedral) in Mechelen, as also suggested by the demonstrative τήνδε on the first line. This form presupposes a deictic function for the poem, pointing to the nearby painting. However, it seems that only the Latin epitaph in the end decorated the tombstone, presumably destroyed in the iconoclastic violence of 1580, during which Protestants ruined many artworks in Mechelen's churches.[264]

Basel 1540, 125. e: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Epistolarum … libri xxxi …*, London 1642, 176. f: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Opera omnia emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones, praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit, summa fide exacta, doctorumque virorum notis illustrata*, Leiden 1703, vol. 3/1, 378. **Editiones recentiores**: Félix Nève, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le collége des Trois-Langues à l'université de Louvain*, Brussels 1856, 45; P. S. Allen & H. M. Allen (eds.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford 1913, vol. III: 1517–1519, 258–259; Henry de Vocht, *Jerome de Busleyden. Founder of the Louvain* Collegium Trilingue: *His Life and Writings Edited for the First Time in their Entirety from the Original Manuscript*, Turnhout 1950, 101; C. Reedijk (ed.), *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, Leiden 1956, 328; Harry Vredeveld (ed.), *Poems*, Collected works of Erasmus 85–86, Toronto/Buffalo/London 1993, 152.

Crit.: Titulus Bizontini: Besontini cdef | Epitaphium ad pictam imaginem Clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidii, Praepositi Ariensis solum habet Nève || **1** τὴν δε eg τὴν δὲ f || **5** ἱεροπρεποῦ b || **8** κἄλλα Nève.

Sim.: 7 τὴν χρηστότητα τήν τε παιδείαν καλήν] cf. LXX, *Psalmi* 118.66 (χρηστότητα καὶ παιδείαν καὶ γνῶσιν δίδαξόν με) || σέλας μέγα] cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.738–739 (μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι | ἐν σέλαϊ μεγάλῳ) & Greg. Naz. *Carm. mor.* 669.10 (κρύφθη δὲ σέλας μέγα).

264 de Vocht 1950, 99–103.

The epitaph shows a linguistic particularity, at least to modern standards, that might betray what I would call schoolbook knowledge on Erasmus' part. On the first line, he used a nominative instead of the expected vocative, which might be related to the idea, common in early modern grammaticography, that the Attic dialect usually substituted nominatives for vocatives.[265] Erasmus could in any case have been aware of this piece of information, given that he had worked with Chrysoloras' grammar, where this idea is voiced. Also, as translator of the first two books of Theodore Gaza's grammar in the 1510s, he was closely familiar with the Renaissance Greek grammatical tradition. This grammatical oddity, then, provides a clue that Greek composition was formed by didactic tools, in addition to an attentive reading of Ancient Greek texts, a hypothesis which needs to be subjected to further scrutiny but seems to find further support in the relatively well-attested use of artificial aorist forms. Most early modern grammarians of Ancient Greek assumed that each verb had full first and second aorist paradigms, while many of these actually do not appear in the extant Ancient Greek text corpus. For instance, in 1595, at the age of eleven or twelve, Hugo Grotius composed a Pindaric ode for William the Silent's son Frederik Hendrik of Nassau (1584–1647), a youthly exercise which Franciscus Raphelengius printed at his *Officina Plantiniana* in Leiden.[266] Though a tour de force, Grotius' debt to grammars and lexica cannot be ignored, suggested by forms such as the unattested second aorist active infinitive βλαβέειν (l. 165), from βλάπτω, "to harm."[267]

Aptly, Erasmus was himself honored with a bilingual poetical collection upon his demise in the context of his Trilingue (see Section 3.2). These epitaphs suggest that the active cultivation of classical bilingualism championed by Erasmus appealed to Hellenists in the Low Countries, who began composing poetry in the two languages. More broadly, they adopted code-switching to Greek in their letters and other works in Erasmian fashion. Some even went a step further, perhaps inspired by the French example of Guillaume Budé, and dared to write entire letters in Greek.[268] Most notably, the Ghent Carthusian Levinus Ammonius (Lieven van den Zande; 1488–1557), a correspondent of Erasmus who was long based at the monastery of St Maartensbos, close to Geraardsbergen, not far west of Brussels, wrote lengthy letters in Greek which still lie unedited at the Bibliothèque municipale of Besançon.[269] These elegantly drafted and meticulously corrected pieces of prose feature letters

265 Van Rooy 2020b, 5, 91–92.
266 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 236–40.
267 Meulenbroek 1973, 31; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 239.
268 On Budé's Greek correspondence, see Cattaneo 2022, and the references there.
269 Bietenholz 1985.

to fellow Hellenists Jacobus Ceratinus (Jacob Teyng from Hoorn; d. 1530), the young Johannes Sturmius (1507–1589), and Arnoldus Oridryus (Arnold van Bergeijk; d. 1533), written between 1523 and 1531 from St Maartensbos.[270] As such, these letters may count as the earliest specimens of exclusively Greek prose writings from the Low Countries. Ammonius moreover composed a Greek epitaph for Nicolaas Uutenhove (d. 1527), printed as appendix to the grammar book *Summa linguae Graecae* (Paris 1531) by Oridryus, who had designed it for his teaching in Enghien, or Edingen, in the present-day Belgian province of Hainaut.[271] Notably, Ammonius' epitaph followed a similar Greek piece by Oridryus, itself a response to Erasmus' Greek composition honoring Uutenhove.[272]

Ammonius may stand as a successful example of the effect Erasmus envisaged with his humanist program, which should start from the ground up, through basic education in classical Latin and Greek, and ideally also Hebrew. Scholars should be fluent in these three languages, which for Greek and Hebrew initially meant a passive interpretive competence in order to purify the classical and Christian foundations of society and provide a sound moral basis through a close reading of ancient texts, especially the Bible. Erasmus' own practice showed that this competence might well result in active Latin–Greek bilingualism, which went back to classical Ciceronian usage itself (see Section 2.1). Erasmus, in short, turned out to be an influential source of inspiration and motivated humanists to imitate, emulate, and honor him in both Latin and Greek. He did so by setting an example and by making this study institutionally possible at the Leuven Trilingue. This college, he wrote on 24 February 1525 to Jean Lalemand, secretary to Charles V, was a Trojan horse, out of which humanist soldiers were soon to rush forth. It was their mission to spread the new learning and attack the existing scholastic paradigm, as well as to populate all strata of society, from rulers to citizens:

> Nullum non mouent lapidem vt subuertant Trilingue Collegium, vnicum nostrae ditionis ornamentum; vnde mihi quidem nihil metitur, sed inde et Principi et reip⟨ublicae⟩ plurima vtilitas. Ex hoc velut ex equo Troiano prosilient aulae Cesareae boni secretarii, facundi consiliarii, legati non elingues, proceres qui norint tum facere strenue tum dicere praeclare,

270 See Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 599, e.g. p. 163: Ἐν δρυμῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ (cf. Latin "E sylua nostra" on p. 161); p. 234: Ἐξ οἰκίας τοῦ δρυμοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρτίνου τῶν Καρτουσϊανῶν. The letters are available in digital format on the library's website.

271 Hoven 1985; Peetermans 2017.

272 Oridryus 1531, [41].

> ciues humani. Nam homines absque litteris quas non abs re vocant humanitatis, vix merentur hominis vocabulum.[273]
>
> They are now moving heaven and earth to destroy the Collegium Trilingue, which is the crowning glory of our dominion. I derive no profit from it personally, but it has immense value both for the prince and for the state. It is a sort of Trojan horse, from which men leap forth to serve the imperial court—fine secretaries, eloquent councilors, diplomats with the gift of words, leaders who know how to act firmly and speak brilliantly, and citizens who are true human beings. For men who are ignorant of letters (which are not called the humanities for nothing) scarcely deserve the name of men.[274]

In referencing the Trojan horse, Erasmus reiterated a metaphor which Italians had used to refer to their new humanist schools in the Quattrocento, archetypically Vittorino da Feltre's *Casa Giocosa* (*Zoyosa*) in Mantua, and which ultimately went back to Cicero's appreciation of the school of the Athenian rhetor Isocrates.[275]

The metaphor also became very popular throughout the Holy Roman Empire, especially for Lorenz Rhodoman's (1546–1606) school at Ilfeld, where the opposing Greeks and Trojans received a confessional connotation: Catholic Trojans would be overrun by Greek Protestants.[276] In the Low Countries, the image appealed to humanists as well, although without a clear religious dimension, as far as I can tell at the moment. For instance, in another collection of epitaphs for Erasmus, the Danish Trilingue student Jacobus Jasparus (*c.*1505–after 1549/1552) mused:

> Author hic impulsorq́ue trilinguis Buslidiani
> Gymnasii extructi Louaniensis erat.
> Ex quo linguarum mox euasere periti
> Inq́ue breui docti tempore ritè trium.

273 Erasmus 1926, 37.

274 Erasmus 1994, 56, with slight adaptation.

275 Cic. *De or.* 2.94: "Ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates, magister rhetorum omnium, cuius e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt; sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt." See e.g. Woodward 1897.

276 Gärtner 2017, 112–16. Similarly, in England, a revanchist "Trojan" party formed in Oxford, which openly condemned the study of Greek literature, whereas in Cambridge a pro-Greek faction banded together under the monikers "Graecistes" and "Athenians." See on the Cambridge faction McDiarmid and Wabuda 2022.

Vt Troianus equus proceres, sic plurima nobis
Clarum hoc Gymnasium nomina docta dedit.[277]

He was the initiator and driving force of the trilingual gymnasium of Busleyden, built in Leuven. From that college soon emerged men duly experienced and learned, in short time, in the three languages. Just as the Trojan horse presented princes, so has this illustrious [5] gymnasium given us numerous learned names.

One Lowlandish Hellenist of standing, Abraham Ortelius' friend Adolphus Mekerchus, provides the most interesting testimony for this contribution, as he repeated the metaphor while drawing in New Ancient Greek on a transregional scale. Mekerchus did so in his systematic treatment of Ancient Greek pronunciation, which first appeared in Bruges in 1565 and received a second edition at Plantin's Antwerp office in 1576:

Dum hæc meditor, intellexi Dionysium Lambinum Gallum Lutetiæ, & Petreium Tiaram Frisium in nascente Duacensium academia, professores Græcos, hanc emendatam nostram pronuntiationem seriò amplecti, promovere, ac suos auditores docere. Quod si verum est, uti spero, videbimus brevi ex academiis tanquam ex equo Troiano prodeuntes adolescentes, qui æquè expeditè Græcè loqui, declamare, & scribere poterunt, atque Latinè.[278]

While reflecting upon these things, I have learned that the Frenchman Denis Lambin in Paris and the Frisian Petreius Tiara in the emergent academy of Douai, both professors of Greek, in all seriousness embrace, promote, and teach to their listeners this corrected pronunciation of ours. And if that is true, as I hope, soon we will see coming forth from academies, as from the Trojan horse, as it were, youngsters who will be able to speak, declaim, and write equally comfortably in Greek as they do in Latin.[279]

Mekerchus had a background in Bruges and Leuven, which greatly shaped his humanist ideology of far-going appropriation and domestication of Greco-Roman antiquity. The classical world provided the single most important frame of reference for his own life situation, even his native Dutch

277 Erasmus 1537, fol. P.2. r.
278 Mekerchus 1576, 141; see also Kramer 1981.
279 Translation from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 96.

language, many words of which he derived from Greek—for instance Dutch *brood* "bread" from Greek βρῶτος, which Mekerchus glossed as "food."[280]

In Bruges, there had been an early enthusiasm for humanism, because of the city's close ties with Italy through commerce, especially in the fifteenth century, and Greek courses were organized there as early as 1518.[281] By the late 1520s, Johannes Straselius (Jan van Strazeele; d. 1558), a Trilingue student who later became Greek professor at the Collège royal in Paris, claims to have been swamped by young beginners who aspired to speak Greek.[282] Like his much more famous colleagues and fellow Trilingue students Nicolaus Clenardus (1493–1542) and Johannes Sturmius did for Latin, Straselius might have advocated a living language approach for Greek. The presence of a great humanist and enthusiast of Greek like Vives no doubt stimulated West-Flemish zeal, which culminated in the Goltzius circle, as I have noted before (Section 3.2). In Leuven, the taste for New Ancient Greek appears to have been less strong overall, as the output of local scholars was relatively limited, even if one considers that many source materials must have gone lost in the fires of the World Wars. This somewhat surprising fact suggests that, with the Trilingue, Leuven housed an institute focused on a passive Greek competence, as the will of its founder prescribed. Yet, student notes show that active Greek very much had a place at the Trilingue, where code-switching from Latin to Greek and glossing in Greek occurred frequently, and numerous former students went on to produce Greek texts outside Leuven, including figures like Mekerchus.[283]

In conclusion, New Ancient Greek got an early footing in the Low Countries largely thanks to the efforts of Erasmus, but the further establishment and spread remains to be mapped systematically in greater detail, for this and other regions. Furthermore, I have chosen to focus on Erasmus here because he provides a strong unifying factor for the phenomenon. This argumentative choice should, however, not overshadow the contribution of other important figures such as the abovementioned Girolamo Aleandro, whom Erasmus had met in Venice and quickly convinced to travel to Paris in order to pull the humanist Trojan horse into this scholastic bastion. Aleandro claimed to have done so with overwhelming success, teaching hundreds of students, an alleged impact which still needs to be gauged.[284] From the Lowlandish history of Greek studies, at least, it appears that he was not entirely exaggerating, since

280 Van Rooy 2020c. The expected accentuation would be βρωτός.

281 For a first survey of Bruges Hellenism, see Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a.

282 Cf. the enigmatic start of a letter fragment edited in Dewitte 1972, 195 (the omission is Dewitte's): "Et nullam mensam adeamus sive … puerique fere alphabetarii graece loquantur." See also Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 85.

283 Akujärvi et al. 2022, 791; Van Rooy and Feys forthcoming.

284 Jovy 1913, 3:15–17. Cf. e.g. also Sandy 2002, 55–56.

it was Aleandro who taught Greek to the first two professors of that language at Erasmus' Trilingue: Rutger Rescius and Adrien Amerot. An active user of both Latin and Greek throughout his life in manuscript and printed works, Aleandro even moved for some time to Liège, where he started a clerical career, bidding farewell to teaching and eventually engaging in a bitter rivalry with Erasmus. More importantly, however, Rescius and Amerot confidently code-switched in their work and also in their teaching as soon as they arrived in Leuven in the early 1510s, no doubt continuing a practice they had learned from star examples such as Aleandro and Erasmus.[285] They fueled classical bilingualism, as evidenced by the considerable number of New Ancient Greek authors in their networks of students and admirers—networks which still need to be explored and analyzed more closely.

In general, further study will be needed to determine to what extent New Ancient Greek was part of the institutional package, both from the perspective of prescriptive documents such as Busleyden's will and official handbooks, and from the perspective of actual classroom usage. For instance, in reaction to the Protestant appropriation of Greek, the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* of 1599 insisted on a thorough Greek schooling, although in a role far secondary to that of Latin, and it remains to be seen whether earlier documents such as the 1575 curriculum of the Bruges Jesuit college, which suggests an active training in Greek, reflected utopias or realities.[286] Overall, for the Low Countries, the evidence available suggests that the active use of Greek depended more on local traditions, circles, and talented enthusiasts than Latin, giving the phenomenon of classical bilingualism a highly contingent aura. It could peter out quite quickly when key scholars died or were forced to migrate, as happened in Bruges during the 1560s and 1570s. Tellingly, the Low Countries did not witness any of the tailormade handbooks and other tools for Greek composition that appeared elsewhere in Protestant Europe, usefully surveyed by Tua Korhonen.[287] Korhonen stresses, however, the overly general scope of these works, which often amounted to referring the student to known Latin rhetorical and poetical exercises: various forms of paraphrasing by changing parameters such as meter, genre, and topic.[288] Additionally, translation from Latin to Greek and vice versa formed an important exercise in consolidating one's command of Greek, which at least partly explains the proliferation of self-translation in Neo-Latin–Greek corpora.[289] Hence, these handbooks

285 On the importance of Aleandro for the Trilingue, see Van Rooy and Van Hal 2018, 131–33.
286 On the Jesuits' relative lack of success, cf. F. Pontani 2017, 322–23 for the Italian context.
287 Korhonen 2022a.
288 See e.g. Korhonen 2022a, 243.
289 Korhonen 2022a, 230–31. Cf. Section 4.3.

framed Greek composition through the more familiar lens of Latin, thus probably making explicit a practice that was widespread in and beyond Protestant Europe, but that flourished especially there. More generally, Greek composition could have a strong Latin imprint, depending on individual authors' competencies, leaving much room for transfer from Latin meter, grammar, and syntax (see Section 4.4). This Latinate Greekness resulted from the second-order status of Greek in teaching and scholarship, which even the most ardent Hellenist pedagogues from Protestant Europe were ready to admit—*Latina discenda*, *Graeca tentanda*, believed Melanchthon: "learn Latin, try Greek."[290]

Overall, a strong motivation to actively master Greek often led to consolidating one's knowledge of the language and hence further internalizing the Greek heritage in its entirety: appropriating and domesticating it, in order to read Greek texts with greater ease, as an alternative route to the use of translations, which provided an indirect and biased access to the text. The route of active Greek mastery had the side effect that one could impress one's fellow students and scholars with one's knowledge, especially since the spectrum of mastery tended to vary much more than with Latin, a language everybody pursuing an academic career had to master perfectly. The Greek learning spectrum ranged from an advanced and more or less balanced classical bilingualism for scholars such as Filelfo, Poliziano, Melanchthon, Joachim Camerarius, Henri II Estienne, Rhodoman, and Heinsius, through more modest code-switchers such as Rutger Rescius, to highly imbalanced bilinguals, most of whom are today poorly known or even anonymous. For instance, we lack any further details about the life and career of the Trilingue student Johannes Aegidius, who in the fall of 1543 had great difficulties in switching between Latin and Greek while taking notes in Rutger Rescius' classes.[291] I could even add to this spectrum the pseudo-bilingualism evidenced by such artworks as the *Throne Baldachin* (Section 3.3), miles away from the facility shown by someone like Poliziano, "who could switch from Latin to Greek even when taking notes in his *zibaldoni* or when preparing his classes at the university of Florence."[292]

Much more than Latin, then, having Greek helped to sift the wheat from the chaff. Or perhaps more importantly, humanists tried to frame classical bilingualism as such, using their hard-won Greek competence to show their abilities in pieces of writing that combined epideictic with honorific motivations. This exhibitory character has often been disparagingly dismissed as

290 In the paraphrase of Weise 2022a, 147.

291 For examples taken from Aegidius' annotated textbook, see Van Rooy and Feys forthcoming.

292 F. Pontani 2017, 315.

showing off and hence done away with as fundamentally uninteresting (cf. Section 2.2). The cultural historian has much to learn from classical bilingual practices in terms of individual self-fashioning and the construction of group identities and networks. In this context, esthetic display occupied a significant role, as suggested by the usage of Greek or Grecizing elements in various forms of art, as well as the meticulous development of elegant fonts. For instance, the *Grecs du Roy* font can rightly be called calligraphic because of its firm basis in the stylized handwriting of the Cretan-born scribe Ange Vergèce (1505–1569).[293] The forms and uses of these Greek fonts would benefit from closer scrutiny. Finally, Greek provided a more challenging medium than Latin for early modern scholars to indulge in their beloved display of learning and wit, as evidenced by the proliferation of acrostics, anagrams, chronograms, and puns. Whereas this display of learning and wit has been duly recognized as an important motive for Neo-Latin studies, the same cannot be said of its New Ancient Greek counterpart.[294] In sum, research into the motivations for writing Ancient Greek alongside Latin would benefit from a more nuanced approach and a more careful consideration of the historical circumstances in which individual authors worked, before indulging in all too simplistic generalizations. For this endeavor, one can follow the lead of recent exemplary work by, among others, Walther Ludwig, who has argued that authors such as Martin Crusius (1526–1607) and Rhodoman resorted to Greek as a medium to overcome differences between Lutherans and Orthodox Christians.[295]

The unexplored territory of New Ancient Greek studies has moreover the potential to unveil new intellectual networks, which for Greek might not align with those emerging from analysis of Latin writings. For instance, the second volume of Hubertus Goltzius' *Iulius Caesar*, which appeared in 1574 in Bruges, again presents a host of liminary poems, this time predominantly in Latin, with occasional part-Greek titles and code-switches to Greek, by Lowlandish and German poets. The poems include descriptions of the frontispiece by Adolphus Mekerchus and Louis Carrion (*c.*1547–1595) from Bruges; a poem by Johannes Posthius (1537–1597) from Gemersheim congratulating Goltzius for acquiring Roman citizenship; acrostics by Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) and Joachim Tydichius (*c.*1545—after 1586) from Berlin; and an epigram by Georg Fabricius (1516–1571).[296] The sole poem entirely in Greek present in this volume is signed ΙΩΑΧΕΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΜΕΡΑΡΙΑΔΟΥ, or Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574), the

293 Vervliet 2008a. *Grecs du Roy* refers to the French king's official Greek font.

294 For Neo-Latin, see especially Enenkel 2009.

295 Ludwig 2017.

296 Goltzius 1574.

Protestant Hellenist who died in Leipzig on 17 April 1574, about three months after Goltzius' volume was published.[297] In his poem, Camerarius, himself interested in the Greek history of Italy, celebrated Goltzius' contribution to Roman imperial iconology, numismatics, and history.[298] This case indicates that studying New Ancient Greek works alongside Neo-Latin can lay bare new network links, previously unnoticed, since Camerarius' link to Bruges has thus far remained under the scholarly radar.[299] This link proves especially remarkable in light of the Protestant sympathies of many members of Goltzius' circle, who nonetheless were still seeking patronage and protection from the Catholic King Philip II and his French colleague Charles IX, as evidenced by the recommendations and privileges included at the back of the volume. Such transregional connections suggest that Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism had a role to play in the confessional contest of the age, a role which has thus far remained largely unquestioned.[300]

More broadly, the Protestant appropriation of learned classical bilingualism is not fully explicated, even though the confessionalization of humanism has been a hot topic in intellectual history (see Section 1.1). Especially the reasons behind Protestant Philhellenism and their enthusiastic New Ancient Greek activities present a complex puzzle.[301] As a key piece, the theological principle of *sola scriptura* implied starting from the Bible text in its original languages Hebrew and Greek, mastery of which was indispensable for meaningful exegesis. This emphasis, though not totally absent in Catholic circles, remained much less pronounced there, since Catholic scholars mostly took the Latin Vulgate as their starting point. Other pieces of the puzzle no doubt include the development of local intellectual cultures, where cultivating Greek could be part of a fashion or of self-representation strategies, and perhaps also of the Protestant work ethic. Indeed, psychological research suggests that Protestants tended to be more willing to work, as Joseph Henrich has argued at length in his acclaimed work on so-called WEIRD psychology.[302] Protestantism also tended to foster overall literacy, perhaps inducing scholars to look for new ways to surpass ordinary literacy, or offering them a broader audience in both Latin

297 Goltzius 1574, fol. b.ij. v—b.iij. r.

298 On Camerarius as a scholarly predecessor of Goltzius, see Napolitano 2020, 359–61.

299 Cf. Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 109. Camerarius' Greek poem is, for instance, not included in the "Liste aller Werke" featuring in the otherwise wonderful *Opera Camerarii* database (<http://kallimachos.de/camerarius/index.php/Bibliographie_Werke_Jahr>).

300 A rare exception is Flamand 2018.

301 Cf. Rhein 2017, 18. See also Lazarus and Nicholas accepted.

302 Henrich 2020, 420–27. WEIRD stands for "Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic."

and even Greek than was available in Catholic countries, a hypothesis that might find confirmation in the fact that tools for Greek composition remained largely restricted to Protestant areas. The latter point could be further tested by looking for bilingual manuscript traces of early modern readings in books and comparing how the number and intensity of these traces vary between Protestant and Catholic-dominated areas in comparable corpora of texts. The Low Countries could offer a welcome historical laboratory to this end, given that the final decades of the sixteenth century witnessed a split between the Catholic south and the Protestant-dominated north. Such and other wide-ranging hypotheses, though at this point rather speculative, can stimulate important work in New Ancient Greek studies. These stimuli are greatly needed, as the field always risks becoming a niche subject, even though this subliterature was highly embedded in the vast and heavily studied Neo-Latin culture it was part of, and though it can help scholars uncover network ties through intellectual, religious, and political connections and oppositions.

In this final part of Section 3, I have tried to highlight the question of the spread of New Ancient Greek through the Neo-Latin culture of early modernity, as well as the ideological and socio-cultural dimensions that informed the humanist ideal of classical bilingualism. My main aim was to show the broader relevance of studying in detail the Greek element in Latin-centered humanism for a range of disciplines including pedagogical history, intellectual history, confessional history, and network studies. Throughout this section, I have tried to support my findings, ideas, and proposals with primary sources, secondary literature, or both. In Section 4, which will be shorter and more source-focused than Section 3, I will propose some analytical perspectives I find particularly promising, largely conceived as a supplement to approaches already common in the young field.

4 The Worm's Eye: Focused Approaches to Texts and Contexts

The eclectic bird's-eye perspective offered in Section 3 served as a wide lens to project my ideas, methodological suggestions, fruitful hypotheses, and possible generalizations for early modern learned bilingualism through the prism of the Low Countries. Here, I adopt an even more selective worm's-eye perspective on individual texts and contexts. I have chosen not to linger on paths that are becoming ever more established, including the edition and commentary of notable New Ancient Greek texts, the tracing of classical reception clusters through close literary and textual analysis, and intertextuality with classical texts (cf. Section 2.2). I also refrain from engaging intensely with topics too

far from my comfort zone as a scholar, including the highly technical issue of Greek meter. Instead, I will present brief and focused explorations of a number of domains where Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek intersected in revealing ways, starting with comparative literary studies.

4.1 *Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek Comparative Literature*

Relatively few early modern authors produced substantial collections of Greek and Latin literary pieces, sometimes in combination with one or more vernacular languages. However, of these scholars, many opted to publish their Greek compositions together with their Latin ones, including Janus Lascaris, Henri II Estienne, Johannes Caselius, Frédéric Jamot, Daniel Heinsius, and Petrus Francius. Early modernity has moreover produced countless multi-authored and multilingual poetical collections, where Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek often appeared side by side, usually in honor of a certain event or person. The precise share of Greek vis-à-vis Latin still needs to be determined, but for the Bohemian lands Marcela Slavíková has estimated that 120 out of more than two thousand Neo-Latin authors also composed in Greek, and about twenty of them "can be regarded as major."[303] This provides the researcher with an extensive source basis for comparative literary studies, in particular for the study of the interconnections—or lack thereof—between poems in the two languages, in terms of themes, genres, metaphors, and cultural and intertextual references.[304] Digital methods such as topic modeling could perhaps help scholars find correlations between these parameters, and map to what degree a specific subject triggered a particular choice of language. For instance, why did new inventions such as the printing press and newly imported products like tea become the topic of Greek compositions by different authors?[305] Did Greek, as the language of the New Testament, indeed develop into the Christian medium par excellence in some areas, as suggested by Janika Päll?[306] On what further occasions and for which other topics did Greek rather than Latin come naturally to certain scholars? Which genres were associated with which languages, Greek dialects, and topics? Might genre restrictions be tighter in a more widely known language such as Latin than in Greek, the hermeticism of

303 Slavíková 2020, 254.

304 For comparative and transnational literary approaches, see e.g. Grishakova, Boldrini, and Reynolds 2013; Tötösy de Zepetnek and Mukherjee 2013; Wiegandt 2020.

305 For the printing press, see e.g. Sanchi, Flamand, and Menini 2022, 378–81. Bonaventura Vulcanius moreover wrote on the topic, in the context of Plantin's demise, but his work is still unedited at Leiden University Library, VUL 103. For tea, see Weise 2017a; Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 264–67.

306 Päll 2020, 415–16, n. 28.

which perhaps allowed for greater freedom? How did fashions in genre relate to discoveries of Latin and Greek texts, and to other factors such as school curricula? To what extent did the poetic personalities differ in the two languages, and did Greek lend itself to "intimate, personal poetry"?[307]

It will be impossible to address all these questions of topic and genre here, but I hope they may inspire further research. Instead, I want to focus mainly on the last question by means of a bilingual poetical corpus that was only recently edited: the poetical collection honoring Trilingue professor of Greek Rutger Rescius upon his demise in October 1545, at least partly authored by Juan de Verzosa and featuring nine Greek and two Latin poems, all in elegiac couplets.[308] Ten are short epitaphs that pose no major interpretive problems, whereas the 90-line opening elegy in Greek, but with Latin title, has the air of an unfinished or at least grammatically flawed product, yet the contents of this long poem are more or less clear. Overall, the compositions in Greek, undoubtedly envisaged as the main poetical language of the collection, have a more personal air, since they allude in different degrees of detail to Rescius' realizations as professor and publisher of Greek, as the following three excerpts sufficiently show:

> ὀρνύμενοι δὲ σχολῆς. ἐκ τῆσδε Στρασήλλιος ἀυτὸς
> σὺν δ' ἄλλων πολλοῖς Στούρμιος ἡμετέρων
> καὶ Σεκανάο πέραν χ ὑπερ βαθυάγγεας ἄλπεις
> Αονίδων δεῖξαν δῶρ' ἐράτεινα θεῶν.[309]
>
> Coming forth from this school [*sc*. the Collegium Trilingue], Straselius himself, and Sturmius among many others of us, showed the lovely gifts of the Aonian goddesses [*sc*. the Muses], both beyond the Seine and across the Alps with their deep valleys.

307 The formulation is Päll's 2018, 62, who considers "this practice" to be "rare."

308 See the edition in Feys and Van Rooy 2020, whose observations guide my new literary interpretation here. The long poem, A1, is edited diplomatically, the others critically. Text and translation are taken from Feys and Van Rooy 2020 for most poems, except for A1, for which I provide an ad-hoc translation here. Some translations have been slightly adapted. For another case where Latin and Greek are used side by side to honor a deceased person, see e.g. the Englishman George Herbert's (1593–1633) *Memoriae matris sacrum* (1627). It contains five Greek compositions that "are interwoven thematically with the Latin ones," according to Weise 2022b, 505.

309 Poem A1, l. 41–44.

Θήκατο Λουάνιον, Ῥούτγηρε, σὸν ἐνθάδε σῶμα
δύσμορος εἵνεκα σοῦ πικρὸν ἰεῖσα γόον.
Πᾶς γὰρ δερκόμενος μοίρας καταμέμφεται ἱρὰς
ὅττι τόσην ταχέως ἔσβεσαν ἰδμοσύνην.[310]

Leuven has interred your body here, Rutger, showing—ill-fated as she is—bitter grief because of you. For everyone watching blames the holy fates, because too quickly have they extinguished such a great source of knowledge.

Εἴκοσι ἓξ γὰρ ἔτη Κελτῶν νεότητα διδάξας
ὤλετο δὴ, τύνη δ' ἤλυθες ὀψιμαθής.[311]

For he who has taught the Celtic youth for twenty-six years evidently perished, and you have come too late to study.

The poet hailed Rescius for his teaching of Hellenist luminaries Johannes Straselius and Johannes Sturmius, and the *translatio studiorum* he realized in this way, especially to France. In this case, the poet no doubt had the cities of Paris and Strasbourg in mind, where Straselius and Sturmius eventually ended up teaching Greek with great impact, at the newly founded Collège royal and Gymnasium, respectively. The self-reference in the first fragment (ἡμετέρων) suggests that the poet proudly associated himself with these prominent Hellenists. The mentioning of the "Celts" (Κελτῶν) in the third fragment also links to this French-Lowlandish border context. Usually, this ancient ethnonym referred to the French in the sixteenth century, but here its geographical coverage seems to have been extended northward to include Leuven, construing the image of a transregional Hellenist community of practice, an imagery further strengthened by the repeated address to a community of Philhellenes in three Greek poems of the collection (A1, A7, A10). Another recurring element in the Greek compositions is the city of Leuven (A1, A3, A11), showing their local flavor.

The two Latin epigrams (A5–A6), on the other hand, give a more mechanistic impression than their Greek pendants, in that they contain fewer personalized details about Rescius. Hence, these writings can also be more easily adapted to honor other deceased scholars. In fact, the longer of the Latin

310 Poem A3.
311 Poem A7, l. 3–4.

poems even served as the template for a later sixteenth-century epitaph by the Frisian preacher Regnerus Nicolaus Neochthon (Neochton, d. after 1581) for the nobleman Franciscus a Donia, who passed away on 4 January 1559 and, notably, had studied in Leuven since 1544, the year before Rescius died. In sum, Greek turned out to be a more personal medium of poetical expression than Latin in this case, even though the poet was obviously less skilled in it than in the more familiar Latin tongue, and for Greek depended much more on existing literature, especially Homer and the *Greek Anthology*, than for Latin, where only an intertext from Statius' *Silvae* is found.[312] At the same time, certain themes recur in both the Greek and the Latin compositions. For instance, while the Greek pieces obviously highlight Rescius' contribution to Greek studies, the poet chose at two instances to emphasize his engagement with both parts of the classical heritage, Greek and Latin:

> Κάτθανες, ὦ Ῥούτγηρε, μέγα κλέος Ἑλλάδος ἠδὲ
> Αὐσονίης, θάνατον μηδὲ σὺ ἐξέφυγες.[313]
>
> Rutger, great glory of Greece and Italy, you have died; even you did not escape death.
>
> Ad sedes rapior si nunc pallentis Averni
> iudice sub Graeco est causa futura mihi.
> Scilicet Ausoniae poterat me lingua tueri,
> sed mecum Stygias Attica tranat aquas.[314]
>
> If now I am snatched away to the thrones of the pale underworld, my case will be heard by a Greek judge. Of course the tongue of Italy could have protected me, yet it is Attic that crosses the Styx with me.

Here, the different linguistic media do not contrast but echo and even reinforce each other, recalling Rescius' Latin skills but at once also stressing the secondary place of Latin vis-à-vis Greek, implicit in the former fragment, explicit in the latter, and of course also apparent from the linguistic make-up of the entire collection, where Greek dominates.

312 See the source apparatus in Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 32–56. On the relationship of three of the Greek epigrams to the Greek Anthology, see del Pino 2021.

313 Poem A2, l. 1–2.

314 Poem A6.

This brief and selective comparative analysis of one collection indicates that the use of two classical languages next to each other could help authors construe various thematic, literary, and cultural interactions and contrasts across these different linguistic codes. The modes of literary and intertextual interplay in such and other learned bilingual contexts constitute a fruitful text-focused path for further study, especially since it remains to be seen to what extent pagan and Christian motifs co-occurred and perhaps correlated with the languages used and the intertexts alluded to. Given that the imprimatur was usually lent by people not having Greek, one might expect these pieces, if not accompanied by a translation, to allow more room for heresies and other controversial contents than Latin texts. As such, the themes one can focus on go far beyond strictly literary ones. For instance, a comparative approach would also lend itself to historical gender research, which has flourished over the past few decades. What gender roles are construed for women across the different poetical media of Latin and Greek?[315] How are these roles shaped in the exceptional cases where women wrote Latin and Greek themselves, including the Italian classical scholar Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526–1555) and the Dutch polyglot academic Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)?

Such and other sociohistorical questions are all the more interesting when applied to sources with transregional and transconfessional dimensions, such as the epitaph collections for Erasmus and Johannes Straselius, to stick with the text type which has been in focus in this section—or for gender, the Latin and Greek laudations in honor of someone like Anna Maria van Schurman, as well as her multilingual correspondence with prominent figures in and beyond the Low Countries.[316] A likely conclusion will be that Latin–Greek bilingual literature formed the product of a "cosmopolitan philology" in Karla Mallette's sense.[317] Contrary to the vernaculars, Latin and Greek were literary media unrestricted in terms of both space and time, as authors could use them to connect their compositions with texts and themes across the borders of time and territory.

4.2 *New Ancient Greek Receptions*

In terms of reception studies, scholars of New Ancient Greek texts have reflexively looked for the ancient models which the authors imitated and tried to

315 See e.g. the 1612 Γαμήλιον *Graeco-Syrum* by Christophorus Crinesius in Slavíková 2022, 297–98.

316 Erasmi Epitaphia 1537; Erasmus 1537; Epitaphia in Stracelium 1558. For Erasmus, cf. Section 3.2. On Straselius, see also Section 3.4. On van Schurman's Greek work and laudations in her honor, see van Beek 2018; 2020.

317 Mallette 2014.

emulate, mostly Greek but sometimes also Latin. This study is facilitated by the availability of searchable corpora such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, which may in the near future perhaps be easily automatable, at least for a large part.[318] One should, however, supplement this valuable approach by looking at the legacy of New Ancient Greek pieces themselves in and beyond the early modern world, a research path that will prove to be much more difficult than classically oriented studies of intertextuality because of the poor availability of early modern texts, especially those in New Ancient Greek (cf. Section 3.1) but also many in Neo-Latin. Looking at the fragmentary evidence unearthed thus far, it is safe to conclude that at least a number of texts enjoyed a certain audience, which showed their engagement with these pieces in different ways. For instance, a diverse image emerges from Erasmus' small corpus of Greek poems, most of which I have already discussed in Section 3. Readers repurposed a Greek line of his bilingual epitaph for Batt for their own family members (Section 3.3). Alardus of Amsterdam translated Erasmus' prayer to the Virgin of Walsingham into Latin, whereas Levinus Ammonius and Arnoldus Oridryus responded to his epitaph for Uutenhove (Section 3.4). Finally, the dialogue decorating Grynaeus' new Aristotle received multiple receptions in individual copies of different editions, ranging from total erasure by a strictly Catholic anonymous reader, who wanted nothing to do with the prohibited author Erasmus, to a close reading by another reader, a certain Michael Spelt, who provided the poem with a handwritten Latin word-for-word translation in his copy.[319]

The reception of New Ancient Greek pieces typically seems to have involved translation, usually into Neo-Latin, and sometimes even emulation in Latin, Greek, or both. An interesting and revealing case dates to the very beginning of the seventeenth century. The great classical scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger challenged his favorite pupil Daniel Heinsius to describe the wonders of Holland in a poetic contest. Scaliger organized such contests on different occasions, according to a letter Heinsius addressed in 1602 to Janus Dousa (1545–1604), the humanist who had invited Scaliger to Leiden to succeed to Justus Lipsius. The challenge initially revolved around a Latin poem,

318 See the extensive source apparatus and notes in F. Pontani and Weise 2022b. The search for models currently still requires a major time investment by scholars, as they need to search for specific collocations of words using various kinds of proximity queries. For classical reception studies more generally, see e.g. the reference work by Grafton, Most, and Settis 2010.

319 Van Rooy 2023 [in press].

but Scaliger suddenly presented Heinsius with versions "vtraque linguâ a se conscripta," "drawn up by him in both languages."[320] The student could not lag behind and composed two versions himself; in 1602, 22-year-old Heinsius printed all four versions together with his Neo-Latin tragedy *Auriacus*.[321] I focus here on Scaliger's versions, which enjoyed a particularly rich reception, even receiving ideological dimensions.[322]

In rather difficult Greek, larded with rare terms, Scaliger mused:

Carmen de mirandis Bataviae

Ignorata tuae referam miracula terrae,
Dousa, peregrinis non habitura fidem.
omnia lanitium hic lassat textrina Minervae;
lanigeros tamen hinc scimus abesse greges.
non capiunt operas fabriles oppida vestra;
nulla fabris tamen haec ligna ministrat humus.
horrea triticeae rumpunt hic frugis acervi;
pascuus hic tamen est, non Cerealis ager.
hic numerosa meri stipantur dolia cellis;
quae vineta colat nulla putator habet.
hic nulla aut certe seges est rarissima lini;
linifici tamen est copia maior ubi?
hic mediis habitamus aquis—quis credere possit?
et tamen hic nullae, Dousa, bibuntur aquae.

Ὑμετέρης ἐρέω νηπευθέα θαύματα γαίης,
Δουσιάδη, δύσπιστ' ἀλλοδαποῖς ἀΐειν.
ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἀρκοῦσ' ἐρίοις ἱστῶνες Ἀθήνης·
πῶϋ δὲ φροῦδον ἅπαν εἰροπόκων ὀΐων.
ἄστεα χειροβίους οὐ χωρεῖ τέκτονας ἄνδρας
ἐργασίμης δ' ὕλης ἔστ' ἀχόρηγον ἔδος.
σιτοδόκους πυροῦ σωροὶ ῥηγνῦσι καλιάς
βούβοτος ἡ γαίη δ', οὐ φιλόπυρος ἔφυ.
ἄπλετοι ὦδ' οἴνοιο νενασμέναι εἰσὶ πιθάκναι
οὐδενὸς οἰνοπέδου δ' ἐστὶ φυτηκομίη.
οὐδαμὸς ἢ σπάνιος τῇδε σπόρος ἐστὶ λίνοιο
ποῦ ποτὲ δ' εἰσὶ λίνου πλείονες ἐργασίαι;
οἰκίαι εἰσὶ μέσοισιν ἐν ὕδασιν. τίς κε πίθοιτο;
ὑδροποτεῖ δ' οὐδεὶς ἐνθάδε, Δουσιάδη.

I will speak about your country's unheard-of wonders, Dousa, which foreigners can hardly believe. Here, Athena's waving-mills are not sufficient for the wool; but there is no flock of woolly sheep to be seen anywhere. [5] The cities cannot contain the carpenters who live by their handiwork; yet the place is barren of workable wood. Heaps of wheat have the granaries bursting apart; yet, although grazed by cattle, the land is not particularly

320 Heinsius 1602, 86.

321 See Bloemendal 2020 for a modern edition with translation, where the bilingual paratexts are also transcribed.

322 Cf. Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 243–48, which provides the basis of the discussion here but which I supplement.

> welcoming to wheat. Huge numbers of jars, full of wine, are lined up; [10] but there is no viniculture to be found anywhere. Here, too, little or no flax is grown to make linen; yet where in the world would you find more linen-workshops than here? Houses stand in the midst of water—who would believe this? And yet, nobody here drinks water, Dousa![323]

Providing a full comparison with Heinsius' versions would be tangential, but overall the student proved himself a metrically suppler and lexically less arcane poet than his professor.[324] Heinsius' conclusion turned out to be not as pointy and obviously oxymoronic as Scaliger's:

> Tantalidæ nos Dousa sumus: circumdamur vnda, 13
> Et tamen hanc tantas quis bibit inter aquas?
>
> Ταντᾰλικὸν γένος ἐσμέν, ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖς στεφόμεσθα
> τίς δὲ τόσων γεύει, Δουσιάδη, ποταμῶν;
>
> We belong to Tantalus' stock, as we are surrounded by rivers, but who can taste of so many rivers, Dousa?[325]

The Lowlandish poet Heinsius tried to preserve the marveling of his professor's original version but failed to maintain the distance between himself and Batavia's wonders that emerged from the Greek version of the outsider Scaliger, who was of Italo-French extraction. This failure appears first and foremost from Heinsius' repeated use of first-person plural verbs (e.g. l. 13), entirely absent from Scaliger's Greek composition and much less pronounced in his Latin version (see *habitamus* in l. 13). Heinsius identified as a fellow countryman of his addressee Janus Dousa, whereas Scaliger restricted himself to remarking that he, too, lived in the Batavian wetlands, and thus suggested that he maintained distance of identity from the Batavians.

As such, Scaliger's versions had the benefit of sincerity, which Heinsius' emulation lacked, despite its better poetical quality overall. In any case, the early moderns also seem to have appreciated the atmosphere in Scaliger's versions better than that of Heinsius' derivative version. Coming from an outsider,

323 The English translates the Greek; both are taken from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 243–45. The Latin version is adopted from van den Berg et al. 1993, 3.

324 My stylistic assessment is guided by van den Berg et al. 1993, 59, n. 50.

325 Again, the English translates the Greek, both from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 247. The Latin is from Heinsius 1602, 88.

the piece probably appealed to the Dutch sense of patriotic pride, and came to be included, without attribution to Scaliger, in the 1630 edition of Hugo Grotius' *Liber de antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae* (*Book on the Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*), where the Latin version was still followed by its Greek counterpart, although printed defectively.[326] As the century progressed, however, the Greek version failed to attract further attention. The poem started circulating solely in its Latin guise and was even rendered in a German version by the poet Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and an anonymous Dutch translation, seemingly first recorded by Herman Witsius (1636–1708) in 1669. Opitz knew about Heinsius' youthly piece, but consciously omitted it, even though "Daniel Heinsius, glory of the age, expressed the same with equal success, while he was still a youngster."[327] Witsius, however, only mentioned Scaliger in his *Twist des Heeren met syn Wyngaert* (*The Lord's Quarrel with His Vineyard*), a Dutch Calvinist treatise which voiced the then-widespread idea of the "particular election of the Netherlands by God."[328] Here, Scaliger's Latin poem served to corroborate, circumstantially from the perspective of admiring "foreigners" ("Vremdelinghen"), this Calvinist view. In order to give it a wider audience, Witsius cited a rhyming Dutch version after the Latin, introduced as follows:

> 't Welck ymant in onse *Duytsche* tale aldus heeft overgheset: maer of hy de aerdigheydt van *'t Latijn* gheevenaert heeft/ laet ick den verstandigen Leser oordeelen.[329]
>
> Which someone has translated into Dutch as follows: but whether he equaled the pleasantness of the Latin, I leave to the prudent reader to judge.

Perhaps Witsius translated the poem himself, but out of modesty and doubt about his literary skills, whether feigned or not, he did not make his contribution explicit. Whatever the case, having the Latin–Greek poem also appear in a Dutch version served his patriotic argumentation well. Additionally, Witsius exploited the foreign origins of Scaliger, "the prince among scholars" ("die *Prince* der Geleerden"), to formulate his patriotically inspired Calvinist claims, which might be an additional reason why Heinsius is absent here.

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326 Grotius 1630, 12–13.

327 Opitz 1645, 2:331: "Eadem pari felicitate decus seculi Dan. Heinsius expressit, tum etiam adolescens." Opitz' German version follows this remark on pp. 331–32.

328 Groenhuis 1981, 122.

329 Witsius 1669, 115. The Dutch version follows on pp. 115–16. The reference to "foreigners" is on p. 114.

Other poets engaged in still different ways with Scaliger's piece. For instance, an anonymous Dutch author translated in the early eighteenth century the final lines of the poem, appreciated as "very nice" ("Gantsch aartig"), whereas the Catholic convert and historian of typography Bernhard von Mallinckrodt (1591–1664) emulated Scaliger's Latin version by adding wonders his predecessor had omitted and neglected.[330] Mallinckrodt did so by way of playful prelude to his milestone dissertation on typography, in which he refuted Dutch claims on the invention of typography by Laurens Jansz. Coster (*c.*1370–*c.*1440) from Haarlem in favor of Johann Gutenberg (*c.*1400–1468) from Mainz. His emulation of Scaliger served not only to amuse the reader, but also to show his audience that he had nothing against the Dutch per se, and that he admired their intellectual and theological contributions. Hence, his refutation of Dutch claims did not result from a personal vendetta or "malice towards the Dutch" but rather reflected a quest for historical truth.[331]

In sum, although Heinsius is usually regarded as the most accomplished Greek author from the Low Countries, he had to give the crown to his master Scaliger in this particular poetical contest, something which Heinsius realized himself. What is more, he claims to have found himself bested by Scaliger all the time in their playful scholarly competition: "so it happens that he hands me his poems, and receives mine in their place, truly *gold for bronze*."[332] Although this no doubt reflects the topos of modesty and a feeling of respect toward his old master, Heinsius assessed their relative merits accurately in this particular case if one measures their individual success in terms of reception. It should be stressed, however, that the success of Scaliger's poem, even though it was from the start available in both Latin and Greek, depended almost exclusively on its Latin version, with the Greek only being picked up in a reedition of a work by Grotius, alongside its Latin counterpart. This fact suggests that New Ancient Greek had a limited reach, and that the success of pieces composed in it depended to a considerable extent on the availability of parallel Latin versions.[333] This hypothesis should be further tested in various ways, both for poetry and prose, for the Low Countries and beyond. It would, for instance, be rewarding to track and trace all copies of Wassenaer's *Harlemiad*, whose Greek hexameters are equipped with a Latin verbatim prose translation (see Section 3.2), and study to what extent the Greek or the Latin shows vestiges of

330 Bagchus op zyn' troon 1715, 110; von Mallinckrodt 1640, fol. ẽ 3 r. Cf. Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 245.

331 Glomski 2001, 339.

332 Heinsius 1602, 86: "ita fit vt & sua tradat mihi, & pro eis recipiat mea, reuera χρύσεα χαλκείων." The Greek code-switch echoes Homer's *Iliad* 6.235–36.

333 Cf. van Beek 2020, 284–85 for another Lowlandish example.

study. This investigation could be complemented by looking for traces of use of the *Harlemiad* in later historiography, and to what extent this use relied on the Greek original or the Latin version. Additionally, bilingual poetical contests and exercises of imitation and emulation deserve further study, especially since it seems that Heinsius continued this practice with his own pupils, including Johannes Foreestius, with whom he lived for a while, and—more broadly—since the classroom setting of many Greek compositions also created the conditions for such competitive poetical practices.[334]

4.3 *Self-Translation and Beyond: a Historical Laboratory for Translation Studies*

With New Ancient Greek, the topic of translation is never far away, as the previous sections have amply indicated. In fact, the early modern corpus of New Ancient Greek texts, embedded as it was in a Neo-Latin world, offers the modern scholar a unique laboratory for translation studies, since it represents many different types of translations, especially for poetry, and hence allows the scholar to complement the growing body of literature on early modern translation culture.[335] Indeed, Latin–Greek translation practices went far beyond the humanist program of Latinizing the Greek heritage, which has attracted much attention already, especially to the method of translation adopted. This methodology is typically discussed as an opposition between *ad sententiam* and *ad verbum* approaches (cf. Section 1.1). The cultivation of classical bilingualism instead engendered a broad range of relationships between original text and translation, and in both directions: from New Ancient Greek to Neo-Latin and vice versa. Authors could write a text in Greek and then translate it into Latin themselves, as Erasmus did with his Batt epitaph (see Section 3.3). This self-translation provides interesting research paths, as I argue in this section.[336]

It can be very difficult to determine which version constituted the original and which the self-translation.[337] What is more, a writer might misrepresent the Greek version as an original text, even though they ultimately based it on a Latin version. This is what the Bruges Latin professor Jacobus Cruquius (d. 1584) did in a Latin–Greek poem he wrote for Goltzius' 1563 *Iulius Caesar*

334 Cf. de Vries 2007; Rhein 2017.

335 See e.g. a wide-ranging volume like Newman and Tylus 2015. New Ancient Greek prose is found much more rarely in translation, as pointed out by Päll 2020, 427. Yet, the Greek prose of certain illustrious Hellenists did receive Neo-Latin translations, such as the 55 Greek letters by Guillaume Budé, which in 1574 appeared in a Neo-Latin translation by Antoine Pichon, made primarily for didactic purposes: see Cattaneo 2022.

336 On self-translation, see e.g. Grutman 2008; Päll forthcoming.

337 See Päll forthcoming for some very useful methodological observations.

(see Section 3.2). The poem "on the resurrection of Rome" (Εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναβιῶσαν) appears there first in Greek, then in Latin (*Idem Latine*), suggesting that the composition of the Greek preceded that of the Latin version.[338] However, aside from the unease with Greek versification Cruquius showed in certain phrases and odd forms, the original wordplay of the Latin was lost in the Greek, as a comparison of the last of the five elegiac couplets shows:

Αττα ἴδου κέρατι πλήρει σοὶ ΧΡΥΣΕ᾽ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ
ΕΥΦΟΡΙΑ πλήρει φίλτατε χειρὶ χέει.

9 En pleno cornu quæ largiter AVREA SÆCLI
HVBERTAS plena fundit amice manu.[339]

> Look, with full horn, with well-filled hand, the ABUNDANCE of a GOLDEN AGE pours forth no matter what for you, my dear.[340]

The capitals punned on Hubertus Goltzius' name, Goltz referring to gold (Middle Dutch *goltsch*; German *Gold*), and Hubertus being associated with the Latin noun *ubertas*, here aspirated as *hubertas* to make the link explicit. The pun at the same time formed the device of Goltzius' publishing house, but was not replicated in the Greek version where *hubertas* became εὐφορία. It must be granted, however, that in the opposite direction a pun on the name of the city of Rome in Greek, Ῥώμη, and the formally identical Greek noun for "strength," ῥώμη, was lost in the Latin version, which might suggest that the poet worked on both versions at the same time, perhaps in different rounds, jumping from the Latin to the Greek and back again. There are, however, other strong indications that Cruquius mainly based his Greek on his Latin, despite the impression he conveyed. Most notably, the ἄθρήν in the phrase ἄθρήν […] κόνιν ἐκκατέσεισε is obscure, since this must have meant something like "he shook off the dark dust," in parallel to Latin "cineres […] dispulit atros." It seems that Cruquius simply gave a Greek coating to the Latin adjective *atros*, from *ater*, "black, dark," with a slight adaptation (⟨t⟩ to ⟨θ⟩). This example allows to hypothesize that humanists could use self-translation to show their poetic

338 Alternatively, Cruquius might have considered Greek the older language, which is why he put the Greek version first. It is impossible to identify his motivations with certainty, but the order of presentation suggests that Cruquius thought the Greek version took precedence over the Latin in some way.

339 The Greek and Latin are quoted from Goltzius 1563, fol. b iv r. Cf. Slavíková 2022, 300 for a similar case.

340 The English, which translates the Greek, is from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 105, whose discussion of the linguistic problems with Cruquius' Greek I partly incorporate here.

capital, and to present themselves as classical bilinguals, even if closer scrutiny reveals a heavy debt to Latin, and hence a noticeably imbalanced bilingualism.

Unlike for translations of ancient or medieval texts into Neo-Latin or, more unusually, New Ancient Greek, the base language can remain unclear in learned bilingual versions. Cruquius' case is ambiguous, although the oddities in the Greek version indicate that he probably composed the poem in Latin first. One finds even more ambiguity in the Scaliger–Heinsius contest on the wonders of Batavia, where one finds skillfully composed Latin and Greek versions that show no obvious mutual transfer (cf. Section 4.4). In this particular case, however, the order of the versions in different sources, manuscript and print, suggests that they started from a Latin base. In addition, Heinsius' letter to Janus Dousa, printed on the page preceding the wonders poems in their first edition, suggests that their usual *modus operandi* was to translate a Latin piece into Greek.[341] The motivations behind the widespread practice of self-translation, and the different degrees of success authors achieved deserve further study, as they go beyond mere self-fashioning. Looking at the writers' envisaged engagement with their audience, other motivations for self-translation played a role. For example, self-translation could perhaps be a form of courtesy toward the readers, many of whom would not have been able to enjoy the Greek versions.[342] Providing a Latin alternative, furthermore, could partly have been a preemptive strategy by the author to show that a publication did not contain anything religiously reproachable, and hence pass censorship more smoothly. Motivations should, however, be investigated for each individual case before one can make any meaningful generalizations on this topic.

For a particularly rich case study, I propose looking at Daniel Heinsius' *Quomodo vinum sit bibendum inter amicos* (*How to Drink Wine among Friends*), which first appeared in 1616 among his close friend Petrus Scriverius' (1576–1660) notes to Heinsius' richly illustrated Dutch *Hymnus oft Lof-sanck van Bacchus* (*Hymn or Praise of Bacchus*):

341 Heinsius 1602, 86: "Ille [*sc.* Scaliger], quotiescunq[ue] me videt (quod fit quotidie) lacessam te inquit mi Heinsi, ac cum dicto Martialem arripit ac epigramma aliquod in Græcum sermone[m] conuertendum proponit mihi, idemque agit ipse: ita fit vt & sua tradat mihi, & pro eis recipiat mea, reuera χρύσεα χαλκείων." See also Section 4.2, where the same letter is partly cited.

342 Cf. van Beek 2020, 290: "Latin was the *lingua franca* in the *Res Publica Litteraria* and that is perhaps the reason that the poems, composed in Greek, appear in Latin versions as well."

Quomodo vinum sit bibendum inter amicos

Ὤφελε μηδ᾽ ἐγένου ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ μερόπεσσι Λυαῖε,
μηδέ σ᾽ ἔτικτεν ὅλως ἐκ Διὸς ἡ Σεμέλη
λίην γὰρ δύσχρηστος ἔφυς χαλεπός τε πελάσσαι·
οὐ φευκτὸν πάντῃ χρῆμα, καὶ οὐ παριτόν.
Ὅς γάρ σε στυγέῃσιν, ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἀέξει
νηφάλεον πένθος, τὸ στόμα δ᾽ οἱ δέδεται.
Οὐδ᾽ ὅγε συσσίτοισιν ἔπος φίλον ἐκταμιεύοι
δύσμορος, οὐδ᾽ ἑτάροις ἀνδράσιν ἐν θαλίῃ.
Ὅς δέ σ᾽ ἄγαν φιλέῃσιν, ἀνύμφευτόν τε πίῃσιν,
ἀμφότερον καὶ νοῦν καὶ πόδας ἀστατέει.
Πολλάκι μὲν βάζων τόπερ ἦν ἄρρητον ἄμεινον,
οἷά τις ἐν πεδίῳ πῶλος ἀφηνιάσας.
Ὅς δὲ μόνος σοφός ἐστιν, ὃς ἂν πίνῃσι, γαμίσκων
τὸν Βρόμιον Νύμφαις, τὴν Χάριν Ἁρποκράτει.[343]

How to Drink Wine among Friends

If only you had never been among the people, Lyaeus,[344] and if only Semele had by no means given birth to you, by Zeus' doing! For you are hard to use well, and difficult to deal with: a thing impossible to escape in any way, and yet inaccessible. [5] For anyone who hates you nourishes in his heart a sober sorrow, and his mouth is tied shut. And he would not be able to treat his commensals to a pleasant word, the poor chap, not even his buddies at a party. Yet, anyone who loves you too much, and drinks you without the Nymphs,[345] [10] has both a restless mind and restless feet. Often he says what was better left unsaid, like a foal in the field that refuses the reins. Wise is only he, who while drinking pairs Bromius with the Nymphs,[346] and Charis with Harpocrates.[347]

343 Original text in Heinsius 1616, 31–32, but I cite from Van Rooy 2021b, based on D. Heinsius 1649, 569–70. My English translation is inspired by the Dutch translation in Van Rooy 2021b.

344 *Sc.* Dionysus as personification of wine.

345 *Sc.* without water; neat. Heinsius gave a new meaning to ἀνύμφευτος, which usually means "unwedded." See Liddell et al. 1996, s.v.

346 *Sc.* wine with water, Bromius being an epithet of Dionysus, and the Nymphs metonymically referring to their habitat: water.

347 *Sc.* joy with silence, Charis personifying joy and Harpocrates being the Greek god of silence.

In its first edition, the poem accompanied a reference in Heinsius' long Dutch hymn to Dionysus' childhood, during which nymphs nursed him. This reference to the nymphs and their wet habitats led Scriverius to a commentary on the importance of water for wine, not only for growing vines, but also "because wine drunk without water is harmful."[348] In order to further support this observation, he added a previously unpublished Greek epigram by Heinsius, "in which it was shown how one should consume wine."[349] After offering the Greek original, Scriverius noted that "the poet himself translated it into two languages, into Latin word for word [...] and into our mother tongue," and presented the Latin and Dutch versions of Heinsius' Greek poem.[350]

It is unclear why Heinsius chose to turn this poem into a trilingual composition, but the nature of the piece and the translation methods adopted can help one figure out his motivations. To begin with, although in the first place an epigram with a pointed ending, the poem also offered the reader guidelines about wine consumption, and is hence playfully didactic, too. As such, Heinsius might have thought it fitting to present it to a wider audience not only by translating it more or less verbatim—but nonetheless still metrically—into Latin, but also by offering a free translation into Dutch, a language in which Heinsius also loved to muse, as his Bacchus hymn shows, but which is quite exceptional to find in connection to New Ancient Greek (see Section 3.2). This constellation of translations suggests that the status of the Latin and Dutch versions differed. The Latin seems to have served a double function, one audience-oriented, the other in service of the poet himself. On the one hand, Heinsius could not expect to have a wide readership in Greek, so he offered them a closely similar Latin version, which might encourage the reader to study the Greek by comparing it with the Latin. On the other hand, it seems that translating the original Greek into Latin elegiac couplets constituted a linguistic and literary exercise for Heinsius himself, an impression strengthened by the title the Latin version carries in the 1649 edition of his poems, edited by his son Nicolaus Heinsius (1620–1681). There, the Latin version is said to have been "translated extempore," which might suggest that Heinsius wanted to exercise, and perhaps display, his classical bilingual poetic skills.

348 Scriverius in D. Heinsius 1616, 31: "om dat de wijn gedroncken sonder water, schadelicken is."

349 Scriverius in D. Heinsius 1616, 31: "VVaer in getoont wert, Hoemen de wijn behoort te gebruycken."

350 Scriverius in D. Heinsius 1616, 32: "Het welcke de Poëet selve in tweederley talen overgeset heeft: int Latijn van woorde tot woorde [...] Ende in onse moederlicke tale."

Idem Latine conversum, ex tempore.

Dii facerent natus nunquam esses, Bacche, nec esset
Te propter Semele de Iove facta parens.
Usu difficilis quippe es, tangique recusas,
Vitatu pariter pessimus atque aditu.
Qui nimium namque odit, ei sub pectore fixa est
Sobrietas tristis, linguaque vincta manet:
Nec gratum in mensa convivis promere dictum,
Aut inter socios fundere verba potest.
At qui multus amat, nec Nymphis jungere curat,
Non pede, non animo constitit ille suo:
Sæpius effundens, quod dictum postmodo nollet,
Ut loro in campis se sine jactat equus.
At sapiens bibet, ut thalamo conjungat eodem,
Et Bromium Nymphis, & Charin Harpocrati.[351]

Freer than the Latin, the 16-line Dutch version in alexandrines works with rhyme, alternating feminine with masculine rhyme, a metrical scheme Heinsius also used in his *Hymn or Praise of Bacchus*:

Och of ghy noeyt en waert uyt Semele genomen
Door Iupiters toe doen, en hier by ons gekomen.
Want het gebruyck van u, is moeyelijck en quaet,
Het sy dat men u neemt, het sy dat men u laet.
Want, Bacche, die dy schout, is dadelick geschonden,
Zijn hert is vol van rou, de tonge staet gebonden.
Soo dat hy niet en kan by vrienden aen den dis
Een reden brengen voort, die om te lacchen is.
Maer die de Nymphen vlien, en u te seer beminnen,
Die worden schielick los van voeten en van sinnen,
Gelijck een peert dat holt: en smijten dicwils uyt
Dat best geswegen waer, en niet te veel en sluyt.

351 Heinsius 1649, 569–70. I do not translate the Latin version here because of its great similarity to the Greek original, and for reasons of space. It would, however, be interesting to systematically compare Latin and Greek versions of the same text—here and in other cases—to find patterns of variation across the different languages, if any, and the motivations behind them.

Daerom is hy wel wijs, en sal alleen beklijven,
En vroeylick in den dranck en sonder schade blijven,
Die voecht vier saecken t'saem die quaet te voegen sijn,
Het swijgen by de vreucht, de Nymphen by de wijn.

Oh, if only you had never been born from Semele, by Jupiter's doing, and come to us here. For consuming you is difficult and harmful, whether one has you, or abstains from you. [5] For, Bacchus, anyone who shuns you is at once harmed; his heart is full of sorrow, his tongue is tied shut, so that he cannot utter among friends at the table any words that make them laugh. But those who flee the Nymphs, and love you too much, [10] at once loosen up their feet and mind, like a horse that bolts, and often blurt out something which was best kept silent, and which does not disclose too much. Wise, therefore, is he, and only he will make profit, and remain happy and undamaged while drinking, [15] who joins four things that are hard to join: silence with joy, the Nymphs with the wine.

This *ad sententiam* version has a less learned, and hence less arcane, air, especially since the pointed ending has lost three of its proper names, only maintaining the reference to the well-known nymphs as personifications of water. As such, Heinsius' most important message, the moderate use of wine, came clearly across to the reader, untangled in excessive metaphors, and pointedly reiterating a theme which also featured prominently in his longer Dutch Bacchus hymn. For instance, similar advice for wise wine consumption found a succinct expression there on line 497: "Moderation is best."[352] In sum, the Dutch version neatly dovetailed not only with Heinsius' Greek poem but also with his Dutch hymn, to which it was connected by means of its theme, its meter, and its intended audience.[353] More generally, this complex case shows that self-translation practices involving classical bilingualism should be carefully analyzed with respect to the poet's intentions and intended audience.

Beyond self-translation, classical bilingualism presents other peculiar socio-cultural and intellectual uses of translation, which remain to be mapped. Heinsius' case suggests that *ad verbum* translation was intended to ease comprehension, a use most apparent from pedagogically inspired renderings

352 Heinsius 1616, 22: "De middelmaet is best."

353 For a similar interesting case featuring a vernacular (Castilian Spanish in this case), Latin, and Greek, see Barton 2022.

such as Wassenaer's Latin prose version of his own *Harlemiad*.[354] *Ad sententiam* translation, in turn, could have various functions, often serving to show poetical prowess and cultural capital. If a fellow humanist produced such a free version, translation could obtain an honorific character. For instance, I have already mentioned that Alardus of Amsterdam rendered Erasmus' Greek votive prayer into Latin and sent it to him shortly after it was first published in 1515 (Section 3.4). The *ad sententiam* nature of Alardus' version is stressed in the heading he gave to it when he first published it in 1538: "Erasmi Roter. Græcum carmen Iambicum ex uoto dicatum uirgini uualsingamicæ apud Britanos latinitate donatum."[355] Using a typical humanist expression, Alardus "bestowed" Erasmus' Greek poem "with Latinity." Similarly, but more substantially, Daniel Heinsius' *Peplus* was translated into Latin verses by the Tübingen humanist Friedrich Hermann Flayder (1596–1644), who published his bilingual edition in 1618.[356] Given the frequency of such practices, one might speak of a humanist practice of honorific translation, which typically served to honor a fellow scholar but could cache other underlying motivations. For instance, honorific translation could also be a means to gain the favor of a more accomplished or a socially and financially more successful colleague, a motivation no doubt at stake for Alardus with Erasmus. Honorific and pedagogical incentives could also coincide, as they seem to have done in Mekerchus' Latin *ad verbum* version of Henri II Estienne's Greek verse translation of an elegy by Propertius, all published together as an appendix to Mekerchus' 1565 Bion and Moschus edition that appeared at the *Officina Goltziana* in Bruges.[357] This textbook no doubt served pedagogical needs, but Mekerchus' translation of Estienne's Greek rendering of Propertius might also have been a way to get into the grace of the renowned scholar-printer—successfully, it seems, as Estienne came to greatly appreciate Mekerchus' work on the pronunciation of Ancient Greek in later decades.[358]

Further interesting paths to explore include word choice in translations, especially with regard to proper names, ethnonyms, and puns, as they might reveal subtle differences between the Greek and Latin versions. These nuances can cast light on diplomatic issues or otherwise sensitive topics, as a recent study by Grigory Vorobyev has shown. Vorobyev argues that the fifteenth-century Byzantine émigré Theodore Gaza translated a "hardly […] humanistic"

354 Cf. also Gärtner 2020, 228 on Matthaeus Gothus' *Daniel* of 1573, and Weise 2022b, 500 on John Christopherson's *Jephthah* of 1544–1547.

355 Erasmus 1538, fol. D vi r.

356 Heinsius 1618.

357 See Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 92.

358 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022a, 94, n. 98.

Latin letter from Pope Nicholas V to the last Byzantine emperor *ad sententiam* into Atticizing Greek, trying to bridge "a gap between the Latin and Byzantine cultures," and thereby accommodating the letter's western ethnogeographical framework to that of its Byzantine addressee.[359] Additionally, through translation one sometimes finds poems that would have otherwise been entirely unknown. For instance, Wassenaer's Greek *xenion* commissioned by the Haarlem city council survives only in a Latin version, whereas a now lost Latin poem from 1642 by a certain Pieter Geesteranus seems to have been Hellenized by his uncle Johannes Foreestius, whose translation is extant.[360] Finally, the presence of Latin translations can help researchers better understand the sometimes obscure originals in New Ancient Greek and even allow readers to make adequate conjectures. For instance, Filippomaria Pontani has done so for a Spanish specimen, where he replaced the form θεὸν with τεὸν in the phrase τὸν δὲ τεὸν πλοῦτον Θεὸς ἄβροτος αἰὲν ἀέξοι, "and may the immortal God always increase your wealth," because the Latin translation reads *tuas divitias*.[361] In short, research into Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism has much to offer to translation studies scholars interested in the historical development of translation techniques, especially in terms of self-translation and the socio-cultural functions of translating.

4.4 *Latinate Greek: a Peculiar Case of Linguistic Transfer*

Latin–Greek translation activity was very intense in early modern Europe, first and foremost of Ancient Greek texts into Neo-Latin. To a much more limited extent, scholars tried their hands at New Ancient Greek translations of ancient Latin texts, such as Henri II Estienne's version of an elegy by Propertius (see Section 4.3), and Heinsius' Doric rendering of Vergil's tenth *Ecloga*.[362] Translation from Neo-Latin to New Ancient Greek and vice versa also occurred quite frequently, as I have highlighted in the previous section. Furthermore, Greek always came in third, at best, after a scholar's mother tongue and his second language Latin, through the prism of which they learned Greek. As I

359 Vorobyev 2020, quote on p. 11.

360 On Wassenaer, see van de Venne 2000. The information on Geesteranus comes from the Dutch forum *Wat staat daer?* at <https://watstaatdaer.nl/forum/grieks-gedicht-uit-1642?mc_cid=97327d4426&mc_eid=840f0a0b47>, last accessed 11 February 2022, with thanks to Anneloes Maas Geesteranus, descendant of Pieter Geesteranus. The letter and poem are preserved in Alkmaar, Regionaal Archief, 0685 Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Foreest, 1422–1979, III P.1.1. 62. For similar cases from France, see Sanchi, Flamand, and Menini 2022, 375–76, 380.

361 F. Pontani 2022a, 572–73.

362 van den Berg et al. 1993, 64–69, offers the Greek text with Dutch translation.

have noted (Section 3.4), learning Greek typically involved various translation exercises from and into Latin. As a result, Latin and Greek formed a natural pair, and this close association created the conditions for what a present-day linguist would call language transfer.[363] Typically, language transfer involves the application of elements from one language, often one's first native language (L1), to another, usually a second, nonnative language (L2), although it also frequently occurs with native bilinguals. In the case of Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism, usually imbalanced toward greater knowledge of Latin, Latin was already the L2 language, which makes Greek the L3. In this peculiar learned sociolinguistic set-up, Latin prosodic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and orthographic elements often crept into Greek usage. Early modern learned bilingualism, then, leaves the historical linguist with an exceptional kind of learned L2–L3 language transfer in the form of a Latinate Greek.

Throughout Sections 3 and 4, I have drawn passing attention to cases of language transfer, such as Jacobus Cruquius' odd Greek adjective ἄθρος (Section 4.3), presumably rendering Latin *ater*.[364] Course notes moreover show that alphabet switches posed problems for students, while Greek was often pronounced following Latin stress rules.[365] Existing secondary literature has continued to stress the great influence of Latin metrical schemes on Greek poetry, which future scholars can also analyze and interpret in terms of language transfer, going beyond passing remarks.[366] To offer a concrete example, in Juan de Verzosa's bilingual collection of epitaphs on Rutger Rescius, one of the Greek poems featured the Latinate form Αονίδων in the genitive plural, which the poet probably Hellenized based on his Latin knowledge:

> This word occurs only very rarely in the extant Greek text corpus, always with a clear link to the Latin west: in Maximus Planudes' translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in Francesco Filelfo's Greek poetry, and in a poem by Ausonius in the appendix to the *Anthologia Graeca*. In fact, the

363 See e.g. N. C. Ellis 2008, 383–85. The phenomenon is also known as "interference," mostly in older scholarship.

364 For another case of lexicosemantic language transfer, see the odd usage of μέτωπον–*frons* by Jamot in Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 232–35.

365 E.g. Feys and Van Rooy 2022, DaLeT ID 1136: "βοητους αυξιλiatores" for "βοηθοὺς auxiliatores," as bilingual gloss for the Greek word ἀμύντορας at Hom. *Od.* 2.326. On Latinate stress in pronouncing Greek, see F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 14.

366 Cf. Akujärvi et al. 2022, 727: "As elsewhere in Europe, Humanist Greek metrics are often influenced by the (Neo-)Latin tradition, which can be seen in a preference for certain types of caesurae and epodic verses" (with the references in footnote there). See e.g. also F. Pontani and Weise 2022a, 7, 12–13.

> author of this poem has likely borrowed it from Latin writers like Ovid and Juvenal into Greek, just like Filelfo had done before him.[367]

Scholars have also observed that the use of Greek subjunctives expanded to cover functions reserved for the optative in Ancient Greek, under the influence of the Latin subjunctive. For instance, in his youthful Pindaric ode, Hugo Grotius wrote what seems to be a subjunctive, δύνητ⟨αι⟩, on line 161, where classical syntax would require the optative δύναιτο:

> Τὰ δὲ νῦν ὅ γε ταλικοῦτον ὄλβον,
> ἠδὲ θησαυρὸν μάει,
> οὔ ποτε χειμέριος τὸν ἐριβρόμου
> νεφέλας στρατὸς ὄμβρος ἐπακτός,
> οὐ σίδηρος, οὔποτ᾽ ἀλκὴ
> ἀνεμόδρομος ἂν δύνητ᾽ ἀπόλλειν,
> οὐ πότμος, οὐδ᾽ ἄποτμος,
> ἀνάριθμος ἀριθμὸς δ᾽ ἐτέων
> τοῦτον μηδὲν ἔχει βλαβέειν.

> And now is he [Frederik Hendrik of Nassau] pursuing such a great bliss, and a treasure, which neither an invading army of stormy rain from a loud-roaring cloud, [160] nor iron, nor a force swift as the wind, could ever destroy. Neither can destiny, not even an ill-starred one, nor an innumerable number of years in any way harm it.[368]

Alternatively, Grotius may have intended an unattested form like δύνη⟨το⟩ as a kind of optative form contracted out of expected δύναιτο, since the original print seems to have a faint iota subscriptum, not previously noticed.[369] In this case, the example would not be one of language transfer from Latin but of young Grotius' poor mastery of Greek verb morphology.

For my main example of language transfer, I want to delve briefly into a bilingual collection of bucolic poems authored by Daniel Heinsius' housemate Johannes Foreestius, who in 1605, at the age of nineteen, published his *Idylls* and other poems (Εἰδύλλια ἢ Ἥρωες, καὶ ἄλλα ποιημάτιά τινα / *Idyllia siue*

367 Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 37. See poem A1, l. 44, cited in Section 4.1.

368 Text and translation from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 236 & 238. Cf. Meulenbroek 1973, 31.

369 Grotius 1595, 10: Ανεμόδρομος ἂν δύνητ᾽ ἀπόλλειν.

Heroes, et alia poematia quædam) with Raphelengius' Plantin office.[370] One of Foreestius' *Idylls* concerns the nymph Beroe, whom Dionysus woos in vain:

Τὴν πρότερος προσέειπεν ἐϋστέφανος Διόνυσος·
"Παρθένε, τί πτῶκας μεθέπεις; Οὐκ ἄξιος ἄγρη·
μητέρος ἥτε θεῶν πέλε θηρήτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
Καὶ σὺ θεοὺς θήρευε, κακαῖς λίπε θηρία κούραις.
Μηδ' ἐρέοις 'ἑτέρων πέλομαι ἀδίδακτος ἀέθλων',
παρθενικὴ οὕτως ἑτέρων ἀδίδακτος ἀέθλων
βέβληκας Διόνυσον ἄτερ τόξων καὶ ὀϊστῶν.
Τῷ κεν ἐγὼ κόσμοιο μέρος τρίτον ἄστεά θ' εἷλον
μυρία, παρθενικῇ ἀταλῇ ἵνα κύρμα γένωμαι;
Ἀλλά με κουρίδιον μοῦνον τελέσειας ἀκοίτην,
ὅσσον ἐγὼν ἵδρωσα πόνον τοι προῖκα παρέξω,
Βάκχον δ' Ἰνδοφόνον, σὺ δὲ Βακχοφόνος καλέσαιο.
Ἄρτιός ἐστι γάμος, σὺ γὰρ ἔσσεαι Ἀφρογένεια,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐὸς υἱός· ἐπεὶ σταφυλῇσιν ὀπώρης
ἡμετέρης δύναμαι τόδ' Ἔρως μαλεροῖσιν ὀϊστοῖς."

The beautifully crowned Dionysus addressed her [Beroe] first: "Maiden, why do you pursue hares? It is not a worthy prey: [50] not for a mother [Aphrodite] who was a huntress of gods and men. You, too, should hunt gods, leave the wild animals to base girls. May you not say, "I'm not trained for other contests," you maiden, so lacking training for other contests, have hit Dionysus without bows and arrows. [55] For this I would have taken one third of the world and countless cities, to become the booty of a tender maiden? But may you make me alone your lawful husband, I will offer you as dowry everything I have toiled for, and may you call Bacchus killer of Indians, but yourself killer of Bacchus. [60] It is a suitable marriage, for you will be the foam-born [Aphrodite], but I am her son, since with the grapes of our harvest I can do this, an Eros with destructive arrows."[371]

This "schoolish poetry," which leaves little room for a poetical personality, has one remarkable linguistic feature that must betray Latin influence: it lacks

370 Foreestius 1605; text and Dutch translation in de Vries 2007. For a Dutch verse translation of Foreestius' Narcissus poem, see most recently Ingelbrecht 2021.

371 Text and translation from Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 259–60, with slight adaptations.

a feature typical of Greek but nonexistent in Latin.[372] Foreestius made little to no use of the Greek article, as the above passage reveals. Even though the Greek article has no regular use in poetry, it is striking that he did not use it in its determining function but only pronominally (ll. 48 & 55), especially since his teacher and example Daniel Heinsius certainly used articles in his poetry, as can be gathered from his wine poem (see Section 4.3).[373]

In conclusion, this exceptional situation of language transfer, from one learned language to another, offers a fruitful path for further research, which would involve mapping the entire spectrum of transfer phenomena by means of focused case studies. The opposite movement, the transferal of Greek elements to Neo-Latin, overall seems to have occurred less frequently because of the L3-status of Greek. Certain Latin phenomena may still have been influenced by Greek features: for instance, did the frequency of *quod* + finite verb constructions increase due to exposure to Greek ὅτι-constructions? Only corpus research can answer such questions. Still, in general, the presence of Greek words, passages, and phrases in Neo-Latin texts should probably be understood in the first place as the result of lexical borrowing and code-switching. Since the complexities of Greek-to-Latin borrowing processes in early modern times have attracted some attention already, although not systematically (see Section 2.1), I will focus on code-switching in the next section.

4.5 *Sprinkling Welcome Variation? Mapping the Uses of Latin–Greek Code-Switching*

As the reader will have gathered from my discussion thus far, in my view code-switching presents one of the most promising approaches to learned Latin–Greek bilingualism. The phenomenon has recurred in nearly every subsection and deserves a short, focused discussion here, mainly in order to illustrate that Guarino Veronese's motivation for using Latin-to-Greek code-switches grasps only one very superficial dimension of the phenomenon. Code-switching may indeed have been used to "sprinkle a little welcome variation" over a text (Section 2.1), but the issue is much more than a matter of humanist stylistics. Aside from this esthetic motivation, scholars could insert Greek in their Latin for various formal-linguistic, intellectual, religious-confessional, socio-cultural, and literary reasons. Code-switching contributed to expressing an argument more clearly; fashioning the self; showing one's cultural capital to

372 The appreciation of Foreestius' Greek poetry is de Vries' 2007, 24: "Het betreft schoolse poëzie waarin de persoonlijkheid van de dichter en zijn overtuigingen niet of nauwelijks aan bod komen."

373 Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 260–61.

prospective sponsors and employers; making an intellectual point by citing an authority in the original Greek; aligning oneself with an in-crowd of Hellenists; cleverly punning on various words, names, and themes; and so on.

The very first substantial specimen of Lowlandish New Ancient Greek, briefly mentioned above (Section 3.2), immediately provides a remarkable case of code-switching. In the fall of 1484, the Frisian humanist Rodolphus Agricola, then in his early forties and unaware of his impending death, was surprised by two letters from the up-and-coming humanist Johannes Reuchlin. The letters are now lost but were written at least partly in Greek.[374] Reuchlin was in Tübingen pursuing a doctorate in law at the time. Agricola himself resided in Heidelberg, where he had recently been received as a scholarly celebrity and was teaching both at the university and in private to his new patron Johann von Dalberg, the bishop of Worms. His move from Groningen to Heidelberg was also motivated by his desire to learn Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament. Coincidentally, this change of scenery brought him closer to the few libraries with Greek books that existed outside Italy at the time. Greek books worked as a magnet for Agricola, who had even declined the new chair of poetics at the university of Leuven in order to study Greek in Italy in the 1470s. In Ferrara (1475–1479) he had the opportunity to study the language with Battista Guarini, Guarino Veronese's son, and maybe also with the Byzantine migrant Theodore Gaza. Although Agricola learned Greek only in his early thirties, and started to quote Greek in his letters only in 1479, he soon reaped fame as a Hellenist, especially for his Latin translations of five works by, among others, Isocrates and Lucian. Most of them date from his time in Ferrara.

Reuchlin no doubt admired Agricola for his Greek skills, and probably wanted to gain Agricola's favor by addressing him in this language, which he had studied in Paris and Basel, and which he was then teaching in Tübingen. Agricola could of course not disappoint the young Hellenist and started answering Reuchlin's Greek letters in the same language on 9 November 1484:

> Ἔγραψάς μοι (ὡς τῇ δευτερᾳ ταῖν σου ἐπιστολαῖν κατὰ τὸ τοῖς ῥήτορσι εἰθισμένον πρότερον ἀποκρίνωμαι) ἀκούειν μέν σε ἐπαγγέλλεσθαί με τὴν ἀρετήν, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμά σοι οὐχ ὁρᾶσθαι. Πιστεύω γε ταῦτα λέγοντί σοι, ἀλλὰ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, λόγων μὰ Δία καὶ κενῶν δὴ ἀκήκοας ῥημάτων. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλομαι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὔτε δυναίμην ἄν· πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν; Καίτοι ἡγοῦμαί σε τούτων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀκούσασθαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα μὲν ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λεξάντων, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ ἤτοι διὰ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁτιοῦν εὖ λέγειν με προῃρημένων ἤτοι διὰ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀγνοίας ἐσφαλμένων.

374 On Agricola as a Greek scholar, see IJsewijn 1988.

> Ἔγωγε περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐδὲν οὔτε γενναιότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον ἂν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τολμῷμι οὐδέ, ὦ Θεός, βουλοίμην. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῦτα γε εἴ τι βέλτερον ἐδυνήθην ἄν, νυνὶ κατὰ τὴν τραγῳδοῦ γνώμην βεβαρβάρωμαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις. Χρὴ γὰρ οἶμαι τἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνδειξάντων. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλις, καὶ ἄγαν ἔτι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μοι Ἑλληνιστὶ ὡς πρὸς τὰ σὰ Ἑλληνικά· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τε καὶ γνωριμοτέρᾳ φωνῇ ἐμοί γε ἄμεινον γράφειν.
>
> In accordance with the practice of orators, let me first answer the second of your letters. You wrote to me that you hear that I am professing virtue, though you have not seen any evidence of it. I trust you to be speaking the truth, and if that is the case, by Zeus, you have heard rumors and idle talk, for I am neither professing virtue nor could I: why, indeed, and how? And yet I am sure that you have heard these or similar rumors. They have come from people who both talk to my face and about me: such people are either prejudiced to speak well of me out of goodwill toward me, or mistaken because they do not know the facts. I, for one, would not dare to profess anything about myself that was so noble or splendid, nor would I want to, by God. But besides, even if I could have professed anything better, by now I have become barbaric after being among barbarians for so long (as the tragedian would have it). I think I have to be honest about it, particularly when the very facts are self-evident. But enough on this, yes, more than enough. I have tried to write the best Greek I can in answer to your Greek. But it is better, at least for me, to write the rest in our own language, since it is better known to me.[375]

In relatively fluent Greek, Agricola tried to distance himself from the rumors Reuchlin had heard about him professing virtue. The paragraph is brief enough to suggest that the scholar from the Low Countries did not feel at ease composing in Greek, an impression confirmed by the very last sentence of the quote. Agricola preferred to continue his letter in a language much more familiar to him and went on to write another two pages in Latin, his first scholarly language, with occasional Greek interspersed at three places: a Greek word, a quote from Quintus of Smyrna, and a New Ancient Greek code-switch, addressed below.

375 Agricola 2002, 227 & 229, transl. van der Laan and Akkerman, with slight adaptation. My discussion of Agricola's code-switching is a more extensive version of the analysis in Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 448–49.

Why did Agricola choose to write Greek in his reply to Reuchlin? It seems that he mainly did so in order to meet the demands of decorum, since he had been addressed in Greek by Reuchlin, with whom he shared the conviction that the Bible should be studied in its original languages, both Greek and Hebrew. Perhaps the delicacy of the letters' subjects—that is, current rumors—also prompted Reuchlin and Agricola to choose Greek as their medium of communication, in order to ensure the secrecy of their exchange, and to prevent the letters from being read by nosy interceptors, for instance the messenger who interrupted Agricola while he was finishing his letter.[376] Agricola's Greek has some Latin transfer traits: the idiosyncratic phrase ἅλις καὶ ἄγαν ἔτι probably reflects the Latin collocation *satis superque*.[377] He may also have originally committed some errors in Greek, which Reuchlin corrected before including the letter in the epistolary collection he compiled in 1514 to defend his advocacy of the Jews and Hebrew studies. It is, however, difficult to assess Agricola's Greek adequately, as his autograph has not been preserved, and one has to rely on a later manuscript copy by Johannes Pfeutzer and Reuchlin's print of the letter.[378]

While Agricola's main reason for starting with a code-switch to Greek after the Latin address seems to have been decorum, his letter to Reuchlin offers pointers for many of the motivations for code-switching to Greek found in early modern Neo-Latin texts. Agricola wanted to show that he belonged to the same in-crowd of Hellenists as Reuchlin and that they shared the same cultural capital. He furthermore made argumentative use of two ancient quotes, referring to Euripides in the Greek opening paragraph and to Quintus of Smyrna in the first Latin paragraph, which revealed his wide reading and learning.[379] The Greek language additionally offered an opportunity to express oneself in a clearer or more lively way because it housed a tremendous thesaurus of words which Latin lacked, or which better captured the author's intentions. Agricola found that the Greek word λήθαργος, "lethargy," suited his characterization of the barbaric, non-humanist Germany of his day better than

376 Agricola 2002, 230: "Nuncius interpellat."

377 See van der Laan and Akkerman in Agricola 2002, 367, with further examples.

378 Van der Laan and Akkerman in Agricola 2002, 226.

379 See the source apparatus in Agricola 2002, 228. Quoting Greek sources is a well-known humanist practice, but its strategies and functions deserve more scholarly attention. The phenomenon is, however, less relevant to my main thread, because it does not concern active Greek composition, even though Greek quotes could have functions similar to New Ancient Greek code-switches, such as showing one's classical bilingual cultural capital. The proportion of quotes and New Ancient Greek code-switches and their mutual relationships still need to be charted in detail.

the Latin phrase *stupidus sopor*, "a stupid doze."[380] In addition to richness of expression, first and foremost thanks to its extensive lexicon, Greek ensured Agricola and Reuchlin the necessary secrecy to discuss delicate rumors about Agricola's activities, or granted an aura of sacredness to a topic, because Greek, as the medium of the New Testament, was considered a sacred language. Most notably, Agricola expressed the reasons for his desire to study Hebrew texts by means of a code-switch to Greek, insisting that such a study would allow him to "get to really know *the peculiar nature of that language, full of so many mysteries*."[381]

Agricola's example indicates that a code-switch does not have to be motivated by only one factor. This impression seems to be strengthened by other examples. For instance, in a Latin letter the Trilingue professor Petrus Nannius addressed to the later Syriac specialist Andreas Masius on 25 March 1544, Nannius reported on the mental state of his colleague Andreas Gennepius Balenus (d. 1568), professor of Hebrew. Finding himself constricted by the limits of Latin, Nannius resorted to the medical language par excellence, Greek, to describe Balenus' condition:

> Si quęras quid morbi, dicam μικροψυχίαν θανατοφοβίαν.[382]
>
> If you'd ask what kind of disease, I'd say *micropsychia*, *thanatophobia* ["small soul syndrome, fear of death"].

This example suggests that Greek offered humanists possibilities for composition and expression unavailable in Latin, which made it a creative and flexible language, ideal for identifying phenomena in a rapidly changing world full of scientific and technical progress. Additionally, Nannius perhaps had concerns about who might lay their eyes on the letter, wanting to conceal the nature of his colleague's peculiar condition by means of Greek. As a foreign language with a different alphabet, Greek proved ideal as "a secret code," a use for which numerous examples could be cited.[383]

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380 Agricola 2002, 228–29: "[…] oportebit et ab hac barbarie, qua tot iam seculis uelut stupido sopore uel potius ληθάργῳ τινί oppressa tenetur, excitari."

381 Agricola 2002, 230–31: "[…] simulque τὴν ἰδιότητα ἐκείνου τοῦ λόγου μυστηρίοις πολλοῖς γέμουσαν pernoscere."

382 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS CLM 23736, nr. 100. Cf. also the edition in Lamey 1794, 319–20.

383 The phrase is Steinrück's 2020, 68, who applies it to a Greek letter by François Rabelais to Erasmus.

Secrecy certainly played a role in a slightly earlier and truly fascinating bilingual document: Girolamo Aleandro's retrospective diaries, in which the humanist enjoyed writing major events and little anecdotes from his own life in Latin and Greek, with some occasional Hebrew. Although first edited more than hundred years ago, scholarship has thus far not yet fully explored this document.[384] In particular, the diaries have not yet been approached through the prism of code-switching, even though this would be utterly rewarding.[385] To showcase what kind of information can be gathered from looking at Aleandro's diaries, see the long and lively Greek entry on the time he contracted syphilis in Venice around 7 December 1501:

> *Dec. 7.*—Οὐ καλῶς μέμνημαι εἰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ 6, ἢ 8, ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι 6, ἐν Καπρόλαις, λιμένι Ἑνετίας, ἔγνων Αἰκατερίνην τινὰ Ἰλλυρικὴν, ἅπαξ, ὅθεν ἐβλάβην τὴν ψωλὴν, καὶ ἠρξάμην ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν, καὶ ὠχριᾶν καὶ … γενέσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ ἐπεμελούμην·ἐν δὲ ἑπομέναις ἡμέραις, καὶ οἶμαι ἐν μηνὶ, ἤλγησα ὅτι μέγιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ἀνέφυ ἕλκος ἐν μετώπῳ καὶ ἕλκη τινα μικρὰ καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅθεν ἔλεξαν τινὲς νοσεῖν με τὴν κελτικὴν λεγομένην νόσον, εἰ καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ ῥᾳδίως διὰ λεῖα φάρμακα ὑγιὴς ἐξέφανην ἄνευ τινος χρίσματος. Ῥᾴστη γὰρ ὑπῆρξε μοι αὕτη ἡ νόσος, ὥστε καὶ πλείστους λέγειν μὴ εἶναι τοιαύτην νόσον, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἶμαι γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἄλλην καὶ αἴτιον μοι καταστῆναι πολλῶν ἄλλων καὶ κακῶν παθημάτων, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἑλκῶν, ὧν ἓξ ἤδη ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐν κεφαλῇ πάσχω μέχρι τοῦ σήμερον, 6 νοεμβρίου 1525, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἔγραψα· ἔσται καλῶς, τῷ Θεῷ χάριτας.[386]

> 7 December.—*I don't recall very well whether it was on that day, or the 6th, or the 8th, but I think the 6th, in Caorle, a port of Venice. I had intercourse with Ekaterina, an Illyrian woman, once, during which I hurt my penis, and I started feeling ill, and turning pale, and becoming …, even though I didn't give much heed to it, but in the following days, and month, I think, I had such a terrible headache, and a wound grew on my forehead, and some small wounds all over my head. Hence, some said that I was suffering from the so-called French disease, even though I turned out to be healthy after a short time and easily by means of gentle medicines, without an ointment. So that disease was very light for me, which also led very many to say that it couldn't be such a disease, but I too think that it was, and not another one,*

384 Aleandro 1895.

385 See Van Rooy and Mercelis 2022 for a first exploration.

386 Aleandro 1895, 9. The omission on the third line is Aleandro's: he left a blank but forgot to fill it in.

> *and that it became responsible for many other and bad sufferings of mine, and not least for the head wounds from which I have already been suffering for six years up to this day, 6 November 1525, on which I have written this. All will be well, thank God.*

The contrast with the previous entry, in Latin, could hardly be any greater, as there one finds a terse description of a financial transaction Aleandro managed.[387] In addition to secrecy, the association of Greek with medicine might have likewise motivated Aleandro to describe this episode in Greek rather than Latin, in a vein similar to Nannius. Other instances where Aleandro turned to Greek include episodes about vomiting after dinner and passages where he cursed the Jews. More broadly, Greek seems to have been his preferred medium for writing about personal feelings, illnesses, experiences, dreams, gossip, and shameful events. Code-switching research, then, would also need to consider the topics, genres, and disciplines involved, as these clearly informed language choice.[388]

Finally, the secrecy which a code-switch to Greek could provide, especially in Neo-Latin prose texts, means that studying classical bilingualism in early modernity can reveal new historical details or sensitive information. Typically, one can expect secretive uses of code-switching in correspondence and ego-documents such as journals, not intended for printing. However, even published poems, whether of poor literary quality or not, can be "a valuable source for historians."[389] Still, in literary works written for an audience, other uses seem to have prevailed. This preliminary impression makes it worthwhile to study the correlations between code-switching and genre. For instance, the very title of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, a declamation written mainly in Latin but with numerous code-switches to Greek, contains a Greek pun on his friend Thomas More's name, Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον (*Moriae encomium*), thus setting the tone for the rest of the satiric work and immediately evoking such Ancient Greek works as Lucian's *Muscae encomium*. Throughout the work, the typically very brief code-switches to Greek contribute to the general merriment, suggesting the potential humor of code-switching.[390] It remains to be seen,

387 Aleandro 1895, 9: "*Dec. 5.*—Missus fui a legato ad Hungaros laturus XIII millia CCCXXXII 1/3 ducatorum, nomine Alexandri pontificis maximi. Resignavi pecuniam in arce Seniæ; non tamen recte memini quintave an sexta die discesserim Venetiis."

388 William Barton and I are editing two special issues on the topic, showing the great value of code-switching as an analytical concept for Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek studies.

389 Päll and Steinrück 2022, 335, on Heinrich Jeckelmann's (1565–1633) poem on the Basel Plague of 1611.

390 Cf. Van Rooy and Mercelis 2022, with the references there.

however, to what extent code-switching became a stock feature of satire. In macaronic occasional poems such as Meyer's and Pires' pieces in elegiac couplets (see Sections 1 and 3.2), a genre which also appeared in other parts of Europe, the main motivations to code-switch included the display of cultural capital to potential sponsors, in Meyer's case, and the paying of respect to a deceased scholar, for Pires.[391] Looking beyond correlations between genre and code-switching, researchers might also benefit from attention to confessional, intellectual and political dividing lines, along with the types of audiences to which classical bilingual authors addressed themselves. This consideration brings me to the last research perspective I want to highlight here.

4.6 *New Ancient Greek Audiences: from Career Management to Ritual Performance*

Whom could an author writing in both Latin and Greek hope to address? They must have been aware that their prospective audiences were very small, and could even amount to themselves alone, as in the case of Aleandro's journal.[392] Indeed, the niche nature of classical bilingual literature, especially for texts closer to the New Ancient Greek side of the spectrum (cf. Section 3.2), effectively tanked any hopes for a broad audience. Still, present-day intuitions about the extent of these audiences might be too pessimistic, considering that classical learning provided the foundation of most early modern school curricula, obviously much more than is the case today. Tellingly, while Greek may have had secretive functions in certain contexts, in others even Greek could pose risks for authors, especially if they were treating sensitive topics. For instance, despite its reputation for religious tolerance, the early seventeenth-century Dutch Republic witnessed confessional struggles, most notably between the more liberal Remonstrants and the more conservative Calvinist Contra-Remonstrants. This confessional tension could put a thematic strain on an acclaimed Greek poet such as Daniel Heinsius. In the wake of the Remonstrant Hugo Grotius' escape from Loevestein Castle, Heinsius composed an epigram on the book chest in which Grotius had escaped, probably shortly after the events occurred in March 1621 (see Section 3.1 for text and translation). The pro-Contra-Remonstrant climate of the day made him put off publication of the Greek poem, under a Latin title and together with other Latin poems on the topic, for almost two decades, until 1640, when he finally

391 For an early Bohemian example from *c.*1501–1510, see Lobkowitz von Hassenstein 1570, 193; Slavíková 2022, 285. For Nordic examples, see Akujärvi 2020b, 94–95; Päll 2020, 434.

392 For an exemplary study of the intended readership of a New Ancient Greek corpus, that of Johannes Posselius, see Johnson 2006.

allowed the compositions to be included in the edition of his collected Latin and Greek poems produced by his son Nicolaus.[393]

Most learned bilingual authors, then, clearly had an audience in mind when switching from Latin to Greek or using Greek next to Latin. The audiences could be very varied, my first exploration suggests, but they still remain to be charted in detail. They depended on the specific intentions of the author, and because of the highly occasional character of many pieces, they often addressed lofty individuals, typically fellow scholars or nobility (see Section 2.1). The latter group usually had no Greek—or Latin for that matter—and, hence, could not understand the piece addressed to them or written in their honor. For instance, the French humanist Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) could not hope that the letter to King Francis I he prefixed to his 1529 *Commentarii linguae Graecae*, "reminding him of his promise to fund a new royal college for ancient tongues and the liberal arts," was actually understood by his royal addressee.[394] Yet despite the king knowing neither Greek nor Latin, Budé's message came across, and Francis instated the Collège royal a year later.[395] In this case, then, the prestige of Greek in itself, rather than the actual contents of the letter, conveyed Budé's message, apparently quite convincingly. Perhaps the elaborate Greek letter supported Budé's negotiations with the king and his court, which would have been conducted orally, in French. Of these ephemeral interactions, obviously no traces survive. It remains, in any case, an interesting rhetorical choice to persuade a king who did not have any Latin or Greek with an impressive letter in the more obscure of the two languages. Other high-profile figures such as Queen Elizabeth I of England (reigned 1558–1603) and King Erik XIV of Sweden (reigned 1560–1568) would have understood the Latin and Greek pieces addressed to them, at least to some extent.[396] Overall, however, the reach of Greek was limited, which raises the following question: why would one resort to this language, especially since even Latin itself tended to be poorly known among many members of nobility?

As a working hypothesis I propose that Greek had various performative dimensions. I understand performance here in a double sense. On the one hand, authors could stage their pieces in Greek, or could have them staged,

393 Heinsius 1640, 110. According to Willem de Groot, Hugo Grotius' brother, the impulse to include these poems came from Daniel Heinsius himself; see Meulenbroek and Witkam 1981, 11:440.

394 Sanchi 2020, quote on p. 45.

395 Fumaroli 1998.

396 On Greek composition as a learned tribute to prominent figures rather than an act of communication, see F. Pontani 2017, 315 for the case of Filelfo. On Elizabeth, see Lazarus 2021. On Erik, see Akujärvi 2020b, 87–88.

most commonly through recitation.[397] On the other, their works could serve to realize a goal and thus have a real-world effect; as such, these writings should be "regarded as practices, events, and behaviors, not as 'objects' or 'things.'"[398] Greek composition gave an author the opportunity to show their skills and, ideally, obtain a favor or remuneration of some sort or enter the good graces of a prominent figure. From the perspective of the nobility and ruling classes, Greek could be welcomed or even commissioned to honor a person, family, city, or event, a notable case being Wassenaer's now lost Greek *xenion* commissioned by the Haarlem city council, extant in a Latin version.[399] Greek, as medium of the New Testament an important sacral language, could also serve to enter into a personal dialogue with God, or at least shape one's religious experience by writing and performing prayers in this language or paraphrasing parts of the Bible in it, a particularly popular activity for the book of Psalms.[400]

I therefore make a case for approaching Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism from the interdisciplinary perspective of performance studies, especially since performative dimensions could overshadow concerns of content and intelligibility.[401] Greek was an act, performed by authors in various dosages and through different media (Sections 3.2–3.3). The texts extant today are silent artefacts that testify to dynamic interpersonal relations, which have yet to be explicated for the classical bilingualism of early modernity in the way classical scholars such as Gianfranco Agosti have done for the ancient world.[402] One can try to make a historiographic construction of the interpersonal relations transpiring from the texts by looking at them from different angles. From the perspective of literary studies, one could analyze how addressees are presented as reincarnations of classical characters or are otherwise imagined literarily, or how sound play in the classical languages added an extra layer to compositions. Linguistic disciplines such as historical pragmatics could help determine the functions of deictic features such as demonstratives and other spatial expressions reflecting gestures, or look at the presence of performative verbs, relevant for genres like prayers. Book historians could study the traces of the book as object in use, analyzing its lay-out and the way in which it accommodates handwritten

397 Cf. Agosti 2012 and also my analysis in Van Rooy 2023 [in press].

398 Richard Schechner in Stucky and Wimmer 2002, x.

399 van de Venne 2000. Cf. Section 4.3.

400 Cf. Section 3.4 for Erasmus' prayer. For Psalms paraphrases, see e.g. Weng 2003; Päll 2018, 80; Päll and Steinrück 2022, 314, with the references there.

401 On performance studies, see Stucky and Wimmer 2002. Cf. already the passing observations in Sections 3.1 and 3.3.

402 Agosti 2012.

annotations and other marks of usage. Socio-cultural history would benefit from analyzing how texts such as letters and occasional poems actively helped generate cultural capital, especially if any responses of the addressees have been recorded. From the angle of religious studies and historical anthropology, it would be worthwhile to map the ritual functions certain texts served and the contexts in which Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek became ritualized.[403] It would of course lead me too far to present a detailed analysis engaging with all these disciplines here. Instead, I will merely venture some thoughts, giving a number of examples that support my proposed approach but will require further teasing out.

To begin with, Jan Meyer composed his macaronic poem, with which I started my discussion in Section 1, to impress Nicolaus Olahus by showing his linguistic prowess to the sponsor himself and to Petrus Nannius, already a protégé of Olahus. At its outset, the poem emphasized the act of gift-giving, reminding both Nannius and Olahus of their previous generosity. Meyer's bilingual composition, then, aimed at a psychological effect in his favor: securing sponsorship for himself by channeling attention to his work, skills, and talent. The poet thus instrumentalized his Neo-Latin–Greek bilingualism as a career management strategy.[404] In a pre-resumé world, showing one's classical cultural capital stood as a monument to one's abilities, and helped one attract the notice of prominent members of society, whom one typically had to flatter by praising them and, in this case, also by attributing godlike qualities to them. In sum, Meyer had his composition perform social and professional functions. It remains unclear how successful he was, but given Olahus' move back to his homeland and Meyer's subsequent career in the Low Countries, it seems that he made his attempt to secure Olahus' sponsorship in vain.

Furthermore, the bilingual epitaph collection for the Leuven Greek professor Rutger Rescius, attributed to Juan de Verzosa and introduced above (Section 4.1), includes a number of deictic references that seem to indicate a performance at the Greek professor's funeral in October 1545, perhaps at St Peter's Church, where most Trilingue teachers were buried.[405] Poem A3, for instance, honored Rescius as follows:

403 Cf. Bell 2009 and below.

404 Cf. Philipp Melanchthon's recommendation, in 1537, of the Istrian humanist Matthias Garbitius (*c.*1505–1559) for the Greek chair in Tübingen, which Melanchthon based on, among other things, Garbitius' Greek poetical skills: see Rhein 2017, 34.

405 Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 28.

Ἄλλο εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

Θήκατο Λουάνιον, Ῥούτγηρε, σὸν ἐνθάδε σῶμα
δύσμορος εἵνεκα σοῦ πικρὸν ἰεῖσα γόον.
Πᾶς γὰρ δερκόμενος μοίρας καταμέμφεται ἱρὰς
ὅττι τόσην ταχέως ἔσβεσαν ἰδμοσύνην.

Another one to the same

Leuven has interred your body here, Rutger, showing—ill-fated as she is—bitter grief because of you. For everyone watching blames the holy fates, because too quickly have they extinguished such a great source of knowledge.[406]

The following poem refers to Rescius' body lying "in this grave" (ἐν τούτῳ σήματι).[407] Most interestingly, the poet also seems to have pointed to the professor's successor, presumably present at the performance:

[Sine titulo]

Ῥεσκίοιο τέλος Φοῖβος πρὸς ἄωρον ἀτυχθεὶς
Ὠκεανόνδε φίλον ἄψ ζυγὸν ὦρσε πατὴρ
οὔτε σέλας ἐμίηνεν ἰδὼν ἐπὶ νηλεὲς ἔργον
οἰκτείρας στυγερὴν Λωβανίοιο τύχην.
Μῶν τέκμωρ γε τέτυκτ' οὐκ αἴσιον ἄλλος ὅτ' οὗτος 5
ἄξιον εἰς τούτου ἴχνος ἐρείσει ἕδραν;

[No title]

Distraught at Rescius' untimely death, father Phoebus moved again his beloved chariot toward the Ocean, and having seen a flash of light during the relentless task, he did not defile it, full of pity for the wretched fate of Leuven. [5] Is it at least not an auspicious sign that the other one over here will perpetuate the chair in his worthy track?[408]

406 Text and translation from Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 46–47, with slight adaptations. This quote also features in the discussion of Section 4.1.

407 Poem A4, l. 4 in Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 47–48.

408 Poem A11 in Feys and Van Rooy 2020, 55.

The last elegiac couplet presupposes the poet standing by Rescius' grave and making a gesture in the direction of Rescius' projected successor, presumably Adrien Amerot, who acted as professor-ad-interim during Rescius' illness and after his demise. As such, this very last poem in the collection gives some concrete insight into what happened, or at least what the poet intended to happen, when honoring a prominent academic such as Rescius at his memorial service in sixteenth-century Leuven.

Less loftily, early modern grammars of Ancient Greek, typically composed in Neo-Latin from around 1500, also came to include ever more example sentences, offering the student concrete instantiations of a grammatical rule, hence going beyond the simple paradigm lists that dominated the earliest humanist grammars. In order to open up the arcane matter of Greek grammar in as accessible a way as possible, scholars could offer examples from the great pagan classics, or from a text widely known in Latin but originally composed in Greek: the New Testament, as often occurred especially in the Protestant world. Alternatively, the grammarians could come up with examples themselves, thus promoting an armchair approach over a usage-based one. The evolution in grammatical exemplification deserves a more general study, but I focus here on an early Lowlandish case where a scholar actively created his own grammatical examples, which itself constitutes a peculiar form of New Ancient Greek writing. In his 1527 syntactic manual, a poorly known genre, the physician and translator of Greek medical treatises Johann Winter von Andernach (Guinterius; *c.*1497–1574) treated the use of the Greek article quite extensively because he found the topic poorly served in previous work. In order to make the matter palpable for his readers, Winter created his own homely examples, featuring Erasmus and the Liège-based enthusiast of Greek Paschasius Berselius (*c.*1480–1535), a correspondent of Winter.[409]

> PRincipio nominibus, quæ certa esse volumus, præponuntur. Substantiuis, vt apud Theocritum. ἁδύτε τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἃ πίτυς αἰπόλε τῆνα .i. Dulcis res est susurrus, & pinus illa caprarie. Adiectiuis, vt ὁ σόφος σωκράτης διαλέγεται .i. sapiens socrates disserit. οὗτος ὁ ἔρασμος. & πάρεστιν ὁ βερσέλιος. Hic puerum admoneo, articulum hoc modo dignitatem quandam, ac eminentiam significare, quod apud nos ille. vt Socrates ille sapiens disputat, Hic Erasmus ille. Adest Berselius ille.[410]

409 Information on Winter and Berselius is based on von Greyerz and Bietenholz 1986; Hoyoux 1985, respectively.

410 Winter von Andernach 1527, fol. c iij v.

> [Articles] are put before nouns we want to be specified. Before substantives, as in Theocritus: "*sweet is the whisper and that pine, goatherd.*"[411] That is: "A sweet thing is the whisper, and that pine, goatherd." Before adjectives, as in: *The wise Socrates argues*. That is: Wise Socrates argues. *Erasmus over here*, and *Berselius is present*. Here, I warn the boy that the article conveys in this way a sense of dignity and eminence, as *ille* ["that"] does with us. For instance: That wise Socrates argues; this illustrious Erasmus. That illustrious Berselius is present.

> In super licet tot articulos in oratione ponas, quot adiectiua, aut substantiua, receperit dictio prȩcedens, vel venustatis, vel noticię maioris gratia. vt ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ βερσέλιος, ὁ εὐπαιδευτὸς, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος ἀνήρ .i. venit ad me Berselius ille eruditus, & humauus vir.[412]

> Furthermore, it is allowed to put in a phrase as many articles as the preceding word receives adjectives or substantives, either in view of elegance or because of a major reputation, as in *Berselius came to me, the well-educated man, the philanthropist*. That is: Berselius came to me, that erudite and humane man.

These phrases, which appear next to examples from pagan literature and Christian sentences from the New Testament, suggest that Winter had conceived his manual in the Low Countries. Yet it was printed in Paris, where he moved in 1526 to study medicine and eventually graduated doctor in that discipline in 1532, after which he came to teach the well-known anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564). In Leuven, he had taught Greek earlier in the 1520s, to Johannes Sturmius among others, but the dedication letter shows that in 1526 he taught Greek and Latin in Liège, too, in the circles of the prince-bishop, to whom Winter dedicated the manual.[413] These circles included Berselius, who commissioned the Greek syntax, as he informed the prince-bishop in his dedication letter.

Exemplifying the sometimes arcane grammatical rules by making reference to prominent contemporary scholars—or well-known Christian texts, for that matter—Winter domesticated the study of Greek grammar, making

411 Theoc. *Id.* 1.1, which in the most recent Loeb edition reads: Ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα. I offer my own translation here in order to make the syntactic relations of the original text transparent.

412 Winter von Andernach 1527, fol. c iiij v. *Humauus* is an obvious misprint for *humanus*.

413 Winter von Andernach 1527, fol. a ij r. On the dedicatee Antoine de la Marck, see Hoven 1970.

the students feel at home in this language from a distant time and country.[414] At the same time, he probably also wanted to pay his respects to prominent figures like Erasmus and Berselius. Such grammatical dimensions of classical bilingualism, although less flashy than the great literature that has been in focus in the scholarship, are nonetheless very real and deserve a place in future research, if only because they helped shape more advanced forms of classical bilingualism. After all, not only did many Hellenists rely on these tools, but homemade examples also promoted the idea that Greek was there to be used actively, and did not merely serve to read the great classics. Indeed, manuals such as Winter's performed important services in the sixteenth-century classroom, where prospective classical bilinguals leaved through them and encountered these familiar examples, thus enabling and inspiring them to put their new linguistic knowledge to use and treat familiar themes in Greek themselves. Seen in this light, such manuals contributed to the flourishing of bilingual occasional poetry, which by its very nature implied familiar contexts of performance. These tools fostered the idea that Greek was not restricted to ancient pagan and Christian literature but could be used beyond it, in the authors' own here-and-now.

The occasional character of Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek poetry has been duly acknowledged.[415] However, their interplay has thus far been largely neglected, even though studying their coappearance can help scholars uncover traditions of occasional poetry and, hence, communities of practice by looking at how the languages were used side by side, and what relation their interplay has to the genres, meters, and topics represented. It is, for instance, striking how prominent Greek was in occasional pieces composed, and no doubt also recited, at the faculty of medicine in Leiden in its first decades, under the professorship of Geraert de Bondt (Gerardus Bontius; 1536–1599), who had been educated in Leuven and Padua.[416] De Bondt, who is known to have lectured on Hippocrates in the original language, seems to have stimulated a graduation culture where Greek played a prominent role, as witnessed by a unique and highly interesting collection of theses and broadsheets printed at the occasion of graduation ceremonies and currently preserved at Leiden University Library.[417] This intense ceremonial use of Greek next to Latin indicates that the language became part of academic ritual. As a ritualized action, to use a concept by Catherine Bell, Greek composition served to produce and maintain

414 Cf. Pade 2020; Van Rooy 2020c.

415 E.g. van Dam 2009; Akujärvi 2020a.

416 On the history of medical education in the early years of Leiden university, see Kroon 1911.

417 Leiden, Leiden University Library, Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, 347.

oppositions between the persons involved in the ceremony.[418] For instance, in the case of the Leiden medicine faculty, the presence of Greek sharpened the distinction between the graduated physicians addressed by the poets, on the one hand, and those still studying and other onlookers who had no or little Greek, on the other. Bonaventura Vulcanius, for example, addressed the following bilingual composition to the Flemish physician Raphael Thorius (d. 1625) at the latter's graduation in 1591:

> Bonaventvra Vvlcanivs D. R. Thorio Bellioni Φίλιον.
>
> *Felices illi titulo quos* Leyda *beárit*
> *Pæoniæ cingens frondis honore caput.*
> *At tibi docte* Thori *titulos cùm adiungit honoris,*
> *Est per te titulis ipsa beata suis.*
> *Sic vestita nitet fulgenti gemma metallo,*
> *Dans decus artifice mutuò, & accipiens.*
> *
> Φραδμοσύνης ἕνεκεν ποθέοι δέκα Νέστορας ἄλλος,
> Εἵνεκ' ἀκεστορίης μοῦνον ἐγὼ Θόριον.[419]
>
> Bonaventura Vulcanius *sends a friendly greeting* to Master R. Thorius from Belle.
>
> Fortunate are those whom Leiden has blessed with a title, girding their head with the honor of Paeon's garland,[420] but, learned Thorius, as it applies the titles of honor to you, it is itself blessed through you by its own titles. [5] Adorned like this, its jewel shines with its flashing metal, skillfully giving and receiving honor by turns. * *For cunning someone else would desire ten Nestors; for the art of healing, I desire only Thorius.*

In this short piece, Vulcanius personified the city of Leiden as grantor of academic titles, which is, however, itself blessed because of the high profile of the graduate: Raphael Thorius, son of the prominent physician Franciscus Thorius. In the Greek elegiac couplet, the poet changed the topic from outward display of honor by the city of Leiden to Thorius' medical knowledge, hyperbolically

418 Bell 2009.

419 Leiden, Leiden University Library, Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, 347, fol. 60.

420 In Greek mythology, Paeon, or Paean, refers to a god of healing, thought to be the physician of the gods.

stating that Thorius' medical knowledge equaled the cunning of ten Nestors.[421] This code-switch suggests that Greek was the language par excellence to discuss medical matters, whereas Latin suited formal appraisal. The use of Greek moreover confirmed the exceptional learnedness of the in-crowd of Leiden-educated physicians, who would have understood the Greek couplet. The outgroup saw their exclusion from this club of learned men emphasized through the Greek lines. It must be kept in mind, however, that the medical metalanguage of the broadsheet with theses still was Latin, and judging by this document alone, it seems that the role of Greek remained largely ceremonial and marginal at graduation events.

However, in looking at other, more substantial Greek pieces, it becomes clear that Leiden physicians must have intensely cultivated Greek, both in their teaching and in their academic rituals, where use of Greek could end up being largely decorative. The most impressive specimen of ritualized and decorative Greek from the Leiden faculty of medicine concerns a self-proclaimed "panegyrical epic," Ἔπος ἐγκωμιαστικόν, which in 140 acrostic hexameters celebrated two freshly graduated doctors in medicine at a ceremony in 1592.[422] The author of this arcane poem was the eighteen-year-old Gulielmus Coddaeus (Willem van der Codde; 1574–after 1625) from Rijnsburg, who congratulated Balduinus Amaeus (Baudouin Hamey the Elder; 1568–1640) and Laurentius Brantius (Laurens Brandt) on their graduation. The hymn, as the acrostic denoted the poem, constitutes a largely incomprehensible cento-like composition, which mixes rare words with phrases taken from classical authors, aptly including Hippocrates. As such, the poem defies any meaningful interpretation, at least from my perspective. If anything, the hermetic nature of the poem conveys a sense of cultural display rather than a linguistically meaningful poetic act. Its performance was, hence, predominantly formal, not semantic. Its Greekness, in combination with the clearly readable acrostic, sufficed to convey the honorary message and ritually sanction the students' graduation. In this sense, the performative thrust of New Ancient Greek might have been stronger than that of Neo-Latin, possibly resulting in a situation where form almost completely outweighed contents. Such an imbalance was much less acceptable in Neo-Latin compositions, if at all. The use of New Ancient Greek at the Leiden faculty of medicine remains to be studied in greater detail, but it seems that it hosted a community of practice where Greek thrived next to Latin, both as a key subject in teaching but also as an honorific ornament at graduations,

421 Nestor was a Homeric hero renowned for his cunning.

422 Leiden, Leiden University Library, Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, 347, fol. 86. See also Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 452–53.

whether nonsensical or not. In short, Greek served to set apart the in-crowd of true physicians, who had come to master the original language of their discipline.

The broadsheets with theses from the Leiden medicine faculty were all printed by Franciscus Raphelengius, heading Christophe Plantin's local office. This publisher's dimension is also relevant for the practice and performance of classical bilingualism, since the private sphere of the Plantin–Moretus printing dynasty in Antwerp provided numerous occasions for the composition and performance of Greek pieces, next to poems in Latin and other languages. Most notably, a former employee of the publishing house, the lexicographer Martin Binnart (d. 1653/1654), commemorated Balthasar I Moretus' death with a long Greek poem, thus far unpublished, in 1642.[423] Three years later, an anonymous Greek poem, attributed to the personified Greek press, congratulated Balthasar II Moretus on his marriage with Anna Goos. The latter poem, which might also stem from Binnart's pen, was printed as part of a multilingual collection of congratulatory pieces, the *Acroamata nuptialia* (*Wedding Recitals*), alongside a Latin verse translation. The *Acroamata* include compositions in the three sacred languages Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the press' most important vernacular tongues: French, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian. Each piece is attributed to the personified printing press responsible for that language, but in reality the volume reflects a collaborative poetical collection supervised by the Antwerp Jesuit Jacob de Cater (1593–1657).[424] Most notably, Dirk Sacré has argued that the *Acroamata* were also ritually performed at the feast to solemnize the marriage of Balthasar II and Anna in a "concert of all the publisher's presses going up and down and the symphony of polyglot poems honoring the bridal couple."[425] In this interpretation, the Greek poem formed part of a multilingual performance, staged in the Plantin–Moretus printing room, where the rhythmic movements of the presses accompanied the recital of compositions in the most important tongues of the Plantin Press. This performance must have been an impressive demonstration of the family's cultural, economic, and technical capital to the wedding guests, thus creating an opposition between the family and its confidants, on the one hand, and outsiders, including business partners, on the other. As such, Latin and Greek served as powerful ritualized media for the installment of a Plantin–Moretus family cultus.

423 Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Arch. 1150 a. misc., item 83. I am planning to edit the poem in the near future.

424 Sacré 1998–1999.

425 Sacré 1998–1999, 155: "het concert van het op- en neergaan van alle persen van de drukkerij en de symfonie van polyglotte gedichten ter ere van het bruidspaar." On Binnart, see Lamers and Van Rooy 2022c, 261–64. See also Lamers and Van Rooy 2022b, 456.

In sum, many products of classical bilingualism were of an occasional nature, and hence have sometimes been dismissed as trivial in the scholarship. I have tried to argue, however, that the prism of performance studies can provide a rich and fruitful frame of analysis to understand such occasional writings in their cultural-historical context and as part of different communities of practice. After all, authors aimed to achieve certain goals with their compositions and often even intended their pieces to be performed in order to reach these goals, whether or not supported by gestures and other visual means. Most notably, the ritual use of language could help create or maintain social oppositions, especially when performed as part of a ritualized act before an audience, typically including a select ingroup of Hellenists and the dumbfounded onlookers without any Greek.

5 Outlook: Pulling the Trojan Horse into Neo-Latin Studies

In conclusion, the case of the early modern Low Countries shows that classical bilingualism presents a very rich and diverse picture, which will turn out to be even more kaleidoscopic once scholars regard the phenomenon as a research object in its own right. After all, in early modernity, New Ancient Greek almost always implied Neo-Latin. Only by conducting systematic research, both for the Low Countries and other areas, will it be possible to arrive at a better understanding of this widespread form of learned bilingualism, cultivated across Europe, mostly in the upper echelons of society, and always side by side with one or more vernaculars. I hope this eclectic survey of promising research perspectives will soon be superseded, which would mean that scholars have gone above and beyond my proposals, which are necessarily based on a limited source basis, scholarship, and expertise. Overall, I advocate an inclusive and broad-spectrum approach sensitive to historical contingencies and local contexts, but with attention to the transregional and pan-European dimensions of Latin–Greek bilingualism. Only by means of such an approach can scholars arrive at valid and nuanced generalizations. I hence make a case not to develop the field of New Ancient Greek studies, or more broadly that of early modern Hellenism, in isolation from Neo-Latin and Renaissance studies. While there is no doubt that many scholars in the young Greek-focused subfields would agree with this suggestion, I do want to make this point explicit, since it is not obvious to all Neo-Latinists, some of whom tend to downplay or obfuscate the Greek dimensions of humanism, beyond a few typical themes such as translation. To use the Ciceronian imagery popular among humanists: may this contribution bring, like a Trojan horse, New Ancient Greek into Neo-Latin studies. Such integration will benefit both Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek studies.

As I have tried to express throughout the volume, the spectrum of research possibilities presented by classical bilingualism is truly wide. Essentially, my proposals are all philological in the broad sense of interpreting texts in their literary, historical, and linguistic contexts. Yet, studying the phenomenon in depth has the potential of impacting on a broad range of disciplines beyond the philology which lies at the heart of Neo-Latin studies. After all, the combined use of Latin and Greek "was an intertextual and sociocultural practice but also a form of self-presentation," to apply an apt characterization of New Ancient Greek by Tua Korhonen to the broader phenomenon of classical bilingualism.[426] As such, the study of New Ancient Greek, in dynamic interaction with its big sister Neo-Latin, sheds new light on western cultural and intellectual history, and hence on various aspects of present-day western societies. The far-going internalization of Greek next to Latin led to the appropriation of the heritage of a culture distant in time and space, which helped shape current identities, literatures, arts, sciences, languages, and educational traditions, to name but a few key domains of the modern world. I hope that this realization can attract scholars to study Latin–Greek bilingualism in early modernity, despite the rather steep learning curve, which presents a real challenge to the further development of the field. After all, classical studies, the best propaedeutic to tackle Neo-Latin and New Ancient Greek texts, remain under constant pressure to prove their continuing value in modern, future-oriented societies, even though these same societies owe much to the inquisitive and rational mind molded by humanism and its appropriation of the Latin and Greek heritages.

The great enthusiasm and occasional arrogance with which western scholars took over the Greek heritage from their late Byzantine teachers and adopted it as their own, would no doubt be frowned upon by many commentators as transgressive cultural appropriation if it occurred today. To the humanists themselves, active mastery of Greek turned out to offer a versatile skillset, with which they hoped to inscribe themselves in the classical tradition, not by slavishly imitating it but by actively emulating the ancients. Indeed, emulation motivated scholars to try and surpass ancient literary practices, most notably the Italian pioneer Filelfo, who tried his hand at both Latin and Greek composition with this exact goal. Intellectually and scientifically, the early moderns wanted to move beyond ancient achievements, a desire Simon Stevin also pursued linguistically by modernizing the language of science: for him, Latin and Greek could only have an honorary and decorative function. Before him, Andreas Vesalius had learned Latin and Greek in order to be able to read Hippocrates and especially Galen, and at the same time

426 Korhonen 2018, 179.

empirically test and surpass their medical knowledge. On the artistic level, Dominicus Lampsonius admired—in Greek—the great skill of his colleague Antonio Moro, who is said to have surpassed even the most talented ancient artists. Mastering Greek along with Latin, then, helped scholars to exceed their admired classical predecessors and usher in a new era of cultural and intellectual progress that—paradoxically enough—was rooted in antiquity. As a consequence, the lens of New Ancient Greek suggests that the seeds for the competition between ancients and moderns which came to flourish most in the seventeenth century were sown considerably earlier, albeit in a less competitive fashion.[427] Many humanists invested time and effort in imitating and emulating classical authors. In this transtemporal contest, they tried to supersede their great ancient examples with their own weapons, Latin and Greek, and their own principles, *imitatio et aemulatio*. In agreement with this humanist spirit, I can only hope that my proposals for research into classical bilingualism may soon be imitated and emulated by hordes of scholars rushing out of the Trojan horse, prepared to Hellenize Neo-Latin studies …

Τέλος. *Finis*.

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427 For a refreshing perspective on the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, see Verhaart 2020.

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