Renæssanceforum

Tidsskrift for renæssanceforskning
Journal of Renaissance studies

10

2016

LATIN AND THE EARLY MODERN WORLD: linguistic identity and the polity from Petrarch to the Habsburg novelists

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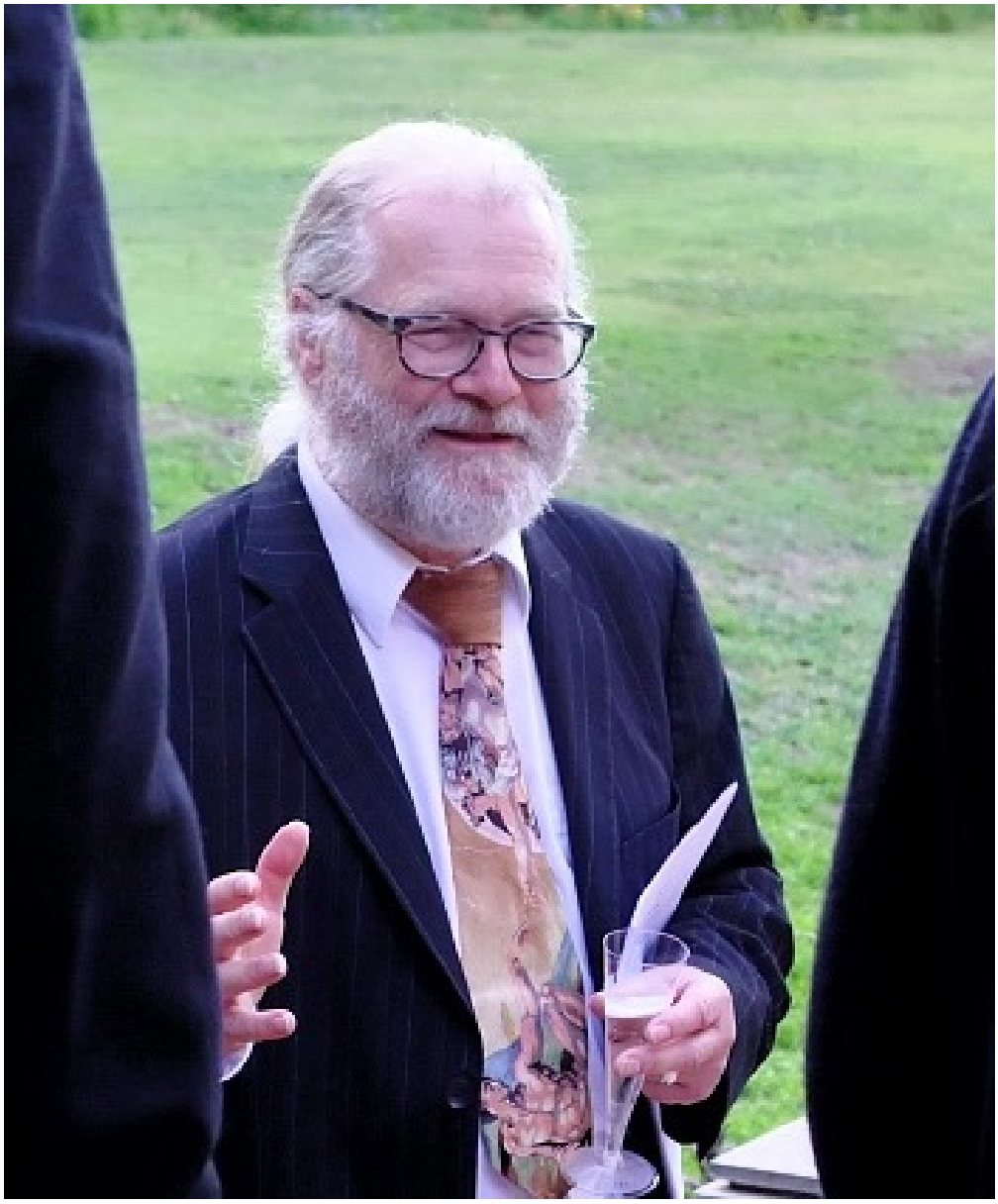

Preface

The present volume contains the proceedings of the conference "Texts and Contexts VI: The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World: linguistic identity and nationalism 1350–1800, part II", held at the Danish Academy in Rome 5–6 June 2014. It continued and expanded the theme explored in *Texts & Contexts* V, published in *Renæssanceforum* 8 (2012). The conference was organized by Noreen Humble (Calgary) and Marianne Pade (Rome).

The conference also celebrated the sixty-fifth birthday of Keith Sidwell (Emeritus Professor, University College Cork & Adjunct Professor in the Department of Classics and Religion at the University of Calgary) who is one of the founding fathers of the *Texts & Contexts* conference series; a number of participants who took part in earlier conferences shared unforgettable memories of Keith's learning and outgoing social disposition. We hope that this volume will be a memento of good times and the love of learning shared by the editors, the contributors and the dedicatee of this volume.

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Keith Sidwell and Irish Neo-Latin

When Keith was appointed Professor of Greek and Latin at University College Cork, Ireland, in 1998, he saw an opportunity to open up a neglected field of study. It is his achievement in establishing Irish Neo-Latin as a serious field of study during his tenure at Cork (1998-2008) and since that time, which the conference and this collection of papers pays tribute to.

The following highlights his accomplishments during his ten years as Professor at Cork, and is a strong testament, also, to his ability to draw diverse people and groups together into fruitful collaborative relationships.

Keith established a Centre for Neo-Latin studies at Cork (which continues on today under the leadership of Dr Jason Harris, who worked with Keith as a post-doctoral fellow in the Centre from 2003 to 2006); and over the course of a decade he helped to raise around 1.5 million euro, both on his own and through collaboration with other Early Modern projects in other departments at University College Cork (particularly with Irish, English and History), towards the study of Irish written texts of all periods.

An initial aim of the Centre's activities was to make accessible key Irish Neo-Latin works online and to compile a finding list of early modern works in Latin by Irish authors. The latter quickly revealed what a wealth of material had been ignored and what fertile ground there was for further scholarship.[1] Further, with John Barry (Classics) and Dr Hiram Morgan (History) Keith started a weekly seminar to translate and discuss particular Irish Neo-Latin texts. The seminar was attended by a diverse group of scholars and amateur historians, who brought all sorts of different areas of expertise to the table. Over the years a number of different texts were discussed and the seminar group still continues to meet. Keith also encouraged students to pursue Irish Neo-Latin at the graduate level, and the three first PhDs in this field were due directly to his initiative and encouragement: David Caulfield on the *Tenebriomastix* of Philip O'Sullivan Beare (2004), Meghan King on the *Hebdomada Mariana* of Richard Stanihurst (2007), and Nienke Tjoelker on the *Alithinologia* of John Lynch (2011).

Publications from these initiatives were not long in appearing. In 2009 one of Keith's MA students, Denis O'Sullivan, translated and edited the *Natural History of Ireland* by Philip O'Sullivan Beare.[2] Also in 2009 was the first publication to come directly out of the seminar: a volume of essays entitled *Making Ireland Roman*, edited by Keith and Jason Harris.[3] 2011 saw the publication by Keith, in collaboration with David Edwards (History), of a scholarly edition and translation of the *Ormonius*, Dermot O'Meara's Latin epic poem on the military career of the 10th Earl of Ormond, Thomas Butler.[4] This edition, and in particular, Keith's verse translation, has garnered glowing reviews.[5] 2013 saw the publication by the two other founding members of the seminar, John Barry and Hiram Morgan, of Richard Stanihurst's *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*.[6] Finally, to come out later this year (2016), under the auspices of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, is an edition by Keith, in collaboration with another Irish historian, Pádraig Lenihan from the University of Galway, of another Irish Neo-Latin epic poem, the *Poema de Hibernia* by Sir Thomas Nugent, Baron Riverston.

The corpus of Irish Neo-Latin literature is vast and these publications only but a drop in the ocean, but an important drop nonetheless, and all owe much to Keith's energy and enthusiasm, his ability to draw people together,

[1] For information about what work is being carried out at the Centre now, see https://www.ucc.ie/en/cnls/.

[2] http://www.corkuniversitypress.com/product-p/9781859184394.htm

[3] http://www.corkuniversitypress.com/product-p/9781859184530.htm

[4] http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503532301-1.

[5] E.g., Brendan Kane, "Keith Sidwell and David Edwards, eds. The Tipperary Hero: Dermot O'Meara's Ormonius (1615)," *Spenser Review* 44.2.46 (Fall 2014).

[6] http://www.corkuniversitypress.com/Great-Deeds-p/9781909005723.htm

his belief in the importance of collaboration, and indeed his belief in the importance of bringing to light as much of this neglected corpus of literature as possible.

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The editors wish to thank the board of *Renæssanceforum* for accepting the manuscript and the contributors both for their articles and for their willingness to comply with editorial suggestions.

Trine Hass, Noreen Humble, Marianne Pade
Rome, 21 April 2016

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ISSN 1902-5041. URL: www.renaessanceforum.dk/rf_10_2016.htm

INTRODUCTION

By Johann Ramminger

The aim of this introduction is not so much to give an overview of the individual contributions; rather, it attempts to show how and where the authors and works discussed here fit together on the land- and timescape of early modern Europe. Proper names in capitals indicate contributions contained in this volume.

'Linguistic identity' has been defined in the following way: " […] linguistic identities may refer to the sense of belonging to a community as mediated through the symbolic resource of language, or to the varying ways in which we come to understand the relationship between our language and ourselves. These are closely related aspects of how we position ourselves in social context through language".[1] This definition was developed within global studies. If we understand 'global' as a communicative and social construct encompassing all 'civilization' known at a given time and place, the concept is no less valid for the Early Modern period than for our own age. If English is now considered the "global language par excellence",[2] "a kind of global-hegemonic, post-clerical Latin",[3] preceded by French as the "Latin of the moderns",[4] Latin had the same reach in Early Modern Western culture. The communicative space of the Latin speakers discussed in this volume extended over the whole of the civilized world as they understood it.

This communicative space is what has recently been called the "Neo-Latin World",[5] those parts of Europe (and the Americas) where there existed a stratum of society capable of producing and/or reading and appreciating works in Latin. The existence of a communicative space defined by Latin predates the period indicated in the title considerably; just as with English nowadays it was originally the result of a colonisation process extending in late antiquity from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean and from North Africa to the Rhine and Danube. Over the millennium preceding our period its geographical expanse contracted and shifted, loosing much of the East

[1] Park 2012, 1080.
[2] Park *ibid*.
[3] Anderson 2006, 207.
[4] Casanova 2004, 58.
[5] Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014.

and gaining in the West and North. Later regional expansion happened mostly outside of Europe (initiated by the missionary activities of Catholic orders). Any sense of Latin as an externally imposed and colonizing force had been lost when the empire using it disintegrated. In the fourteenth century armies emanating from Italy had long ceased to be a threat or even a possibility.

The 'story' of Neo-Latin and this volume begin with a call by Italian intellectuals to renew antiquity, if not as a political, at least as a cultural force in the Latin world (PADE). The first step to cultural leadership was a war of independence from the French models of the Late Middle Ages – with a rather aggressive logic Lorenzo Valla put the conflict in terms of the fight for survival of the Romans against the aggression of the Gauls when they were laying siege to the Capitol of Rome in 390 BC. The development of a cultural counter-model saw Italy ascend to undisputed cultural dominance – despite a political impotence which culminated in the *Sacco di Roma* of 1527. The political implosion was countered by a cultural ascendancy that would establish the 'Neo-Latin World', the linguistic and literary bond of a fragmented political landscape.

Setting time limits to this cultural development (and to this volume) is to some extent arbitrary. The volume begins with Petrarch who in his biography as well as his literary production exemplifies the decisive remodelling of the intellectual landscape of early modern Europe of which he was a prime architect. At the other end, by 1800 the use of Latin had receded from many areas, although significant contributions continued to be made well into the nineteenth century (see SCHAFFENRATH; also Walter Savage Landor [1775–1864], who was the topic of a paper delivered by Dirk Sacré at the conference which is not contained in this volume).

The construction of Italian humanist identity by laying claim to the linguistic and cultural past of the Italian peninsula against the competing claims of French Latin culture is the theme of PADE's paper. Italian humanists defined their identity as rooted in their innate superior ability to speak/write Latin, unlike the French who were born without the 'DNA' of classical antiquity – though it was to their credit that they, despite their lack of capability, had tried to acquire a smattering of Latin culture. The repurposing of classical literature within a contemporary framework often came with major adaptations. Humble (in a paper on Latin and vernacular translations of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which is not included in this volume) discussed the differences in target audiences of the Latin translations following the confessional divide in Europe; the prefaces to the vernacular translations used the matrix of the Latin precursors to introduce topics of specific importance to vernacular readers. As GWYNNE shows, the

technological developments of warfare reduced the space for the traditional 'epic' display of individual heroism, so much at the core of classical epic narrative – even though, we might add, modern war movies make clear that the public's admiration for individual heroism continues unabated. Classical influence long remained functional in poetry. Bucolic poetry had from antiquity onwards been used as a 'private' cloak for a public message, and its messaging strategies remained applicable throughout the long history of the genre. In another paper presented at the conference but not included in this volume Trine Hass presented a case in which antiquity is in full force as an intertext. In the example presented the private setting was the marriage of a high-ranking Danish clergyman; opposed was a contrasting public event, the outbreak of the Danish-Swedish war of 1563. The poem acquired an ulterior dimension by allusion to the *Bucolica* of the contemporary renowned Danish poet Erasmus Laetus, a literary compliment and at the same time an affirmation of the poet's own appurtenance to the same cultural ambience. Since Laetus was professor of theology and thus a person of social significance (his *Bucolica* were dedicated to the king), there was a public/political message of loyalty as well. The weaving of such a mesh of messages was a feat no less of literary than of social sensibilities; it could only be – and was without difficulty – decoded by a readership attuned to 'messages by imitation', as it were.

William Camden (1551–1623) (EATOUGH) stood in a tradition of English humanism that has broadly been termed 'civic humanism', a strand of humanism which, like its earlier Italian namesake, brought philological rigour to interpreting the texts and their historical settings, and valued civic engagement.[6] Thus, Camden's use of classical models was rather utilitarian; certainly it took second place to what he perceived as the role of his authorship in the body politic. Historiography (encompassing ethnography) at the turn of the seventeenth century was (outside of Italy) still an endeavour in Latin,[7] and Camden was no exception; still, it is important to note that many of his works were available in vernacular versions within a brief span of time. In writing history Camden did not abandon classical literature. As EATOUGH remarks, he claimed to be *antiquitatis amator* and as such he had a 'role model' from antiquity, namely Tacitus, whose arid style suited his own way of presentation. However, constitutive elements of the classical genre, such as speeches, were not admitted as mere stylistic devices any more; the historian could only insert them if, and in the form in which, they actually were delivered (the speeches are *ipsissimae* [preface to

[6] Anderson 2010, 13.
[7] Völkel 2009, 240.

the *Annales*, sig.A4v], though Camden admits to some abbreviation). He saw himself as *praesentium non incuriosus* ("not without [i.e. with a great deal of] interest in present day matters"). The office of the historian is for Camden the presentation of the "why, how and to what end and what [had happened]", a maxim which he had borrowed from Polybius; his own opinion he considers to be without importance. He claims the historians' right to say it "as it is", and indeed a dry statement such as "church and state cannot be considered seperately" (*Inter religionem enim et rempublicam divortium esse non potest*, from the preface to the *Annales*, sig.A4r) confirms this stance.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the role of Latin in society became successively more sharpely defined. Paradigmatic is the second phase of the *questione della lingua* in Italy which reflected the diminishing role of Latin within a speech community developing a shared literary language other than Latin. All over Europe, the Latin republic of letters was fragmenting into 'national' subgroups.[8] As a number of contributions to this volume show, the communicative function of Latin remained undiminished, even as communities that had formerly been exclusively Latinate developed alternative communication strategies. Latin had been *très-utile* to the sciences, as d'Alemebert wrote in the *discours préliminaire* to the *Encyclopédie* in 1751,[9] an observation confirmed by the explosive expansion of Neo-Latin in the sciences. In his opening contribution, HELANDER discusses the central role that Latin played in many parts of the early modern society. Language change was governed by a variety of factors and proceeded unevenly from domain to domain. Public administration and law valued stability as paramount to their continued functioning; technology (weapons!) and science, on the other hand, were at the vanguard of language change in Latin. It was in the natural sciences, as HELANDER shows, that Latin shone in its flexibility, providing words as well as Greek and Latin models of word formation; a common factor was the emphasis on abstractions, absent from classical Latin but vital for the terminology of the new branches of knowledge. d'Alembert had observed with acerbity that the French had initiated the abandoning of Latin, the English had followed, even the Germans showed signs of succumbing, and other countries, such as the Danes, Swedes and Russians (!) were no doubt soon to follow. However, even in the newly empowered national languages, Latin retained a vital role via loans, not least in the sciences.[10]

[8] cf. Celenza 2009, 242.
[9] Helander 2012, 307; the whole passage in Mazzolini 2013, 68 n.1.
[10] Mazzolini 1976, 317.

Latin as the language of international communication appears in several papers. Under the leadership of religious orders, humanist education spread to the New World, establishing a ruling class imbued with European values and able to communicate effectively with their new overlords, the Spanish crown. The Latin letter by the chieftain of a Mexican city to the Spanish Crown, presented by LAIRD, is an example of Erasmian epistolography with its characteristic flexibility of structure. (European) literary traditions familiar to the addressee and the indigenous cultural heritage of the sender appear closely linked. Thus this letter is a remarkable example of humanist education *in limine*, integrating, as it does, not only a syncretistic imagery developed by the Franciscan educators, but also the proud and deceptively submissive voice of the Nahua heritage of the letter writer.

The shared identity created by a Latin education served as a base for successful communication, though not necessarily pleasant interaction, as is shown by TJOELKER in the case of the Irish Franciscan community in Innsbruck. The Irish expatriate community offended their local brethren not least because their widespread network permitted them to travel a lot more than was deemed suitable by the others. Latin in this case allowed not only mutual comprehension of the German-, Italian-, and Irish-speaking monks, it also supplied a canon of insults which could be levelled at (and understood by) the object of one's displeasure: the offending brother O'Callahan at one point was characterized as *varius et instabilis* (restless and fickle). This is an insult that depended for its full force on being expressed in Latin; the same phrase had been applied by the great Bellarmino to Luther (*disp. contr. fid.* I 1 p.179 from 1586), and Petrus Canisius had lobbied against any change in the feast days of the Church, lest the Catholics appear *vari*[*i*] *et instabiles* in the eyes of the Lutherans (*ep*. 1387 from 1597). With one Latin phrase the speaker had not only defined his opponent as a character of unreliable doctrine, but had anointed himself with a reliably orthodox identity.

Mexico was on or even beyond one border of the Latin world. DAHLBERG, on the other hand, discusses a literary environment on another cultural fault line: the Neo-Latin writings produced in Sweden, Denmark and Russia in connection with the Great Northern War. Polemic writing as a rule has a two-fold public: on the one hand it re-enforces the sense of grievance, triumph, etc. on the side with which the writer himself identifies, on the other it intends to communicate contempt and disdain to the opponent. This system collapsed when one party of a polemic had no reading public with knowledge of Latin. Thus in this conflict the Neo-Latin production by the Czar's propaganda minister, the Jesuit-educated Feofan Prokopovich, was exclusively aimed at the enemy and provided satisfaction to the home public only through translations into Russian. Swedish Latin

writings ridiculing Prokopovich, on the other hand, could mostly please Swedish readers, but annoyed only a very limited number of the enemy.

Austriana (1687), one of the Neo-Latin novels presented by SCHAFFENRATH, nearly contemporary with the *Simplicissimus*, and preceeding *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by only thirty years, straddles the two worlds of its reader and its narrative with a certain virtuosity. The storyline is monolingually Latin, even though the plot is set in Arabia and in an ill-defined Mesopotamia and East Africa. The queen sings Latin songs in prison, one of the villains has a Latin device (p.120), and in general a common language – rather in the manner of one of the more turbulent Handel operas set in the East – is taken for granted. The interior Latin communicative space of the novel transgresses into the Latin cultural sphere of its reader continuously. Already the title contains a double message: it indicates the plot (it is the name of the main heroine) and expresses the author's political allegiance to *Austria* explicitely. The Latin device mentioned had 'in real life' belonged to the French king Henri II (1519–1559); the queen's songs have interwoven bits and pieces of Latin catholic hymns. In the end, fact and fiction unite: in the novel's kingdom the poets after the happy end begin to write down the events, amongst them our writer, who begins the last sentence of the novel with *Ego* and ends it with a riff on the dynastic AEIOU of the Habsburg empire.

The identity put forward by writing in Latin obviously did not mean the same to all the Latin speakers (or writers) appearing in this volume. Writing in Latin allowed them to claim status for themselves and the political entities they belonged to, such as the Italian humanists setting themselves up against French medieval literature (PADE). It also allowed them to formulate allegiance to prominent parts of society, heightening the significance of political successes by dressing them in a prestigious literary vest (GWYNNE) or just generally supporting the political vicissitudes of their country (DAHLBERG) or ruling dynasty (SCHAFFENRATH). A public sphere larger than the state (and its opponent) – although retaining a link to the state – was envisaged by some authors: Camden's sober annals were meant to influence a larger public via their (ultimately failed) reception into a larger work of history (EATOUGH), and the *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* of the Irish Maurice Conry was an appeal for help for the oppressed Irish to a larger European public (TJOELKER).

The Neo-Latin writings discussed in this volume are thus very much a product of the 'public sphere', a term which Habermas defined "as the arena where private persons who gathered outside of the state [...] discuss matters of public import, including issues concerning the state".[11] Habermas'

[11] Quotation from Squires 2010, 608.

definition emphasizes an important aspect where the public sphere known to our writers was different from later developments: a public sphere outside of the *res publica* would not have been an attractive proposition for the writers presented in this volume. All of them saw themselves and their products as part of the body politic, of the *res publica*. A public sphere in which the state took no interest would have robbed their writings of a great part of their perceived importance. Erasmus had in 1504 insisted on the importance of the public sphere as the communicative space where panegyrical writing would exert its effect: not only would the prince addressed be encouraged to acquire the virtues ascribed to him (an optimistic proposition at best), but it was "in the public interest" (*publicitus interest*) that the subjects of the prince – even (or especially) when he was undeserving – respected their ruler (GWYNNE). Thus the public addressed in many of the texts discussed here differed in important aspects from a modern cultural elite. It needed to be literate in Latin to a high degree so as to be able to decode praise, blame, insult, and allegiance, which in many cases would be expressed only as a subtext within the imitative texture of the text. It would need to have the economic means to acquire the texts as such and it would need to have some kind of allegiance to, or at least connection with, the ruler or polity in question.

The communities that the writers in this volume expressed allegiance to were quite different from each other, and the importance of Latin and the reasons for using it varied no less. Latin was the prestige language of Italian humanists; it maintained its prestige throughout the period under purview. From the sixteenth century onwards, the fact that Latin (more than other European languages) allowed communication across political and linguistic borders became more and more important. Obviously, the Franciscan school curriculum in Mexico reflected the cultural values imported by the Franciscans from Europe. Latin allowed not only a participation in this value system, but also effective communication with the Spanish crown. Camden, in using Latin, could look for a readership beyond the British Isles, and certainly the Irish monks in Innsbruck were dependent on Latin as their medium of communication. The combination of these two functions was an ongoing process of renegotiation, and outcomes were as varied as the situations they proceeded from: no one other language could match the versatility of Latin for the diverse needs of early modern European society.

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On Neologisms in Neo-Latin

By Hans Helander

Keith carissime!

Tibi hoc anno tredecim lustra complenti congratulamur omnes, amici tui et collegae!

Litteras antiquas iudicio tuo acri et subtili
in usum orbis eruditi et rei publicae literariae
libris tuis doctissimis illustrasti.

Viam et methodum optimam Latine et Graece discendi
tironibus et incipientibus
scriptis tuis didacticis aperuisti.

Scriptores neolatinos e tenebris eruisti, in lucem traxisti, ante oculos omnium statuisti.
vestigia auctorum sagacitate subtili secutus. Tempora eorum sollicita et turbulenta
doctrina profunda et summa perspicuitate illuminasti.
Regiones vastissimas literarum et artium explorasti,
longius trans vastissimum illum Oceanum Neo-Latinum in terras adhuc incognitas
velificatione plena tendens.

Poemata interdum obscura et recondita
commentariis tuis eruditissimis enucleasti
versione Anglica ditans,
ipse velut olim Johannes Dryden vel Alexander Pope
lucidissima pangens carmina
et Musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.

Utinam tibi contingat per multos annos integris animi corporisque viribus
cum eo fructu laborum tuorum eniti,
ut orbi erudito et generi denique humano, ut semper antea, utilitati laudique sis!

Omnia tibi fausta, felicia, fortunata ex animo optamus!

Introduction

Dear Keith! Our symposium deals with the role of Latin in the Early Modern World. I have chosen to treat, as the subject of my paper, the gradual introduction of neologisms into various types of Neo-Latin literature and genres. The rapid expansion of the vocabulary represents an area that has attracted comparatively little interest, considering the fact that neologisms must be said to mirror, in a very distinct way, the progress of knowledge, the advancement of sciences and important cultural changes quite generally.

Even in recent studies by otherwise excellent Latinists we may meet with the statement that Latin of the Early Modern and Modern period is a static language, which in the lexical field exhibits "a certain development (incorporation of post-classical words; neologisms), but this evolution has remained of a very limited character". In my analysis of early modern Latin neologisms, I shall try to show that this is a misleading view, which gives a false picture of the role of Latin in the Early Modern age and makes us blind to the vitality and innovative potentiality of the Latin language.

My paper is an abridged, modified and reworked version of the article that I have written on the subject in Brill's *Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, with some additions and some extra emphasis on details that I consider worth commenting upon.

Let us start with the definition of the term neologism. According to generally accepted usage, there are two kinds of Latin neologisms, *neologisms of form* and *neologisms of sense*. A neologism of form is then any word occurring in Medieval or Neo-Latin texts that cannot be attested in ancient Latin. The concept is actually slightly absurd, since it brings together, under one single term, words like *abductor*, *directrix*, *extractio* as well as *sclopetus, barometrum* and *telescopium,* and *Landgravius* and *Mareschallus,* together with *zenith*, *nadir* and *ziphera*.[1] A neologism of sense, on the other hand, is a Latin word that is attested in ancient Latin, but is used, in later texts, in a new and different sense.

The various features of Neo-Latin vocabulary are elucidated in IJsewijn 1998 II:382 ff., and we find the phenomenon of neologism treated there (pp. 386 ff.). Several other scholars have contributed to a deeper understanding of Neo-Latin vocabulary and the role played by neologisms. Benner & Tengström (1977) studied learned and scholarly works in Sweden in the seventeenth century and Pitkäranta (1992) shed much light on certain

[1] It is in addition based upon quite unstable criteria: as regards certain words in this heterogeneous field (e.g. the first three which I mentioned), we cannot actually with certainty know whether they were used or not in ancient Rome, since the literature preserved to us is, in many genres, fairly limited.

derivational types in Finnish dissertations during roughly the same period. A number of Latinists at Uppsala University have treated the vocabulary of various disciplines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, e.g. historiography (Östlund 2000), medicine (Örneholm, 2003), theology (Eskhult 2007) and musicology (Sjökvist 2012). Johann Ramminger's list of neologisms (available on line) is of great interest. A most helpful tool also is René Hoven's *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance: Dictionary of Renaissance Latin from prose sources* (2nd ed. 2006), not least because of the recapitulative appendices at the end, which arrange the neologisms according to origin and derivational types. An excellent dictionary in this field is actually the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which will usually supply us very generously with etymologies, semantic distinctions and first occurrences of *termini technici*. It is true that the entries are English words, but the normal background, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, will be that the word was coined as a purely 'Latin' word (from Latin or Greek morphemes) which then some time afterwards appeared as an English word in English literature.

The Brave New World

Early modern Europe was the scene of extremely rapid changes in several areas. The Renaissance movement spread throughout the continent, with new ideals of a purer Latin and of Greek as a self-evident part of the curriculum. This was also the heroic and formative period of the young nation states. And it was the time of the Protestant Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, which both irrevocably changed the confessional map of the continent.

These upheavals coincided with the great discoveries and circumnavigations, which opened up the world for explorers, conquerors and scholars. At the same time the scientific revolution was well under way, from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In addition, all this happened when the printing press had been introduced and its resources efficiently exploited, which meant that all the new ideas, beliefs and insights were diffused with a speed and with an impact that had not been conceivable before.

Latin was actually the most important vehicle for the diffusion of all new knowledge, from the Early Renaissance up to the end of the eighteenth century. It was absolutely necessary to treat all the expanding knowledge in all areas in Latin. This role necessitated the introduction of neologisms on a large scale.

My aim and method

I shall conduct my investigation starting from three questions: 1. What were the basic *conditions* for coining Neo-Latin neologisms and which *resources* were available? 2. What *demands* were there for neologisms in various fields, from the Renaissance onwards? 3. What was the actual *outcome* in various genres and disciplines? The last part of this paper will then be devoted to a special analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg's *Oeconomia regni animalis* I (1740), which will illustrate in detail what the conditions were in the important area of anatomy and physiology.

I shall consequently try to explain the phenomenon of neologisms in the light of the history of ideas and learning. It is important to ascertain the existence of new words in Latin, but is also necessary to explain *why* they were coined.

Basic conditions and resources 1: Early Modern attitudes to neologisms

It was, as I have stated, absolutely necessary, in the Early modern period, to treat all expanding knowledge in Latin. Extreme purism of the doctrinal Ciceronian type was very rare and quite untypical. There were some famous Ciceronian debates that have attracted much interest, but they belong to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning and middle of the sixteenth.[2] On the contrary, an eclectic attitude is dominant and words are coined when they are needed. There are of course differences between genres. Poetry and historiography are as a rule more conservative, and the sciences more open to innovations, as we shall see.

Any persistent reader of Neo-Latin texts will soon notice how even the best and most elegant of purely literary works abound in words that do not occur in the ancient texts extant to us. In the literary texts we meet with a creative impetus in the field of derivation, forming new *nomina agentis* (*abductor*, *consutor*; *directrix*, *fulminatrix*), abstract nouns (*extractio*, *semotio*; *gratitudo*), diminutives (*laudatiuncula*; *scriptorculus*), and adverbs (especially those in *-im*, as *apertim*, *fusim*, *concisim*). Apparently the authors did not care whether these words existed in the preserved Latin literature, as long as they were regularly formed.[3] A large number of them

[2] Paolo Cortesi *versus* Angelo Poliziano; Pietro Bembo *versus* Gianfrancesco della Mirandola; Jacomo Sadoleto *versus* Desiderius Erasmus. In this list of antagonists, the Ciceronian occupies the first place. See also IJsewijn 1998, 412 ff. where the Ciceronian debates are treated under the chapter *Style*.

[3] In IJsewijn 1998, 382, it is remarked that "Budé was fond of substantives ending in *-tor*, and J.J. Pontanus needed lots of diminutives for his love poems. Neither of them ever checked to see if all their words had Roman testimonials. Many of the words they used are

were probably on the lips of the ancient Romans, although they have not survived in the texts preserved to us.

Actually, broadly speaking, with a view to the totality of Latin literature, all the texts that deal with all the various aspects of the nascent modern world**,** pragmatism is the attitude that is absolutely dominant. In so many fields the primary aim of the authors was the advancement of knowledge, and the vocabulary was enriched in order to further that purpose.

Early Modern Latin writers who comment on the actual usage sometimes feel themselves obliged to refer to Cicero's famous words in *De finibus* 3. 3: *Imponenda nova novis rebus nomina*, which may be translated, in a slightly modernized way, as "New words must be invented for new concepts". Other arguments could be found in Erasmus's dialogue *Ciceronianus*, which is a brilliant plea for the introduction of such neologisms that will be necessary in a new age with new social structures, new inventions and new ideas, epitomized the words*:* "Sed interim illud mihi cogites velim, optime Nosopone, quanta pars Ciceronianorum voluminum interciderit [...] Adde quod Cicero non tractavit omnes materias" and "Quot milia sunt rerum, de quibus nobis frequenter dicendum est, de quibus M. Tullius ne somniavit quidem?" (Erasmus 1995, 620 and 629)

It turned out, therefore, that it was possible to write in Latin about everything in the Early Modern world. It was only in certain fields of the humanities that problems tended to arise, and this had to do, among other things, with the more conservative and purist nature of poetry and historiography and also with conceptual changes in the political sphere that were difficult to express if Latin were to be used. I will return to this issue.

As stated in IJsewijn (1998, II:386 ff.), there were areas where the use of medieval and "barbarian" (mostly Teutonic) terms, or ancient words in a new sense was common and even obligatory, viz. (1) political and social concepts, institutions and functions (*Delphinus*, *Landgravius*, etc.); (2) the army, fleet and warfare (*bombarda*, *Campi-Mareschallus*, etc.); (3) the academic world (*baccalaureus*, *licentiatus*, etc.); (4) the ecclesiastical world (*cardinalis*, *capellanus*, etc.); (5) money, trade, industry and art (*thalerus*, *minera*, etc.); (6) plants and animals (*tabacum*, *tulipa*, etc.); (7) foods and drinks (*thea*, *caffeum*, etc.).

Things were actually less problematic in the sciences: it is indeed a remarkable thing that the Latin language stood the test especially well in most of the scientific disciplines. Innumerable words were formed by

not found in Roman writings (or rather, in Roman writings already published in their age), but they are nevertheless quite good Latin." Hoven 2006, 605 ff. contains a very handy list of "Mots classés d'après divers suffixes ou terminaisons". See for example the huge number of 'neologisms' in *-tor*, *-sor*, *-trix* and adverbs in *-sim* and *-tim*.

analogy with the prevailing rules of ancient Latin, predominantly composite nouns and adjectives, as I will show presently. In this process, the resources of Greek vocabulary were exploited in an extremely successful way. Ancient Latin had constantly absorbed Greek words, and during the Early Modern period the number of Greek loan words steadily increases, so as to form, in certain areas, the dominant bulk of terminology and nomenclature. In this way, using both ancient languages, scholars created neologisms that could not, by any reasonable standard, be regarded as barbarisms or solecisms. The Greek element is so important that it requires a special treatment.

Basic conditions and resources 2: The Greek Element and "barbarian" words

It must be remembered that there were two good reasons for making use of Greek resources. In the first place, the vocabulary of ancient Greek was much richer than that of ancient Latin. Secondly, it is much easier to form composite words from Greek stems than from Latin.

The overwhelming majority of these coinages still belong to the terminology of the sciences and have found their way by the thousands into modern languages as *termini technici*. These neologisms were, for example, designations for new disciplines or new branches of the sciences, or names of newly invented instruments: *thermometrum* (coined around 1600), *telescopium* (coined around 1610 [Galileo]) and *barometrum* (coined around 1660 [Boyle]), or new terms for new concepts within new theories: *elasticus* (coined in 1651 [Pecquet]).

The role of Greek became especially important in medicine. Renaissance scholars translated Greek medical authors into Latin. Anatomical names were to be Latin, the names of pathology were to be Greek; this holds true for old terms as well as for the numerous neologisms. This is why the brain is called *cerebrum*, but inflammation of the brain *encephalitis*, the nose *nasus*, but inflammation of that organ *rhinitis*, and so forth in roughly a hundred similar cases (*oculus* – *ophthalmia*, etc.).

Greek compound adjectives became an important part of the epithets needed for the description of species in biology: *macrophyllus* 'large-leaved', *macrorrhizus* 'with large root', *polycarpus* 'with many fruits', and hundreds of others. Further, many of the names of various fields of science themselves were Greek loan-words, for example, *physiologia*, *neurologia*, *anatomia* (see further below).

Scientists delighted in inventing new Greek terms. Newly coined composite Greek words are frequently introduced as book titles, with the

addition of a Latin translation as an explanation. The Polish astronomer Johannes Hevelius (1611–1687) gave the name *Selenographia sive lunae descriptio* (1647) to his important work on the surface of the moon. The habit spread even to works in the vernaculars. Thomas Browne (1605–1682) named his work on Roman sepuchral vessels *Hydriotaphia or Urn-Burial* (1658).

Most *neologisms of form* in Neo-Latin were thus formed from Latin and Greek elements. This is to be expected, considering the basic orientation and ideology of the writers that provided the model and set the trends of the *Renascentes Litterae*. As regards words formed on Greek morphemes, there are two main sub-groups: (1) Greek words that existed in ancient Greek but cannot be attested in ancient Latin, e.g. *anaesthesia* and *apnoea*; (2) Greek words that did not exist in ancient Greek but were coined from the fifteenth century onwards. Here belong words mentioned earlier, viz. *barometrum*, *telescopium*; *angiologia* and *selenographia*.

There are also a number of words from other sources, words of Teutonic and Semitic origin, and even more exotic contributions to the vocabulary. For example, of Teutonic origin are a number of high titles, like *Landgravius*, *Baro* and *Mareschallus* (belonging to the first group mentioned by IJsewijn, mentioned above). They mirror Medieval feudal hierarchies that were still of the highest importance in Early Modern Europe. Betraying an Arabic origin are a limited number of important technical terms belonging to alchemy (and chemistry) like *alembicus*, or to mathematics and astronomy, as *zero*, *zenith* and *azimuth*.

In addition to these neologisms of form, we have to take into account the *neologisms of sense*, viz. ancient Latin words that are used in a new sense.

The various demands that generated neologisms

I shall now pass to the second main section of my paper, and try to answer the question why it was necessary to form so many new words.

The dramatic upheavals of Early Modern Europe, mentioned above, produced an enormous amount of literature, not least in Latin: pamphlets, polemical treatises, propaganda literature of various kinds and biased historiography. The authors needed new words that could characterize the beliefs and ideologies of the period and name the partisans of old or new convictions, and in addition serve as forceful and convincing expressions for the glory of their rulers and the wretchedness of their adversaries.

These upheavals coincided with great geographical discoveries which provided the learned world with new species, of flora as well as of fauna,

which were described and classified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The eighteenth century continued the work in more detail and on a larger scale, classifying *per classes*, *ordines*, *genera et species* all the data the seventeenth century had accumulated. Linnaeus's *Species plantarum* (1753) and *Systema naturae* (final ed. 1758) are representative works for this phase.[4]

The invention of the microscope and its gradual improvement brought about rapid progress in the anatomical and physiological sciences, documented and presented to the learned world through the Latin works of Robert Hooke, Marcello Malpighi, Antoine van Leeuwenhoek, Jan Swammerdam and others, which resulted in the introduction of a drastically enlarged nomenclature for bones, muscles, veins and arteries, never before known or named.

Actually, the sciences of anatomy and physiology, together with botany and zoology, produced the absolutely dominating number of neologisms, surpassing by a wide margin the number of new words in all other sciences and scholarly domains. Thousands of adjectives were coined in the service of description and classification.

Scientific discourse is in constant need, through its intrinsic nature, of nouns that denote qualities and processes. Further, closely linked to these fundamental components in scientific pursuit are the notions of nominalization and abstraction. All these are important sources of neologisms.

We shall look more closely at these activities of the human mind presently, since they are, I think, absolutely fundamental for the understanding of the creation of neologisms.

Expressions of qualities and processes

The dominating group among the names for *qualities* are nouns in *–itas*, gen. *-itatis*. It is interesting to note that some nouns of this type that occur as highly frequent loan-words in most modern European languages are extremely rare in the ancient Latin preserved to us, and that they in many instances occur only in factual, non-literary, technical prose. Many such nouns were coined during the Middle Ages and formed an important part of scholastic terminology. Typical Early Modern neologisms are nouns that describe qualities of matter, viz. the properties of various substances and materials, such as *compressibilitas*, *expansibilitas*, *fluiditas*, *mucositas*, *permeabilitas*, *porositas*, *serositas*, *transmeabilitas* and *viscositas*. Some of

[4] For further discussion of the background, see Helander 2001, especially 10–26, and Helander 2004, 13 ff., 319 ff. and 398 ff.

these introduced concepts that were new and revolutionary, like *elasticitas* and *electricitas*.

A great number of nouns for *processes* may be found in ancient Latin. The absolutely dominating type is nouns in *–io*, gen. *–ionis*. Numerous such words have been adopted as loan-words in modern languages. Many of those that occur in the ancient authors are, however, rare (in many instances extremely rare and even *hapax legomena*), and they are most often late, with the character of *termini technici*, to be found only in medical texts, in treatises of natural history, etc.[5] Typical neologisms of this kind are words like: *cribratio*, *depuratio*, *destillatio*, *evaporatio*, *fermentatio*, *filtratio*, *sanguificatio*, some of which are of medieval origin, others products of Early Modern science.

It is apparently the case that scientific prose needs nouns that refer to processes, and also nouns referring to qualities. So this is an area where we should expect to meet with numerous neologisms in Early Modern scientific texts, and there was indeed a demand for nominalizations of this kind on a grand scale, as the following section demonstrates.

Nominalizations

Words like *fluiditas* and *sanguificatio* are there for a purpose: they fulfil in scientific language the roles for which they have been created, but strangely enough very few attempts have been made to describe more in detail *what* their functions are and *in what semantic and syntactical contexts* they are used. An attempt will be made here.

Two roles seem to me to be most important, viz. A. *to act as an expression of cause*; B. *to fulfil a role in a periphrasis.* Let us look at some examples of these functions.

A. Causal elements may be expressed mainly in two different ways, either (1) as the subject of the sentence or (2) as an adverbial. I shall give some examples from a medical treatise from 1740.[6]

The following example shows a series of nominalizations as the subject of the sentence:

[5] Typical examples are *attractio*, of which TLL gives only three instances, from Caelius Aurelianus, Palladius and Vindicianus (another medical writer [fl. AD 400]), *congelatio*, which occurs a couple of times in Seneca (*Nat. quaest.*), Columella and Pliny the Elder; *frictio*, which can be found only in some medical authors in the sense of 'massage'; *palpitatio*, which occurs only in Pliny the Elder; *pressio*, which can be found just once in Vitruvius, in the sense of 'physical pressure (of a construction)' and in a concrete sense in Caesar (*B.C.* 2.9.6).

[6] Emanuel Swedenborg's *Oeconomia* I. See below under *The actual outcome in the field of anatomy and physiology*.

> Quod Sanguinis partes, quae sphaericae describuntur, non sint simplices & individuae, sed ex diversis Salibus coagmentatae, *praeter Destillationem*, etiam *Digestio*, *Fermentatio*, *Putrificatio*, *Extractio*, *Solutio*, *Luctatio*, & *Mutatio* adjectis menstruis, aut vicissim nulla, adjectis concordibus; tum *Odor* Olfactum feriens, *Gustus* linguam, *Color*, *Tepor*, *Strepitus* ad ignem, *Pondus*, *Concrescentia* in fibras, reticulares areas, stirias, ramenta; *Privatio* dictarum qualitatum peracta resolutione; *Natura* seri; *Victus*, & plura aperiunt et demonstrant.[7]

There are seventeen members in this long subject construction. To them should be added also *praeter destillationem*, which is in reality = *destillatio*. All of them represent a causal element.

The adverbial type may be represented by the following (much shortened) sentence:

> Quam ingeniosa & provida fuerit natura animalis in conciliando robore & vita musculis **…** ex mirabili arteriarum *transvectione* per annulos osseos & membranaceos; *applicatione* sub musculis & nervis, & *circumvolutione* per eosdem … apparebit.[8]

We notice that both types have the same logical and semantic structure,[9] containing three elements, expressing respectively: (I) cause, (II) the degree of certainty and (III) the state of affairs believed to prevail:

(I) Because there is a process x	(II) we know, or assume,	(III) that the state of affairs y prevails.
(1) *Digestio*	*demonstrat*	*quod sanguinis partes non sint simplices.*
(2) *Ex mirabili transvectione*	*apparebit*	*quam ingeniosa et provida fuerit natura.*

That which proves something must always be a fact: concrete objects do not prove anything, but facts do. "Die Welt ist die Gesamtheit der Tatsachen, nicht der Dinge" (The world is the totality of facts, not of things), as Ludwig Wittgenstein contended.[10] Concrete objects do not prove anything, but facts do. Hence, the subject will normally be a linguistic realization of a

[7] Swedenborg 1740, 44.
[8] Swedenborg 1740, 233.
[9] Cf. Helander 1977, 81 ff.
[10] Wittgenstein 1922, 1,1.

predication, viz. a clause, an accusative with infinitive or an abstract noun with an attribute.[11]

B. The other important function of nominalizations is to fulfil a role in a periphrasis. We have then to do with expressions like *pulsationes fiunt* (*=[res aliquae] pulsantur*) or *compressiones succedunt* (= *postea [res aliquae] comprimuntur*). These abstract nouns then normally appear as the subject of the sentence, as in the examples given.

Scholarly and scientific discourse has always been in need of such nouns as technical terms in precisely the roles that I have described here. In the role of nouns, the processes, qualities and states may be handled in a manner that would not be possible if we had access only to verbs and adjectives. As nouns, they can act as the grammatical subject, receive attributes and form part of periphrases; and quite generally they may, because of the status of nouns, be the subject-matter of discussion and assessment.

Abstraction and abstract nouns

There are two main processes of abstraction that concern us here, *hypostasizing* and *classifying*.[12]

The result of the *hypostasizing* process are the so-called abstract nouns. These are, under the common definition, nouns that denote action/process, quality or state, e.g. *crystallizatio*, *fermentatio*; *elasticitas*, *fluiditas*. They are regularly formed on verbs and adjectives through the process of nominalization.

The *classifying* abstractive process results in the organization and structuring of the chaotic world that meets our senses. Explicit manifestations of this intellectual activity is the coining of words and expressions that divides and subdivides things and phenomena into genus and species, classes and orders in any kind of hierarchical system. Illustrative examples are the multiword terms, consisting of a head-word and an attribute, that form an important part of the anatomical nomenclature: names of nerves, muscles, arteries, veins and bones. But classification may proceed in other ways, too, with other linguistic tools, as we shall see.

Classification

The phenomena of nature have always been classified and named by scholars and scientists. The subdivision of a *genus* into several *species* may stand as a model for the procedure.

[11] Cf. Helander 1977, 11-25.

[12] For an exhaustive study of the phenomenon of abstraction, see Mikkola 1964, 10 ff.

As regards the *naming* of various species under a genus, there seem to be two methods that dominate in the classical languages. They may be exemplified through two examples: **A** *Prolapsus uteri*; **B** *Hysteroptosis,* which mean the same thing. As we shall see, both played an important role in Early Modern Latin word-formation, especially the latter.

Let us look at **A** first. Various parts of the body are typically named in the following way, to give some examples from the field of myology:

musculus pectoralis, serratus, sublingualis, trapezius;
musculi abdominales, intercostales, respiratorii, sternales.

These attributes answer questions about where the muscles are localized (*pectoralis, sublingualis, abdominalis, sternalis*), what they look like (*serratus, trapezius*), and what they are doing (*respiratorius*).

The examples given ought to be sufficient to illustrate the features and functions of what I have called type **A** *Prolapsus uteri.* We have seen that it typically consists of a head-word, denoting *genus* and attributes (genitival or adjectival), denoting *species*. This is the pattern that came to be extremely common in the sciences and it is the characteristic feature of Linnaean binomial nomenclature.

What can then be said about type **B** *Hysteroptosis*? Whereas *prolapsus uteri* is pure Latin, consisting of two words with the functions just indicated, *hysteroptosis* is a Greek, composite noun. We notice that *prolapsus* in A has its counterpart in *–ptosis* in B, and that *uteri* in A corresponds to *hyster(o)–* in B. In other words, in B, the order between the indication of genus and the indication of species may be said to be inverted: the later morpheme represents the *genus* and the first the *species*. There are *–ptoses* (or *–ptoseis*) of different kinds, e.g.:

hysteroptosis = prolapsus uteri
proctoptosis = prolapsus ani
blepharoptosis = prolapsus palpebrae

In certain areas, type B is very common. We shall below meet this phenomenon in the names of the various disciplines, e.g. *angiologia*. In the botanical sciences, the B system is used in the elegant neologisms that form the names of the Linnaean classes, arranged after the number of stamens (*mon-andria*, etc.).

The same analysis may be applied to adverbs formed from Latinized Greek adjectives in *-icus*, of which several may be said to indicate the way or method of reasoning (*analytice*, *categorice*, *geometrice*, *hypothetice*, *mechanice*, *synthetice*, *theoretice*). We could then assume that *–(ic)e* indicates method quite generally, and that the morphemes in the first parts of the word indicate the various types of reasoning, e.g.:

analytice = *methodo analytica*
geometrice = *methodo geometrica; more geometrico*
theoretice = *methodo theoretica*

Such adverbs are frequently found in scientific works, as in Emanuel Swedenborg's *Oeconomia regni animalis*, where the author says on the title-page that his treatise will proceed *anatomice*, *physice* et *philosophice*.

An analysis of the various kinds of classifying adjectives will illustrate the usefulness and applicability of the Latin and Latinized Greek derivational endings. The endings, most of them, have specialized roles which answer in a very practical way to the different kinds of predications that may reasonably occur with any entity. In dealing with a creature, a thing, a phenomenon or indeed any entity, we shall often have reason to ask the following questions: what may be done with it? what can it do? of which material does it consist? what does it contain? what does it look like? what does it have to do with? The derivational endings, through their semantic specialization, fulfil exactly these roles in an excellent way, answering precisely these questions:

What may be done with it? **–(b)ilis**:
compressibilis, *condensabilis*, *plicabilis*
What can it do? **–ivus** and **–orius:**
expansivus, *successivus*; *destillatorius, excretorius*
Of which material does it consist? **–eus** and –**osus**:
aqueus, *nerveus*, *osseus*; *adiposus*, *fibrosus*, *tendinosus*
What does it look like? –**formis** and **–oides**:
piriformis, *retiformis*; *conoides*
What does it have to do with? **–alis**, **–icus**, and **–inus**:
capillaris, *muscularis*; *magneticus*, *microscopicus*, *opticus*; *raninus*

Neologisms in the various literary genres and in the various fields of human knowledge

I now pass to the third part of my paper, which will deal with the actual *outcome* in various genres and disciplines It will be an attempt to characterize the use of neologisms in some important fields. The number of areas could easily have been multiplied, but I think that the examples given will show that the propensity to accept neologisms varied widely according to the subject matter that was being treated.

High titles and distinctions

Early Modern Latin authors met the demands of their times, their society and practical life in an unorthodox and pragmatic way. Titles like *Landgravius*, *Baro* and *Mareschallus* represented an extremely sensitive and even dangerous matter; and precautions were taken accordingly. In his *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum*, Noltenius issues a peremptory warning in his treatment of hybrid titles of the type *Archidux*, *Archimareschallus.* Such titles *are* hybrids and some of them *are* barbarian, he says, but he strongly advises against any attempts to use classicizing circumscriptions in order create a 'purer' Latin; the result may be ambiguity and even diminishment of the dignity of the titled people:

> Vix enim haec possunt elegantius magisque Latine reddi, ut non dignitati magnorum horum Principum quidquam detrahatur. Quocumque enim modo v.g. vocabulum *Archiducis* reddideris, vix effugies reprehensionem. Si *Magnos Duces* vocaveris, pares illos reddes *Magno Duci Etruriae*, si *Supremos Duces* a nexu cum Romano Imperio eos absolves, si *Primos duces*, hoc quoque insolens erit.[13]

It is stupid, Noltenius goes on, to try to please some grammarians, who are so dull-witted that they cannot combine their care for the Latin language with common sense, and thus to prefer to displease princes and insult their majesty in order not to seem to insult the dignity of Priscian:

> Stultum est, ut placeas non nullis Grammatistis, qui cum cura Latinitatis rectum de rebus judicium propter hebetem mentis aciem conjungere nequeunt, Principibus displicere malle, et horum laedere majestatem, ne Prisciani dignitatem laesisse videaris.[14]

Political institutions and political philosophy

Early Modern societies and constitutions differed radically from the various political systems of the ancient world. We have here actually one of the few fields where the Latin language in the course of time was felt to be inadequate. It is obvious that the whole area became increasingly difficult to treat in Latin.[15]

Neologisms of Teutonic or other barbarian origin were reluctantly accepted when exactness was required, as we have seen in the previous section. In referring to feudal institutions, Medieval or contemporary practices and commissions, the authors felt they sometimes had to use

[13] Noltenius 1744, col. 425.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Bo Lindberg has recently treated political terminology in two studies (2006, with an English summary 230–235, and 2007, 31–50).

words like *feudum*, *parlamentum* and *ambasciator*. But in more theoretical and abstract contexts, scholars tended to use ancient terms for the modern phenomena they were treating, thus producing neologisms of sense. Legislative assemblies, such as Diets and Parliaments, were called *comitia*, provincial rulers go under the name of *satrapae* and district governors *toparchae*, venerable names and titles from the Ancient world. The problem was that designations of that kind tended to be vague and ambiguous, and the associations with ancient societies that this usage entailed were often quite misleading. The situation became even worse when more abstract concepts were to be discussed: *res publica*, *civis*, *patria*, *natio*, *populus*, *democratia*. To use the words of Bo Lindberg: "The ancient words carried with them references to circumstances and conditions which were becoming irrelevant in the Early modern political world."[16]

Warfare

As regards the domain of warfare, one would suppose that there was an urgent need of terminological innovation because of the introduction of gun-powder, fire-arms and artillery, difference in equipment and the organization of fighting units that were unknown to the ancients. It turns out, however, that the terminological difficulties of this area were solved mainly through neologisms of sense, most often in a classical and elegant way. The users of these words were, after all, mostly historiographers, orators and poets, viz. representatives of genres that always tended to be more conservative, purist and less open to neologisms (see above).

Gunpowder is normally referred to as *pulvis bombardicus* (or *ignivomus*, *nitratus*, *pyrius* or *tormentarius*).[17] Artillery is *res tormentaria*, and a gun is called *canna*, *catapulta*, *machina* or *tormentum*. A cannon-ball can be called *globus*, *globulus* or *sphaerulus* (sometimes with the attributes *ignivomus* or *tormentarius*). *Sclopus*[18] is a musket, and musketry *sclopetarii*. *Malum granatense* is a hand-grenade, a formidable weapon of the grenadier units that were organized at the end of the seventeenth century. Firing in the sense 'explosion of gunpowder' is called *displosio* or *explosio*; firing with regard to the moment of launching often goes by the name *eructatio*, *jaculatio* and *eiaculatio*; firing in the sense 'shelling', 'bombardment' is often expressed

[16] Lindberg 2006, 231.

[17] For documentation (with authors, year and quotations) of these words and of the following terms in this section, see Helander 2004, 175–198.

[18] Basilius Faber Soranus, in his 1686 *Thesaurus*, believed (like other lexicographers) that *sclopus* was an ancient Latin word, identical with *stloppus* (to be found in Persius 5.13): "Sclopus *sonus est, qui emittitur e buccis inflatis* [...] *Legunt et* stlopus; *inde ad bombardas minores transfertur*."

through *fulminatio* or *verberatio*. A regiment is in most writers a *legio*, and a battalion is suitably and adequately named *phalanx*. The heavily armoured cavalry that survived until the middle of the seventeenth century make their heroic and intrepid charges under the name of *cataphracti* (like their equivalents in late antiquity), and the units of modern mounted infantry that became increasingly important during the course of the seventeenth century was suitably called *dimachae.*[19] A colonel of a dragoon regiment was then a *tribunus dimacharum*. A *cohors praetoria* is a life guard regiment.

Polemics and debates

In this area, there was an urgent need for disparaging and defamatory terms, new invectives, suitable to describe the utter moral baseness of heterodox adversaries.[20] Diminutives turn out to be a reliable resource: a bad author is a *scriptorculus*, a ridiculous Roman priest a *sacrificulus* or a *sacerdotulus*. Other derivatives are also useful. The Catholics could for instance be named *papistici*. New compound designations were in vogue: the Roman Catholics are *papicolae* in Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and in Protestant epics during the 30 Years' War; they could also be said to suffer from *papimania*. Nomina agentis in *–tor (–sor)*, or the feminine equivalent in *–trix* turned out to be useful as characterizations of one's opponents: *Lutherozelator* is a follower of Luther. Popular and useful were also new words, coined with the help of the Greek μάστιξ, 'scourge', 'whip', together with a name of a person or a nation as the first element,[21] e.g. *Capniomastix* (i.e. one who lashes Reuchlin), *Erasmomastix, Huttenomastix, Lutheromastix*.[22] These designations could be used both for praise and for blame.[23]

A type of word-formation apparently felt to be open for innovation was the creation of a verb formed with the Greek verb suffix *-izo* (sometimes spelt *-isso*) which came into fashion in the sixteenth century. It provided a convenient way to express religious and political sympathies, e.g. *Lutherisso*, *Papizo*. Patronymica require a special commentary. Many authors rejoice in forming new fanciful and learned compositions by means of Greek patronymic suffixes that might be used as indication of the glorious ancestry of their sovereigns and compatriots. The *Hectoridae* are

[19] After a type of mounted infantry named δίμαχαι in e.g. Diodorus Siculus, a word subsequently used by Curtius.

[20] For documentation (with authors, year and quotations) of these words and of the following terms in this section, see Helander 2004, 319 ff.

[21] As will be remembered, the grammarian Zoilos was known as the *Homeromastix*, 'the scourge of Homer', because of his criticism of the Homeric poems.

[22] Hoven 2006 lists several very learned and very amusing composite nouns of this kind.

[23] *The Oxford English Dictionary* lists, s.v. *-mastix,* among other instances *atheomastix* (1619), *Episcopomastix* (1660) and *Papisto Mastyx* (1662).

the French, since they were thought to be the off-spring of Francus, son of Hector,[24] likewise *Pepiniadae* (as descendants of Pepin le bref).

New inventions, instruments and parts of machines

Many of the names for new inventions are two-word terms. The compass goes under the name of *pyxis magnetica* (or *navigatoria* or *vitrea*). The *acus index* (or *magnetica*, or *navigatoria*) is the needle of the compass.[25] We have seen above that gunpowder was called *pulvis pyrius* (with many variant attributes). The normal word for an air-pump was *antlia pneumatica* (early seventeenth century) and a magnifying glass was called *lens miscroscopica* (early seventeenth century).

Other inventions were named by means of elegantly formed composite Greek nouns, such as the ones mentioned earlier, viz. *telescopium*, *thermometrum*, and *barometrum*, all coined in the course of the seventeenth century. The microscope, *microscopium*, revolutionized the exploration of the human body. The term *microscopium* is said to have been coined by the Greek scholar Demiscianus around 1614. The last part of these Latinized Greek composite nouns (*-metrum*; *-scopium*) then carry information of the genus, and the first part expresses the species, exactly as we have seen above.

The noun *elater* (ἐλατήρ), which in ancient Greek means 'one that drives', was used from around 1650 with reference to a spring in a clock, which must be regarded as a neologism of sense. From the stem of this word were formed the abstract noun *elasticitas* and the adjective *elasticus* (coined around 1651 by Jean Pecquet [1622–1674]), which were words for a new concept within a new theory.

Names for the various fields of science

A great number of the names of various fields of science were created in Early Modern Europe. Very few such designations of this type existed in ancient Latin, most of them are Greek loan-words, normally ending in *-logia*, or *-ice* (*-ica*) (with the suppressed head-word *techne*), such as *anatomia* and *optice*. In Early Modern times such words were created *en masse*, regularly from Greek stems.

The general tendency in this area is quite clear and may be summarized as follows: a few exist in ancient terminology; some, regularly those with a quite general or vague sense, were coined in the sixteenth century (*patho-*

[24] E.g. in George Buchanan's *Sylvae* (*Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae* [...] *epithalamium*).

[25] For documentation (with authors, year and quotations) of these words see Helander 2004, 221 ff.

logia, *physiologia*, *psychologia*); but most of the terms that denote sub-disciplines were introduced during the dynamic seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth; and most of them are in use today (*adenologia*, *angiologia*, *myologia*, *neurologia*, etc.).

Anatomy and physiology; chemistry

The last part of this paper is devoted to a special analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg's *Oeconomia regni animalis*, which will illustrate in a most concrete way, what the conditions were in this area. I have included there a number of words for processes that we today would call chemical, since they were used by scientists in the analyses of bodily fluids and tissues.

In these areas, terminology and nomenclature were enriched through an enormous number of new words. They actually, together with botany and zoology, produced the absolutely dominating number of neologisms, surpassing by a wide margin the number of new words in all other sciences and scholarly domains.

Botany and zoology

The numerous neologisms in this area are as a rule elegantly formed on Latin or Greek morphemes. From the early Renaissance onwards, natural historians aimed at the radical extirpation of medieval barbarisms and distortions that had abounded in the nomenclature. Otto Brunfels in his *Herbarum vivae icones* (1530) demanded that his colleagues should adhere to the correct terminology of Theophrastus and Pliny, *relictis* [...] *barbarorum neniis* [...] *immo nugacissimis nugis*. This, however, did not mean the prohibition of well-formed neologisms on Greek and Latin stems. On the contrary, this practice was encouraged and flourished.

Among the neologisms in this area, two kinds stand out as especially important: adjectival attributes as designations of the species and the names of higher categories.

The adjectival attributes naming botanical species are numerous.[26] They may carry information about geographical occurrence, colour, characteristic features, smell and taste, time of blossom or officinal use. The number of neologisms is overwhelming. In Linnaeus's *Species plantarum* (1753) we meet for example Latin compounds such as *angustifolius*, *cuneifolius*, *hyssopifolius*, *integrifolius*; *grandiflorus*, *nudiflorus*; *bulbifer*; *atropurpureus*, *purpurocaeruleus*. As a rule, they are self-explanatory and well formed, on analogy with adjectives like *latifolius* and *bacifer* (both in Pliny). There

[26] In Zander 1984 there is a list of 57 pages, with two columns, of such attributes, together more than 5,000 names.

are also Greek compounds in abundance: *monopetalus*; *pentaphyllus*, *ceratophyllus*; *polyspermus*; *antidysentericus*. These are either Greek words that existed in ancient Greek but cannot be attested in ancient Latin (πενταφύλλος and πολυσπέρμος, e.g., are both in Theophrastus) or words coined in the Early Modern age.

Compound neologisms are in frequent use as species attributes also in zoology. We find them in every province of the Animal kingdom. Just to give a few examples from that rich material, there are in Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* (the edition of 1758–59) Latin compounds like *caudiverberus*, *laticaudatus*, *ovivorus* (species under *Reptilia*) and *quadripunctatus*, *sexpunctatus*, *ruficornis*, *biguttatus* (species under *Insecta*). As in the previous section, they are mostly well formed, in accordance with ancient Latin word formation. Greek adjectives also occur everywhere, e.g. *lagocephalus* (species under *Pisces*); *lithophagus*, *argyrostomus* (species under *Vermes*) and *glaucopterus*, *leucocephalus* and *leucophthalmus* (species under *Insecta*).

In the names for higher categories, Greek compound words play an important role. An illustrative example is found in the names of the Linnaean classes, arranged after the number of stamens. They are formed by means of the Greek cardinal numbers as the first morpheme and a later element *–andria* (of Greek ἀνήρ, ἀνδρός , 'man', and here 'stamen') as the second component: *mon-andria*, *di-andria*, *tri-andria*, *tetr-andria*, *pent-andria,* etc.

The actual outcome in the field of anatomy and physiology: an analysis of Emanuel Swedenborg's *Oeconomia* I (1740)

Swedenborg's *Oeconomia* I must be regarded as highly representative of its genre, since it mainly consists of quotations from, and discussions of, the theses of the most important anatomists, microscopists and physiologists immediately preceding Swedenborg or contemporary with him: the English physician William Harvey (1578–1657), the Italian anatomist Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), the Dutch microscopist Antoine van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), the Danish anatomist Caspar Bartholin the Younger (1655–1738), the Dutch physician Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738), the German anatomist Lorenz Heister (1683–1758), etc., i.e. the most outstanding of the scientists who brought about the revolution in medicine which I mentioned earlier.

Some introductory words about Emanuel Swedenborg are necessary. He was a Swedish scientist, polyhistor and mystic, author of numerous works in different scientific and philosophical fields, nearly all of them in Latin. Born

in 1688, he studied at Uppsala University. Between 1710 and 1715 he travelled in England, the Netherlands, France and Germany, primarily with the aim of studying the sciences. In 1716 he became the editor of *Daedalus Hyperboreus*, a scientific journal which contained descriptions of new inventions (among them many innovations made by the ingenious Christopher Polhem [1661–1751]). At the end of 1716 he got the opportunity of meeting Charles XII, who appointed him *Assessor Extraordinarius* in the College of Mines. The works that Swedenborg published in the 1720s and 1730s dealt with physics and technology. In the 1730s appeared *Opera philosophica et mineralia*, in three gigantic volumes (Dresden & Leipzig 1734). The first of these, *Principia rerum naturalium* deals with physical theory and cosmology, the second and third, *De ferro* and *De cupro*, with metallurgical processes. Gradually, Swedenborg's interest shifted from the questions of physics and metallurgy to anatomy, physiology and to psycho-physical problems. At the beginning of the 1740s he published *Oeconomia Regni animalis* I [on the blood and the heart], Amsterdam 1740; *Oeconomia Regni animalis* II [on the brain], Amsterdam 1741; *Regnum animale* I [on the abdomen] and *Regnum animale* II [on the thorax], both The Hague 1744. These works should all be read against their background: the first half of the eighteenth century was the golden age of science in Sweden, the age of Linnaeus and Anders Celsius.

In 1743 his life underwent a radical change through a religious crisis which led to visions which he interpreted as divine revelations. He was, from that point on, convinced that he was the chosen tool of God, indeed that he was a prophet, with a mission to explain to the world the hidden, hitherto misunderstood, spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. The remarkable prose poem *De cultu et amore Dei* (London 1745) belongs to this period: In this work he developed his theory of correspondence, which more than anything else has made him famous. His ideas of corresponding planes were the source of inspiration for a number of authors with an interest in transcendental speculation, e.g. Blake, Emerson and Baudelaire, who almost always distorted and misunderstood Swedenborg's ideas, though often in a most fruitful way. Important works from this last period of Swedenborg's life are *Arcana coelestia* (London 1749 –56), *Deliciae sapientiae de amore conjugiali* (Amsterdam 1768) and *Vera Christiana religio* (Amsterdam 1771). He died in 1772.

Swedenborg's mastery of the Latin language is striking. Among his earliest publications were a panegyric speech on Charles XII's return from Turkey, a political allegory and a collection of poems, all of them written in a high-strung style, full of elegant allusions to the Augustan poets, especially Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* were to inspire him throughout his

life. In the scientific works which followed (from the 1720s and 1730s), he treats his subjects (mineralogy, physics, physiology, etc.) with ease and efficiency, often in a very plain style, well suited to the subject-matter. The same holds true about the physiological works from the last phase of his scientific period. He adapted his prose to the common and then normal discourse of men of science, but there are, in all the treatises, passages in which Swedenborg suddenly rises to a higher level, soaring in a rapture of poetic inspiration. The abovementioned prose poem *De cultu et amore Dei* illustrates Swedenborg's capacity in this regard in a most fascinating way.

So – what is there to find in Swedenborg's *Oeconomia* that may be of interest to our subject? In my experience, the kinds of neologisms that stand out in in this work belong to two categories, viz. (1) nouns (nominalizations) expressing qualities and processes, and (2) adjectives used for classification.

Let us look at the nouns first. In *Oeconomia* I we find a great number of neologisms in *–tas*, *–tatis*, e.g. *accidentalitas*, *compressibilitas*, *elasticitas*, *expansibilitas*, *fluiditas*, *mucositas*, *permeabilitas*, *plicabilitas*, *porositas*, *viscositas*, etc. They are, most of them, well formed nominalizations from ancient Latin adjectives. Some of them ought to have existed in ancient Latin, others are typical of scholastic discourse (*accidentalitas*). The majority are words that describe the properties of matter (materials, substances), or nouns that anatomists and physiologists must have been in urgent need of (*fluiditas*, *mucositas*, *porositas*, etc.). Some of these mirror recent progress in physics (*elasticitas*).

In all, I found in my material 32 neologisms of this kind. I counted also the number of nouns in *-tas, -tatis* that were attested in ancient Latin. There were 33 (some of them extremely rare, such as *rigiditas* [Vitruvius] and *vitalitas* [Pliny the Elder]). Thus, in *Oeconomia* I, half of the nouns of this kind are neologisms.

We also find a considerable number of neologisms in *-io*, gen. *-ionis*, e.g. *calcinatio*, *chrystalisatio* (*cristalisatio*), *circumvolutio*, *cohobatio*, *coloratio*, *constabilitio*, *cribratio*, *depuratio*, *destillatio*, *evaporatio*, *fermentatio*, *filtratio*, *gyratio*, *luctatio*, *praecipitatio*, *putrificatio*, *resupinatio*, *reverberatio*, *sanguificatio*. Most of these words are perfectly natural nominalizations from well-known Latin verbs, nouns that for some reason do not occur in extant ancient Latin literature, many of which will perhaps require an explanation as technical terms (*loricatio*, "covering with plastering"), *luctatio* ("agitation due to chemical action"), *reverberatio* ("treatment in a reverbatory kiln"). I found a very limited number of non-Latin origin: the term *decantatio* is derived from Greek (*de* and the Greek κάνθος, "rim of a

cup", so it has nothing to do with the noun *decantatio* in Jerome); the stem of *filtratio* is Teutonic, and *cohobatio* ("repeated distillation") is one of the fanciful inventions of Paracelsus. All of them have come into the vocabularies of modern languages. (They were all corrected by my computer, as I wrote them, into *depuration*, *fermentation*, etc.)

Many of the terms, especially those that denote processes in the (al)chemical laboratory were formed already in the Middle Ages, like *fermentatio*, *praecipitatio*, and *sublimatio*.

In all I found in my material 90 neologisms of this kind. I counted also the number of nouns in *-io*, *-ionis* that were attested in ancient Latin. They were 141. Thus, in *Oeconomia* I, around 39 % of the nouns in *-io*, *-ionis* are neologisms.

Among the adjectives, I found neologisms of all the types which I mentioned earlier. In several common types, the neologisms turned out *to outnumber* those adjectives in *Oeconomia* I that are attested in ancient Latin, e.g. in the following:

> *–alis*, *–aris*: *abdominalis*, *bronchialis*, *intercostalis*, *jugularis*, *lienalis*, *tendineo-muscularis*, etc. (42 neologisms against 23 of this type attested in ancient Latin [among which some are extremely rare], viz. 65 % neologisms).
> *–(b)ilis*: *adaptibilis*, *condensabilis*, *expansibilis*, *inobservabilis*, *replicabilis*, etc. (32 against 28, viz. 52 % neologisms).
> *–icus*: *adenologicus*, *aneurysmaticus*, *diaphragmaticus*, *epigastricus*, *hepatico-cysticus*, *magneticus*, *myologicus*, etc. (43 against 24, viz. 67 % neologisms!).
> *–orius*: *deglutorius*, *destillatorius*, *excretorius*, *expansorius*, *manducatorius*, *resorptorius*, *respiratorius*, *secretorius*, etc. (25 against 4, vis. 86 % neologisms!).

Noteworthy, too, are composite adjectives derived by means of the Greek *-eus*, such as *stylopharyngeus*, referring to the muscle that has its origin in the *styl*oid process and its innervation in the *pharyng*eal plexus. Further, there are also in *Oeconomia* I many new adjectives ending in *-formis* (*coniformis*, *falciformis*, *restiformis*, *retidormis*, *scutiformis*). All these new words belong to the common vocabulary of science, to the terminology and nomenclature that had grown especially rapidly during the last part of the seventeenth century and during the decades preceding Swedenborg's work.

From the end of the seventeenth century right through the eighteenth century we find a revolution of values and mentality, *La crise de la conscience européenne*, and of knowledge. The impact of modern science is clearly illustrated if we look at the content of academic dissertations, written

in Sweden during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Anna Fredriksson, Latinist and librarian at Uppsala University library, has recently published a paper treating the presence of ancient sources in Uppsala dissertations from various epochs, in various disciplines.[27] She has been able to demonstrate the following striking development in the medical dissertations: in the period 1625–1650, classical authors constitute 60 % of the authors quoted, in the period 1685–1710 they constitute 24 %, and in the period 1760–1785 only 6 %. So, as early as from the end of the seventeenth century, that is from the beginning of the long eighteenth century, the ancient authorities disappear and the modern take their place. *Exeunt* Hippocrates and Galen, *intrant* Marcello Malpighi, Antoine van Leeuwenhoek, Caspar Bartholin the Younger, Hermann Boerhaave and Lorenz Heister!

To sum up

To sum up: the study of Latin neologisms is a field that will inevitably, almost automatically, shed light on the growth of knowledge in Europe. The neologisms also bear witness to the gradual changes in mentality and to the birth of the brave modern world we are living in. It is an area for further research, which I hope will attract many scholars. *Multi pertransibunt, et augebitur scientia!*

Haec, carissime Keith, habui, quae de neologismis dicerem.

[27] Fredriksson 2015.

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In gallos:

Renaissance Humanism and Italian Cultural Leadership

By Marianne Pade

In my contribution to the proceedings of the first Text & Contexts conference on The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World, *I discussed how Italian humanists, from Petrarch onwards, increasingly claimed the heritage from classical Antiquity for themselves. I based my observations on a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers who maintained – more or less explicitly – that only Italians could have the proper mastery of Latin and only they possessed the culture that came with that language.*[1] *In this article I hope to take this further: scholars who study how national identity is constructed often point out how important it is not only to have something in common, like a shared past, but also to have a common enemy or another group from whom one can distance oneself. In the present article, I focus on the role of this other group – the French.*

In a recent article on "The Renaissance as the Concluding Phase of the Middle Ages", John Monfasani sums up the debates of more than 150 years regarding both the character of Renaissance humanism and the very term 'Renaissance'. As he points out, one can still, after more than 150 years, discern the influence of the Swiss historian Jakob Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860). Modern scholars generally disagree with Burckhardt's evocation of Renaissance individualism versus medieval corporateness, of the Renaissance as the period where the individual developed, and his assertion that the Italians of the Renaissance were "the firstborn among the sons of modern Europe". Nonetheless, his definition of the Renaissance as the beginning of modernity, and in its essence anti-medieval, is still found not only in unreflecting notions of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, but also in more scholarly views. Burckhardt managed to appropriate many positive characteristics for the period he wrote about – as opposed to the Middle Ages; accordingly the adjective 'medieval' is often

[1] The conference was held at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Casa Convalescència, 5–6 May 2010 and organised by Alejandro Coroleu, Carlo Caruso and Andrew Laird. See Pade 2012.

associated with superstition and cultural backwardness, and the term 'Renaissance' with innovation and cultural brilliance.

Burkhardt's views have of course provoked numerous reactions over the years. John Monfasani manages to bypass many of them by avoiding qualitative assessments of medieval vs. Renaissance cultural forms. To him, the main point is not so much whether the cultural interests and achievements of the Italian humanists were radically different or more brilliant than those of their medieval predecessors. The main point is that they were Italians: as Kristeller pointed out, even if one denies that there was a Renaissance, one cannot deny that there was a renaissance of Italy. Before the fourteenth century Italy was relatively backward, but by the late fifteenth century it had assumed cultural leadership and its influence on the rest of Europe was marked. John Monfasani actually contends that "the Renaissance was a period of Italian cultural leadership in Europe displacing traditional French cultural leadership, and that the end of the Renaissance was the reassertion of French cultural leadership in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a world that increasingly rejected medieval traditions." Thus to Monfasani it is not necessarily essential to distinguish between medieval and Renaissance culture or make qualitative assessments of successive cultural forms as the basis of periodization. It is a question of when Italian cultural forms became influential in the rest of Europe.[2]

The question I want to address in the following is not whether Monfasani's model is correct. Rather, I shall examine a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts to see if we can find reflections of the developments he described in them, for instance if the appropriation of cultural hegemony was in any way a deliberate process. I shall try to argue that Monfasani's description of the Renaissance as "a period of Italian cultural leadership in Europe, displacing traditional French cultural leadership," is echoed *ante factum* by writers such as Petrarch, Guarino Veronese and Lorenzo Valla, who all wrote polemically against French cultural influence in Italy, especially regarding the standard of Latin.

Contemporary periodization

In the following we shall see if Italian humanists expressed the periodization implied by Monfasani's model, and if they did, how they explained it.

Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304–1374) came to see the centuries stretching from the fall of the Roman Empire up to, and including, his own age as a period of cultural decline. He often used metaphors of darkness when

[2] Monfasani 2006.

referring to it, thus formulating, as it were, the notion of the dark ages.[3] Writers after antiquity all counted as *moderni* and were almost inherently inferior to their ancient counterparts. One of Petrarch's disparaging remarks about the *moderni* is found in his letter to Homer in Book 24 of the *Familiares*. Talking about the fame of Homer, Petrarch says to him that "neither the ancients nor the moderns – if there are any left with even the faintest spark of the old quality – think of you merely as a holy philosopher, as you yourself say. No, you are seen as more important and elevated than a philosopher, as someone who covers noble philosophy with the finest, most exquisitely decorated veil".[4] Petrarch here not only reveals his lack of esteem for the *moderni*, we also get a glimpse of his hierarchy of genres where poetry ranks above formal philosophy.

In spite of his attitude towards the cultural and literary manifestations of his own and preceding centuries, Petrarch still believed that things might change for the better, that there could be a return of the golden age of Antiquity. There can be no doubt that he saw his own works as contributing materially towards the achievement of this goal, nor that for him a significant part of the process had to do with language. The high culture of ancient Rome was so intimately connected to its language that the cultural reawakening Petrarch hoped for depended on a re-appropriation of this linguistic idiom. As modern scholarship has shown, he assiduously worked to make his own Latin more classical, with regard to vocabulary, morphology, as well as syntax.[5]

Petrarch's views on the literary qualifications of the *moderni* are shared by his followers, as for instance Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), chancellor of Florence and leader of the Florentine avant-garde around 1400. In a dispute about the correct form of address in letters, Salutati asks Giovanni Conversino of Ravenna: "You, who serve as soldiers alongside the ancients in the camp of eloquence, why do you, full of flattery, follow the moderns like a faithless renegade?"[6] Some years later, praising the style of the Istrian

[3] See Mommsen 1942, and the discussion of his ideas in Pade 2014 (1), 8–15. The topos of medieval 'darkness' lived on, cp. Maas 2010.

[4] "Apud antiquos quidem ac modernos, siqui sunt, in quibus scintilla vel tenuis prisce indolis adhuc vivat, non modo philosophus sacer, ut ipse ais, sed, ut dixi, philosopho maior atque sublimior haberis, ut qui pulcerrimam philosophiam ornatissimo ac tenuissimo tegas velo," PETRARCA *fam* 24,12,29. For Neo-Latin texts I use the sigla adopted by Johann Ramminger in his *Neulateinische Wortliste* whenever possible, cp. Ramminger 2003–.

[5] On Petrarch's Latin and its influence on later Neo-Latin, see Rizzo 1988, 1990, 1992–1993, and 2002, Celenza 2005, and Tunberg 2014, 155. On Petrarch and *imitatio*, McLaughlin 1995. For a more general discussion of the reorientation of Latin which began in the mid-fourteenth century, see Ramminger 2014.

[6] "cumque milites in castris eloquentie cum antiquis, cur quasi perfidus transfuga blandiendo loqueris cum modernis?" SALVTATI *ep* 8,10 (*a.* 1392).

humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio, Salutati writes that its solidity, so rare among the moderns, is very pleasing; it is redolent of the moderation of the ancients.[7]

The periodization inherent in many of Petrarch's programmatic statements may also be expressed as pride in the literary and linguistic achievements of contemporary Italian humanism. Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), for instance, proudly describes the blossoming of letters throughout Italy which, according to him, was caused by the return of Greek studies to Italy after 700 years.[8] Others, too, associated the reawakening of the *studia humanitatis* in Italy with Greek studies. Guarino Veronese (1374–1460), the great humanist educator, even described Manuel Chrysoloras' (1350/55–1416) tenure in Florence, where he taught Greek for four years from 1397,[9] as inaugurating a new bloom of learning and a 'Roman Age', in which pure Latin, long in disuse and contaminated, would be purged by Chrysoloras' remedies and, exposed to the light, shine again.[10]

Petrarca *in Gallos*

Petrarch was perhaps the first to depict the French as inferior cultural upstarts and to focus so emphatically on Italian cultural supremacy. Although he grew up at the papal court in Avignon, at the time one of the most important intellectual centres of Europe, he never had much good to say about the place. In his farewell to Avignon, eclogue VIII of the *Bucolicum Carmen* (1346–1349, definitive version 1358), the shepherd Amiclas, *alias* Petrarch himself, describes his old pastures, i.e. Avignon, as a polluted place, with infected waters and poisonous earth. He wants to leave for Italy, where he will be able to play under Apollo's laurel.[11] In eclogue IV the two shepherds Tirrenus (the Etruscan, i.e. Petrarch) and

[7] "placet rara penes modernos soliditas, que sobriam redolet vetustatem," SALVTATI *ep* 14,11 (*a.* 1405).

[8] "Litterae [...] mirabile quantum per Italiam increvere, accedente tunc primum cognitione litterarum graecarum, quae septingentis iam annis apud nostros homines desierant esse in usu", BRVNI *rer gest comm* p. 431.

[9] See Maisano & Rollo 2002, with earlier bibliography.

[10] "Is delatus Florentiam quasi reflorescentis eruditionis auspicium […] Sensim augescens humanitas [...] pristinum vigorem reparabat, qui in hanc perdurans aetatem romana portendere saecula videtur. [...] Longa itaque desuetudine infuscatus ante latinus sermo et inquinata dictio Chrysolorinis fuerat pharmacis expurganda et admoto lumine illustranda," GVARINO *ep* 862 (*a.* 1452).

[11] "Nil spretum, nisi silva ferox pastorque protervus,/ et gignens aconita solum, et mestissimus auster/ plumbo infecti latices, et turbine tortus/ Pulvis, et umbra nocens, et grandinis ira sonore," PETRARCA *buc* 8,69–72. For this eclogue, see Jensen 1997 which also contains the Latin text with English translation. There is a discussion of Petrarch's view on Avignon in Mercuri 1997, 118–122.

Gallus (the Frenchman) argue about Tirrenus' lyre, presented to him at his birth by Daedalus. Gallus wants to buy the lyre, but of course a lyre, i.e. poetic inspiration, cannot be acquired with money. It is hardly a coincidence that the somewhat unfeeling shepherd is Gallus, a Frenchman.

However, in the *Bucolicum Carmen*, Petrarch's spite is still restrained, compared to what we meet in some of his later writings. Trying to persuade Pope Urban V to move the papacy from Avignon back to Rome (1368) he famously argued that

> of the four doctors of the church, two are Italian and Roman. Of the rest one is born near to and almost in Italy, the other had moved to and lived in Italy. All four are buried there. None is French, and there aren't any learned men in France.[12]

He goes on to extoll Italian achievements in secular and canon law, and of course in literature. After all, Italians were the rightful heirs to the Latin language, they *were* the Latin nation to which the French could only pretend to belong. Moreover, he says,

> Regarding every-day manners, I admit that the French are jolly people, easy in manner and speech, they like games, they sing merrily, they drink and party. But it was always among Italians one found true seriousness and morality. And though true excellence is disappearing from the entire world – and that is a grievous loss – if there is anything left at all, it is found in Italy, if I am not mistaken.[13]

Again he talks about the position of the church saying the French church may be noble, but there cannot be any doubt that the head of the church, *caput Ecclesiae*, is Italian.

Petrarch's letter to Urban V provoked a tract by the French theologian Jean d'Hesdin, in answer to which Petrarch composed the highly polemical treatise *Against the Slanderer of Italy*. Not surprisingly it abounds with disparaging jibes at the French, as for instance when Petrarch wonders that his opponent is annoyed at being called a barbarian:

> He shouldn't get angry with me – I am not the one who began this. No, it was historians and cosmographers – and there are too many to

[12] "E quattuor ecclesie doctoribus duo sunt itali ac romani, duorum reliquorum alter iuxta et prope intra Italie fines ortus, certe intra Italiam doctus ac nutritus, alter in Italia conversus et conversatus; omnes in Italia sunt sepulti. Nullus est gallicus, nullus doctus in Gallia," PETRARCA *sen* (*precanonica*) 9,1,35–36.

[13] "De moribus vulgaribus, fateor Gallos et facetos homines et gestuum et verborum lenium, qui libenter ludant, lete canant, crebro bibant, avide conviventur; vera autem gravitas ac realis moralitas apud italos semper fuit, et licet, quod flebile damnum est, virtus toto orbe decreverit, sique tamen eius sunt reliquie, in Italia, nisi fallor, sunt," PETRARCA *sen* (*precanonica*) 9,1,38.

> name them – who invented the name. Of all these writers, is there even one who does not call the French – or the Gauls – barbarians?[14]

The French of course were *barbari*, in the sense that they were foreign, non-Greeks or non-Romans, but when Petrarch wrote I believe that the disparaging meaning of the adjective was much stronger than the geographical one. Furthermore, Petrarch goes on, the Gauls may think of themselves what they want – and they are prone to that – but learned people never doubted it: the French are barbarians. Although – and I won't deny it – they *are* the gentlest of all barbarians.[15]

It is well known how Petrarch pretended to have received on the same day two invitations to be crowned poet laureate, one from the University of Paris and one from King Robert of Naples. He chose the latter.[16] In *Against the Slanderer of Italy* we see why:

> Paris may be a fine city and seat of the king, and its university may be old, founded by Alcuin, the teacher of Charlemagne. Be that as it may, I never heard that anyone from Paris achieved fame there. If anyone did, they were foreign, and – if the barbarians' hate doesn't blind them – mostly from Italy, such as Pietro Lombardo from Novara, Thomas from Aquino, Bonaventura from Bagnoregio, Egidio from Rome and many others.[17]

However, one could not blame the French for their modest cultural achievements; to strive against nature was hard work, and the French were rude, unteachable by nature.[18]

Admittedly *Against the Slanderer of Italy* is a polemical treatise, and

[14] "si ad barbari nomen irascitur, irascatur non michi – neque enim ego nominis huius inventor sum –, sed historicis omnibus atque cosmographis, qui tam multi sunt, ut eos epystola una vix capiat. Quorum quis est omnium, qui non barbaros Gallos vocet?" PETRARCA *c maled It* p.1160.

[15] "Fingant enim Galli se credantque quod volunt [...] Ad hoc opus sane nulla gens promptior quam Galli. Ceterum opinetur ut libet, barbari tamen sunt, neque de hoc inter doctos dubitatio unquam fuit; quamvis ne id quidem negem, nec negari posse arbitrer: esse Gallos barbarorum omnium mitiores," PETRARCA *c maled It* p.1162.

[16] On the coronation, see Friis-Jensen 2011.

[17] "Est illa civitas bona quidem et insignis regia presentia. Quod ad studium attinet, ceu ruralis est calathus, quo poma undique peregrina et nobilia deferantur. Ex quo enim studium illud, ut legitur, ab Alcuino preceptore Caroli regis institutum est, nunquam – quod audierim – parisiensis quisquam ibi vir clarus fuit; si qui fuerunt, externi utique et – nisi odium barbari oculos perstringeret – magna ex parte itali fuere: Petrus Lombardus Novariensis […]; Thomas de Aquino, Bonaventura de Balneo Regio atque Egidius Romanus multique alii," PETRARCA *c maled It* p.1220.

[18] "At ne semper accusem, excusabiles Gallos non negaverim, si modice literati sunt. Nempe contra naturam niti, sepe labor est irritus. Natura autem Galli sunt indociles," PETRARCA *c maled It* p.1220.

Petrarch allowed himself to indulge in some exaggerated mirth, but as I have shown we find the same attacks on France as a cultural nation elsewhere in his writings, together with the praise of Italy's cultural achievements.[19]

Giovanni Boccaccio

Petrarch's friend and follower, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), mentions that Petrarch often had to defend his work against the Gauls,[20] but he himself was far less polemical. Boccaccio originally wrote mainly in the vernacular, but after meeting Petrarch in 1351 and reading his Latin epistles, Boccaccio increasingly relinquishes the vernacular to write almost exclusively in Latin. Moreover, it is in his Latin works that we find most of his metadiscursive statements regarding the cultural project he became part of through Petrarch's influence.

Boccaccio touches upon many of the themes we have already discussed: the conception of a previous period of cultural darkness that would to some degree be dispelled during his own time through the reawakening of the *studia humanitatis*; the idea that the corruption leading to this cultural weakening of the Latin West was due to foreign influence; and that the present cultural reawakening was caused by Italians.

In his early life of Petrarch (*De vita et moribus Domini Francisci Petracchi de Florentia*, 1341), Boccaccio describes the ceremony in 1341 when Petrarch was crowned poet laureate on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, a ceremony that according to Boccaccio had not taken place since the Roman poet Statius had been crowned with the laurel by the Emperor Domitian.[21] Boccaccio thus emphasizes that Petrarch's coronation was the equivalent of a ceremony that had taken place in ancient Rome – but not in the meantime. He mentioned Petrarch's coronation some years later in the *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, praising him as someone to be "counted rather among the illustrious men of old than among the moderns".[22]

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[19] There is an amusing analysis especially of Petrarch's attacks on the French as a part of rising Italian nationalism in Hirschi 2012, Ch. 7.2. "Barbarising the French or how Italian humanists successfully fought reality".

[20] "Et sic, ne per cuncta discurram, oportuit eum sepissime fatigare calamum in sui suorumque carminum defensionem adversus plerosque cisalpinos gallos et alios," BOCCACCIO *ep* 19 (*a.* 1372) to Pietro da Monteforte.

[21] "[...] in urbe romana celsoque Capitolio [...] eum (*i.e. Petrarch*) in poetam laurea corona solenniter coronavit; [...] Quod quidem ibidem fieri non ante contigerat a coronatione dignissima Statii Pampinei Surculi tolosani, qui anno ab Urbe condita DCCCXXXIIII sub Domitiano Cesare creditur coronatu," BOCCACCIO *vita Pet* p. 241.

[22] "Et Franciscum Petrarcam [...] inter veteres illustres viros numerandum potius quam

Again in *De mulieribus claris* (On famous women, 1361), in the preface to Andrea Acciaiuoli, Boccaccio described Petrarch as someone who took up, so to speak, where the ancients had left off:

> Long ago there were a few ancient authors who composed biographies of famous men in the form of compendia, and in our day that renowned man and great poet, my teacher Petrarch, is writing a similar work that will be even fuller and more carefully done.[23]

Boccaccio himself was of course doing the same thing, writing series of lives, both in *De mulieribus claris* and in *De casibus virorum illustrium* (On the fates of famous men, 1355–1374), but he implies that no one had used this form, which he praises in the preface, between his own time and that of Cornelius Nepos, Suetonius or the *Historia Augusta.*

Boccaccio saw himself and Petrarch as following in the footsteps of the Ancients, and like Petrarch he saw this revival of *litterae*, of good letters, as something specifically Italian. Boccaccio's life of *Carmenta*, who invented the Latin alphabet, contains a eulogy of Latin, which in some respect anticipates Lorenzo Valla's famous preface to the *Elegantiae*. Latin had bestowed great gifts on the Roman civilization, some of which

> we (*the Italians*) have lost, others we have given away, and some we still preserve, in name at least, if not in practice. But regardless of the effects of fortune and our neglect of these other gifts, neither the rapacity of the Germans, nor the fury of the Gauls, nor the wiles of the English, nor the ferocity of the Spaniards, nor the rough barbarity and insolence of any other nation has been able to take away from the Latin name this great, marvellous and fitting glory.[24]

Though Boccaccio expressed himself less fiercely than Petrarch, we recognize the Italians' claim to be the only true heirs of ancient Rome and accordingly to have an innate cultural priority over other nations, among them the French. It is also evident that to Boccaccio Italian cultural leadership was intimately bound up with Latin language and literature. In this, as we have seen, he is in perfect accordance with Petrarch and with many

inter modernos, induco," BOCCACCIO *gen* 15,6.

[23] "Scripsere iamdudum nonnulli veterum sub compendio de viris illustribus libros; et nostro evo, latiori tamen volumine et accuratiori stilo, vir insignis et poeta egregius Franciscus Petrarca, preceptor noster, scribit; et digne," BOCCACCIO *mul praef* 1.

[24] "Ceterum ex tam egregiis dotibus quedam perdidimus, quedam dedimus et nonnulla adhuc fere nomine potius quam effectu tenemus. Verum, quomodocunque de ceteris nostro crimine a fortuna actum sit, nec germana rapacitas, nec gallicus furor, nec astutia anglica, nec hispana ferocitas, nec alicuius alterius nationis inculta barbaries vel insultus, hanc tam grandem, tam spectabilem, tam oportunam latino nomini gloriam surripuisse potuit unquam," BOCCACCIO *mul* 27,15–16.

fifteenth-century humanists. The reassertion of Italian cultural leadership in Europe, after the intervening period of cultural darkness, was bound to the revival of the literary forms and linguistic idioms of ancient Rome.

Fifteenth-century humanism

In the writing of later fifteenth-century humanists, disparaging remarks about French culture and attempts to safeguard the ancient cultural heritage against any French proprietary claims abound – but suffice it here to mention a couple of examples:

In a letter of 1406 in which he discussed various solecisms in contemporary Latin, Coluccio Salutati asks where one would come across them if not with the French, whose Latin is the pinnacle of barbarism?[25] Leonardo Bruni wanted to defend Virgil against the iniquity of being born in a city at some point colonized by the Gauls – as some people viciously maintained; no, Mantua was founded by the Etruscans and gained its strength from this fact. The Gauls may have come there, but they were not a factor.[26]

In the letter where Guarino hailed the beginnings of a 'Roman Age' inaugurated by the return of Greek learning to Italy (see above n. 10), he also explained why things had been so bad: Latin letters, he said, had been asleep and covered in darkness ("studia ipsa humanitatis obdormissent iacentis in tenebris"), because

> people did not heed "Cicero, who more than anyone else was the father of Roman eloquence", and from whose tongue, at the time of our ancestors, "speech flowed sweeter than honey". From his speech Italy had created an image of how to speak, as from a mirror.[27]

The linguistic corruption set in when Italy instead of Cicero "devoured various Prosperos, *Eva Columba* and *Chartulae*, coming from God knows where, [and] a rough and uncouth style of speaking and writing develop-

[25] "nunquam, fatebor enim ingenue, potui videre talis ignorantie rationem, nisi quod apud Gallos, quibus latinitatis est summa barbaries," SALVTATI *ep* 14,24 (*a.* 1406)

[26] "Nam qui dicunt, Mantuam conditam quidem ab initio a Tuscis, sed posteris temporibus una cum Tuscis conditoribus Gallos, et Venetos habitare coepisse, hi non multum satisfaciunt. [...] tamen id remanet Mantuam ab initio conditam fuisse a Tuscis, et postmodum alias quoque gentes in civitatem receptas ita tamen, ut Tusci dominarentur, atque praeessent. Hoc enim signant verba illa: *Ipsa caput populis; Tusco de sanguine vires* ? (Verg. *Aen*. 10,203): idest robur et potentia Tusci sanguinis. Restat ergo utcumque tandem verseris Mantuam a Tuscis conditam fuisse," BRVNI *ep* 4,13 (10,25 M.) (*a.* 1418).

[27] "Ignorabatur 'romani maximus auctor Tullius eloquii' (LVCAN. *civ*. 7,62), cuius ex lingua penes maiores nostros 'melle dulcior fluxerat oratio' (CIC. *Cato* 31,16), a qua velut e speculo Italia dicendi formarat imaginem," GVARINO *ep* 862 (*a.* 1452)..

ed".[28] Guarino here criticises the influence from some very widespread scholastic grammars, namely that of Prospero of Aquitania, and two named after their *incipits*, *Eva Columba* and *Chartula*. According to Guarino they were responsible for the barbaric Latin found in the preceding centuries, and they were foreign! *Prospero* was actually French. Guarino was, as we have seen, optimistic about the contemporary development of Latin. We may assume that this development was due to the fact that not only did the study of Cicero flourish; to some degree, at least, Italian-produced Latin grammars, among them Guarino's own, replaced the French scholastic grammars.[29]

Lorenzo Valla

Valla's (1404–1457) famous preface to the *Elegantiae* is not only one of the most eloquent statements about the humanists' linguistic project, it is also an exquisitely elegant critique of French influence on Latin. Valla addresses his fellow citizens – anybody interested in *studia humanitatis* – asking:

> *Quousque tandem, Quirites* ... How long, citizens, will you endure that your city – and I don't mean the seat of the Empire but the parent of letters – is held captive by the Gauls?[30]

Valla's *quousque tandem* of course alludes to Cicero's first Catilinarian speech, held in a situation where there was an overwhelming danger of a *coup d'état* in Rome. In the following he refers to the so-called 'Gallic catastrophe': around 390 BC the Gauls invaded and sacked Rome; afterwards the city was rebuilt by Camillus. The choice of metaphor shows how central the linguistic aspect was to the humanists' project, and it is hardly without significance that Valla chose an image where the Gauls are the enemy. As we have seen, Italian humanists from Petrarch onwards regularly accused the French of lack of learning, uncouth manners, and barbaric Latin. In the preface to the *Elegantiae* the French held Latin culture captive, and a new Camillus was needed to free it.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, I referred to John Monfasani's definition of the Renaissance as the period during which Italian cultural forms substituted

[28] "cum Prosperos, Evas Columbas et Chartulas irrumpentes quaquaversum imbuta absorbuisset Italia, quaedam germinabat dicendi et scribendi horrens et inculta barbaries," GVARINO *ep* 862 (*a.* 1452).

[29] See Pade 2014 (2–5).

[30] "Quousque tandem, Quirites [...] urbem vestram, non dico domicilium imperii, sed parentem litterarum a Gallis esse captam patiemini?" VALLA *eleg* 1, *praef* 35.

French ones in Europe. In his description of this development, Monfasani stated that from a less prominent position before the fourteenth century, Italy surged to cultural leadership in Europe by the late fifteenth century, displacing traditional French cultural leadership; the end of the Renaissance was the reassertion of French cultural leadership in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His article, which has inspired this paper, does not focus especially on the reasons for this development. What I have tried to show here is that more than a century before the high Renaissance, when Italy had become the leading cultural power of Europe, Italian humanists were claiming their birthright, as they saw it, to this cultural leadership. In doing so they were perfectly aware that the enemy they had to defeat were the French: they were writing *in Gallos.*

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A Tale of a Few Cities:

Topos, Topography and Topicality in Neo-Latin Epic*

By Paul Gwynne

The city under siege became an essential component in epic narrative when Homer described the Greeks massing around the walls of Troy. In Neo-Latin epic the exploits of Italian condottieri were retold in their victories in siege warfare. Another type of siege epic, however, portrayed events from the perspective of those within the city walls, making the besieged city as much the locus of these epics as Troy had been for Homer. This paper contrasts corporate heroism with heroic individualism in the new age of gunpowder warfare in three epics: Mussato, De Obsidione; De Blarru, Nanceid and Rococciolo, Mutineis.

> If you intend to blockade our walls and break down our gates by storm, then we are ready: we shall receive firebrands and missiles upon our houses; if you divert our springs, we shall dig for a hasty draught of water and lick with parched tongues the earth we have dug; and, if bread run short, then we shall pollute our lips by gnawing things hideous to see and foul to touch. In defence of freedom we do not shrink from sufferings that were bravely borne by Saguntum when beset by the army of Carthage.[1]

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* The punning subtitle alludes to Ernst Gombrich's essay "Topos and Topicality in Renaissance Art" in which he defines *topos* as "the technical term in rhetoric for the commonplace, the general theme with a universal application" and *topicality* as "the term we use for a specific reference or allusion to events of the time". Gombrich 1975, 1–2. While Professor Gombrich bewailed the (then) current trend of recourse to topical reference to explain and elucidate Renaissance masterpieces, no such difficulty besets the literary historian of panegyrical epic which relies for its effect upon reference to contemporary events in specific locations. Hence the additional term *topography* in the subtitle.

[1] Si claudere muros
Obsidione paras et vi perfringere portas,
Excepisse faces tectis et tela parati,
Undarum raptos aversis fontibus haustus
Quaerere et effossam sitientes lambere terram,
Et, desit si larga Ceres, tunc horrida cerni
Foedaque contingi maculato attingere morsu.

The traditional matter of epic is war.[2] From the moment Homer described the Greeks massing around the walls of Troy, the city under siege became an essential component in epic narrative, providing the focus for much of the martial action. Virgil's *Aeneid* begins at Troy, while Book Nine is devoted to the siege of the Trojan camp at Ostia. The first great set piece of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is Caesar's siege of Massilia (cited above); the narrative of Silius Italicus's *Punica* is initiated by Hannibal's attack on Saguntum; while Statius's *Thebaid* is set almost entirely around the walls of Thebes.

The siege motif continued into Neo-Latin epic.[3] In fifteenth-century Italy, the exploits of the *condottieri*, who fashioned themselves as latter-day Scipios and Caesars, were retold in their victories in siege warfare: for example, the third book of Francesco Filelfo's unfinished *Sphortias* celebrates the victory of Francesco Sforza at Piacenza (1447);[4] while the *Volaterrais*, a 'brief epic' in four books by Naldo de' Naldi (*c*. 1432–1513) culminates with the Sack of Volterra by Federigo da Montefeltro (1472).[5]

While these Neo-Latin epics whitewash brutal campaigns to praise the dedicatee, an alternative siege poem evolved. This reversed the traditional role of the epic protagonist as the besieger, by portraying events from the point of view of those within the city walls, thus making the besieged city as much the locus of these poems as Troy had been for Homer.[6] Poems such as *De Obsidione Domini Canis Grandis de Verona ante Civitatem Paduanam*, three books on the siege of Padua, by Albertino Mussato (1261–1329);[7] the

Nec pavet hic populus pro libertate subire,
350 Obsessum Poeno gessit quae Marte Saguntum.
(Luc. 3. 342–350, translation: Lucan 1928, 139–141).

[2] Epic is defined by Horace as 'the deeds of kings and generals and the sorrows of war' (*Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, (*Ars Poetica*, 73).

[3] For an anthology of passages written in Italy from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, many containing descriptions of cities under siege (Aquileia, Pisa, Bergamo, Como, Milan), see Chiri 1939. In general, Gwynne 2016.

[4] Robin 1991, 56–81; 177–196.

[5] De' Naldi 1974.

[6] In the postscript to his four-book epic *Contantinopoleos* Ubertino Pusculo claimed that he witnessed the siege and fall of Constantinople (May 1453): *Me Constantini studiis urbs dulcis habebat, / Cum cecidit bello: barbara praeda fui*; see Puscolo 1857, 83. The after–math of the city's fall also elicited a number of poems as the Turks pushed north and further west to consolidate their victory. The four-book *Amyris* by Gian Maria Filelfo documents the Turkish advance and culminates with an appeal to Galeazzo Maria Sforza to lead a crusade of united Christian princes against Mehmed II. The *Alfonseis* (a ten-book epic on Alfonso V 'the Magnanimous') by Matteo Zuppardo (*c*. 1400–1457) is similarly themed around the promotion of a crusade, and features John Hunyadi's valiant defence of Belgrade (July 1455, Book Four; July 1456, Book Nine); see Zuppardo 1990.

[7] Mussato 1999.

Historia Bononiensis (1472), by Tommaso Seneca (1390–1472);[8] and *Tarentina*, four books on the Barons' conspiracy (1459–62), by Paracleto Malvezzi (1408–87),[9] attest to the popularity of this sub-genre. Longer examples exist. The six-book *Nanceid* by Pierre de Blarru (1437–1510) describes the victory of René II, Duke of Lorraine (1451–1508), over Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433–1477), at the siege of Nancy in 1477;[10] while the twelve-book *Mutineis* by Francesco Rococciolo (*c*. 1460/70–1528) celebrates the spirited defence of the Modenese against papal, French and Imperial incursions.[11] In each case the corporate heroism of those at the barricades fighting for independence and freedom in the most severe circumstances is contrasted with the debatable heroics of the leading protagonist, who is often presented as an irredeemable villain in the manner of Claudian's invectives.

By choosing historical events as their subject these 'civic epics' belong to the tradition of Lucan and Silius Italicus rather than Virgil. Yet these poems are clearly intended to be more than verse chronicles, for they contain many of the classical tropes associated with the genre: there are appeals to the gods (here often transformed to the invocation of saints), banquets, journeys, storms, great battles, moments of individual heroism and councils of war. A brief survey of three epics will elucidate the progressive development of this distinctive group of poems.

Mussato, *De Obsidione*

The *De obsidione domini Canis Grandis de Verona ante civitatem Paduanam* by Albertino Mussato was composed for the first anniversary celebrations (1322) of the successful repulse of the forces of Cangrande della Scala, lord of Verona, from the walls of Padua.[12] The poem applauds the citizens' resilient defence at a particularly low point in the history of the protracted wars between Padua and Verona and culminates in the defeat of Cangrande's imperial designs at the battle of Monselice (1320; Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 3. 215–17). The poet cloaks these events in all the paraphernalia of epic and in so doing elevates the narrative into the realms of the heroic. Imitating Lucan with an invocation to Clio (the Muse of History, not of Epic) the poet announces his theme:

[8] Seneca 1932.
[9] Cornetanus 1899.
[10] De Blarru 2006.
[11] Rococciolo 2006; Haye 2009.
[12] In general see Varanni 1988; especially Gianola 1988.

Te prodente canam seclo memoranda perenni
prelia que Patave magnus Canis intulit urbi
virtutem obsessi populi durosque labores
Germanasque acies et pulsum menibus hostem.
Postquam castra Canis Patavinam circiter urbem
fixerat, equatis succiso cespite campis
ne cursu obstarent visuve per arva virentes
arboree frondes neu quis foret exitus urbi,
sedulus armatis lustrabat valla maniplis
casside sub torva rigidisque horrendus in armis.[13]

(As you [Clio] show the way, I shall celebrate the battles, long to be remembered, that Cangrande brought upon the city of Padua; the resolution and hard work of the citizens under siege; the German troops,[14] and the enemy repulsed from the walls. When Cangrande had fixed his camp around the walls of Padua, and when clumps of plants had been cut away on the level plain so that the trees' leafy foliage would not block his view or hinder a charge across the field, nor provide cover for an escape from the city, he keenly circled the ramparts with his army, dreadful under a grim helmet and in his plate armour.)

The syncretic nature of Mussato's epic is immediately apparent: *pulsum menibus hostem* (l. 9) echoes *invitant moenibus hostem* (*Aen*. 9. 676), yet the context has changed. Whereas Pandarus and Bitias betray the Trojan camp to the Rutulians in Virgil's epic, here the enemy is repulsed from city walls rather than invited in. The opening words of the narrative proper *Postquam castra* (l. 11) echo the beginning of Lucan Book 6 ("Postquam castra duces pugnae iam mente propinquis"), thus alerting the attentive reader to the contrasting epic strands. The first description of Cangrande functions in the same way: he is described in the sub-Virgilian phrase as *horrendus in armis*, combining the description of Mezentius (*horrendus visu*, *Aen*. 9. 521) and Aeneas (*acer in armis*, *Aen*. 12. 938), with *casside sub torva* (l. 16) echoing Statius's description of Creon, (*sub casside torva*, *Theb*. 12. 189). Examples could be multiplied.

After a lament that the city of Antenor should be subjected to a repetition of the siege of Troy (thus linking the contemporary and classical worlds), the siege begins as Cangrande severs the water supply so the mills no longer function (recalling the passage in Lucan cited above). The Paduans under siege are endlessly resourceful. Everybody literally puts their shoulders to the grindstone and flour is produced. Cangrande's attempt to burn down a

[13] Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 1. 7–16.

[14] The reinforcements brought to Treviso from the Holy Roman Empire by Henry, Count of Görz, to defend the Padovana. The Paduans rallied at their arrival.

bridge used by the besieged to make sorties against him ends in disaster. The heroism of the anonymous citizens who defend the bridge elicits a rousing paean to the city state: "O civil patriotism preferred to unguarded death, dying for this ensures eternal life!" ("O civilis amor morti prelate patenti, / eternum pro quo morientem vivere certum est!", Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 1. 287–288). The surety of eternal life by dying for one's patria is emphasized throughout the poem.

Whereas the gods and goddesses intervene in classical epic, here the local saints defend their city. Saint Prosdocmus (a disciple of Saint Peter and the first bishop of Padua) rouses the inhabitants to defend their city during a night-time assault; in Book Two the martyr saints Hermagoras and his deacon Fortunatus object to having their feast day (12 July) interrupted by slaughter and complain to Christ. His reply is shocking to modern ears:

> Christus ait: "Galli pereant certamine; digni
> Marte luant tantis quesita salaria bellis.
> Dignum et iustum est ut pereant per bella nefandi".[15]
>
> (Christ spoke: "Let the Gauls perish in the fighting; deserving war, let them atone for the military glory they sought with such battles. It is right and proper that the impious perish in battle.")

Christ is again solicited when another assault on the city via the monastery garden of Santa Giustina prompts the patron saint of Padua herself to intervene:

> Nam Christum a dextris Patris de more sedentem
> virgo adiit Iustina cito celeberima gressu
> virgineo sociata choro sic questa dolenter:
> "Christe Deus, mundo cui virgo iuvencula nupsi,
> dum regina forem Patavi ditissima regni,
> exaudi, si iusta peto, si crismatis uncta,
> si martir, regis si filia Vitaliani.
> Gens inimica meam bellis crudelibus urbem
> obsidet integro cur tantis cladibus anno
> te patiente Deus? Non exprobrare voluntas,
> sed memorare, mea est. Nonne hec baptismate prima
> urbs Cisalpinis lavacrum suscepit in oris,
> Verona fidei post tempora multa rebelle?
> Testis adest, si vera sacer transmissus ad illam
> Prosdocimus docuit, Petri se dignate fassus
> discipulum. Populus quisnam orbe fidelior isto
> templa tibi sanctisque tuis maiora per omnes

[15] Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 2. 148–150.

astruxit terras cultu celebranda perenni?
Et tamen ipsa meo vix iam viduata locello,
basilica gavisa nova, nunc preside pulso
115 deseror infelix. Non importuna requiro.
Pone manum pharetre et saltem quacumque sagicta
fige Canem victumque mea fac cedere terra."[16]

(The renowned maid Giustina accompanied by a virgin band with swift step approached Christ who was sitting, according to custom, at the Father's right hand. She thus began her sad lament: "Lord Christ, whom I married as a young virgin in the world while I would become the richest queen of the Paduan kingdom, hear me, if I am seeking justice, if I have been anointed with chrism, if I am a martyr, if I am the daughter of King Vitalian. A hostile race besieges my city in bloody war, why Lord have you patiently allowed such slaughter for a whole year? It is not my wish to reproach you, but to remind you. Was not this city the first to undertake baptism on the Italian shores, and Verona, rebellious to the faith, only much later? A witness is at hand, if Saint Prosdocimus, who had been sent to that city taught the truth when he said that he was a disciple of Peter. Tell me, what people in this world is more faithful or has honoured you and the saints throughout their lands with greater churches which will be celebrated with everlasting services? And yet I am virtually now widowed in my little place, having been delighted with my new basilica, I am now unhappy and forsaken, since your protection has been withdrawn. I do not ask for much. Put your hand in your quiver and just stick an arrow in the dog and, wounded, make him leave my land.")

Despite the Christian context, the topos is classical.[17] That Giustina's words are replete with Virgilian echoes should not, perhaps, be surprising for a saint whose church was built over the remains of an ancient Roman temple of Concord.[18] Because of Giustina's intervention Cangrande's heroic pretentions are deflated and this would-be Achilles deserts the city walls with an arrow in him just as the saint had asked! ("By whose hand it was not known, but they believed that it was the arrow sent from Heaven which you, Giustina, had requested").[19] It is interesting to note that in this epic, written before the introduction of gunpowder had dramatically changed the nature

[16] Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 3. 95–117.

[17] This scene is obviously modelled upon Venus' complaint to Jupiter (Verg. *Aen*. 1. 227–253) which, in turn, is based upon Homer: Thetis before Zeus (*Il.* 1. 495–510) and the complaints of Athena to Zeus (*Od*. 5. 5–20).

[18] It should also be noted that the poet's brother, Gualpertino Mussato, was abbot of the convent of Santa Giustina. The poem is thus an indirect celebration of family heroics.

[19] "Huius nota manus non est, sed forte putarunt/demissam celo quam tu Iustina petisti." (Mussato, *De Obsidione*, 3. 241–243).

of European warfare, this anonymous shot, which in reality narrowly missed its mark, is presented as heaven-sent (compare the reaction to the use of fire-arms in De Blarru and Roccociolo below).

The poem ends with some moralizing on Fortune's wheel as Cangrande's camp is ransacked and altars are set up to thank God for the Paduan victory. It is a feature of panegyrical epic that unpleasant facts tended to be ignored or glossed over.[20] Here the poet omits the fact that when the enemy camp was captured and looted a number of Paduan fugitives and exiles were also barbarously killed or mutilated. Yet this is not a chronicle, but panegyric in epic form, the function of which, Gombrich reminds us:

> is not to impart information […] but rather to celebrate the family and the virtues of the patrons with all the grace and wit at the command of art.[21]

Cangrande's defeat (albeit momentary) affords the poet the opportunity of portraying the Paduans as epic heroes while stressing the fundamental difference between Troy and Padua. The city of Antenor will not suffer the fate of its metropolis. More importantly, the pagan past is superseded by the Christian present as the Paduans are presented as God's chosen people.

Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*

The same idea provides the over-arching theme of the *Nanceid* by Pierre de Blarru (1437–1510). This poem describes the final stage in the protracted Burgundian wars against Lorraine. It recounts the events of 1476 when, supported by the Habsburg and Lorraine nobility and by the municipalities of Alsace, the Swiss inflicted upon Charles the Bold a series of crushing defeats, thus preventing the formation of a continuous Burgundian territory from Dijon to Bruges.[22] Like Mussato's *De Obsidione*, the six-book narrative is set almost exclusively around the walls of Nancy giving this epic unity of time and place as the Aristotelian tradition had stipulated. As the events of this war may not be familiar a brief synopsis follows.

The opening book gives little indication of the *Nanceid*'s epic content, or indeed of its classical origins as the protagonists are introduced symbolically by references to their coats-of-arms. The overall shape, however, from the description of the idyllic landscape of Lorraine to the peroration of protest against the horrors of war, suggests familiarity with Book One of Virgil's *Georgics*. Book Two is a straightforward account of the battles of

[20] Gwynne 2012, 5.
[21] Gombrich 1975, 13.
[22] For a succinct outline of the historical situation see Marti 2009.

Grandson and Muret. On 2 March 1476 the forces of the Swiss Confederation took the Burgundians by surprise outside the town of Grandson, put them to flight, looted the ducal camp, and captured the Burgundian artillery. Yet within a couple of months Charles the Bold had managed to replace his guns, gather a new army and lay siege to the small town of Muret. His troops suffered another crushing defeat on 22 June at the hands of a larger army fighting for the confederacy and their allies. Undeterred, however, in the autumn Charles turned his attention towards Nancy which had recently sided with the Duke of Lorraine. Thus in Book Three the action moves to the winter siege of Nancy. Most of this book tells the story of Suffren de Baschi who had tried to slip through the Burgundian line to inform the besieged citizens that René was levying troops in Switzerland and would soon be with them. Baschi fell into the Duke of Burgundy's hands and was immediately hanged. At the beginning of Book Four the citizens themselves send a plea for help to René. The first three hundred lines purport to be the letter recounting the dire conditions of starvation within the city. However, the citizens are resolute. Indeed their behaviour exemplifies Lucan's maxim: *nescit plebes ieiuna timere* (a starving people is incapable of fear, Luc. 3. 58). Indeed, this maxim is echoed towards the end of the poem: *vide pauper ieiuna quid ausit* (see what poverty and starvation dares, 6. 1039). The remainder of this book describes the successful ruse adopted by the messenger to return to the city. He dons the guise of a woodcutter delivering fagots to the troops near the ramparts. While they warm themselves by a new fire he leaps across the moat and re-enters Nancy. The besieged are thus reassured that the Swiss are on their way and that the saints are protecting them; the book closes with some observations on the mutability of Fortune. In Book Five the Swiss finally arrive and Charles begins to regret his adventure. The book ends with the pessimistic observation: "Sic nescius artis / vivendi, crudas penetrat vir mortis ad artes" (ignorant of the art of living, the man (Charles) makes himself skilled in Death's bloody arts, 5. 878–879). Book Six is devoted the final battle (5 January 1477) and its aftermath.

The poem was disseminated in two deluxe formats. A presentation manuscript was prepared for René himself (*c*. 1500);[23] while a sumptuous printed edition with thirty-five woodcuts (figs 1, 2, and 3) and a dedication to René's son and heir, Antoine de Lorraine (1489–1544), was published at Saint-Nicholas-de-Port by Pierre Jacobi, and seen through the press by De Blarru's friend Jean Basin de Sandaucourt on the forty-second anniversary

[23] Now preserved in the Bibliothèque de la Societé d'histoire de la Lorraine; see Rouyer 1876.

of the battle of Nancy on 5 January 1518.[24] Like Mussato's poem, this epic was clearly intended to be celebratory and commemorative. More than *De Obsidione*, however, the panegyric function informed its composition and structure. It has long be acknowledged that 'epic is a form of praise' in which the topical structure of epideictic pervades the epic narrative so that the major episodes illustrate virtues or vices, in the manner of the *gesta* or πράξεις of epideictic oratory.[25] In De Blarru's poem Christian moralization gives this topical structure added significance as René and Charles are schematically presented as hero and villain. This is particularly noticeable in the blazon of each duke in full armour. The tradition of classical epic (and chivalric literature) required the protagonist to be magnificently apparelled. Dressed in shining armour, with nodding plumes, René seems a second Hector:

> Nam letus et acer
> bella sitit, galee crista ramosus et auri
> bracteolis, ipsum hunc clamantibus Hectora multis.
> Arma super cuius preciosa effulserat ostro
> aurivomo vestis, vestique, ut audio, dexter
> supparus herebat tricolor consutus, ut inde
> gente ducem a tota color is secerneret ipsum.
> Nix ibi flamma cinisque suos posuere colores,
> e quibus in longum se supparus ille trahebat
> materia intextus hac qua nos Seres honestant.
> Sed domini phaleras et equi geminata tegebant
> signa Hiebusee passim cruces, atque Renatum
> late ostendebant Solyme de regibus ortum.[26]
>
> (For happy and brave he longs for the battle, and with plumes branching from his gilt helmet many people proclaimed him Hector. His purple surcoat was embroidered with gold and glittered over his precious armour and, so I heard, his cloak was sewn in three colours on the right, so that these colours would distinguish the duke himself from the whole crowd. Snow-white, flame-red and ash-grey are the colours there, below which his long cloak was trailing, woven in Chinese silks. The double-barred crosses of Jebus covered the trappings of the horse and rider all over and were proclaiming far and wide that René was descended from the kings of Jerusalem.)

[24] Note that the date of the battle was originally calculated according to the Roman calendar which began in March.

[25] Hardison 1962, 71.

[26] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 6. 354–366.

This magnificent description of René is copied in the miniature accompanying his presentation manuscript and repeated in the woodcuts of the first printed edition (fig. 1).

Figure 1: René II, Duke of Lorraine, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.

Before both text and image are dismissed as idle flattery it should be remembered that one of the functions of the panegyrist was to offer advice. Erasmus, whose *Panegyricus* was reissued by the Froben Press in Basel in May 1516 as a companion piece to the first edition of the *Institutio principis Christiani* (*Education of a Christian Prince*) argued that the role of the panegyrist is to present an image to which the dedicatee should aspire and one which an audience would admire:

> Those who believe that panegyrics are nothing but flattery, seem to be unaware of the purpose and aim of the extremely far-sighted men who invented this kind of composition, which consists in presenting princes with a pattern of goodness, in such a way as to reform bad rulers, improve the good, educate the boorish, reprove the erring, arouse the indolent, and cause even the hopelessly vicious to feel some inward stirrings of shame. [...] It is, moreover, in the interest of the commonwealth that the subjects of any prince, even if he be not the best, should nevertheless have an exceedingly high regard for him; indeed, if the ruler should be undeserving of praise, it is for their benefit rather than his that the panegyric is written, for it is not merely

> offered to him who is its occasion, but also to the multitude in whose hearing it is pronounced. You must therefore adapt it largely to their ears […] Finally this kind of thing is written for posterity and for the world; from this point of view it does not matter much under whose name a pattern of the good prince is publicly set forth, provided it is done cleverly, so that it may appear to men of intelligence that you were not currying favour but uttering a warning.[27]

In the *Institutio* Erasmus argued further that a prince should always be animated by true Christian piety and warned that the pagan authors present the wrong idea of a good prince and their works should, therefore, be carefully examined to see if they agree with Christ's teaching.[28] Moreover:

> When he is listening to solemn panegyrics the prince should not immediately believe them or favour his praises, but if he is not yet as he is presented he should take it as a warning and pay attention so that one day he may equal his praises. If he is already such a one he ought to strive to become even better.[29]

At the beginning of Book Six De Blarru interrupts the narrative to critique elaborate and polished armour: "*Virtus* alone gives men renown, and does not care for fickle arms; virtue does attract the gaze towards plumed helmets, or decorated armour, but is content with its own radiance."[30] Charles the Bold's shining armour becomes a symbol of his own arrogance (fig. 2).

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[27] "Principio qui panegyricos nil aliud quam assentationes esse putant, prorsum ignorare videntur quo consilio, cui rei, genus hoc scripti sit a prudentissimis viris repertum; nempe in hoc ut obiecta virtutis imagine improbi principes emendarentur, probi proficerent, rudes instituerentur, admonerentur errantes, extimularentur oscitantes, denique ipsi apud sese pudescerent deplorati. [...] Tum autem publicitus interest ut de principe etiam non optimo, tamen plusquam optime sentiant ii quibus imperat. Hiis nimirum panegyricus scribitur, non principi, si sit illaudatus. Neque enim uni prestatur de quo dicitur, sed plurimis apud quos dicitur, quorum auribus permulta tribuas necesse est; [...] Denique posteris quoque scribuntur ista, scribuntur orbi; neque ita magni refert huc spectanti cuius nomine boni principis exemplar proponatur in publicum, modo id scite facias, ut cordatis non insecasse, sed monuisse videare." Erasmus 1975, 81–82.

[28] "Cave ne quidquid usquam offenderis, id protinus tibi putes imitandum. Sed omnia ad Christi regulam exigito." Erasmus 1974, 179.

[29] "Cum audiet solennes panegyricos, ne protinus credat aut faveat suis laudibus, sed si talis nondum est, qualis praedicatur, admoneri se cogitet, detque operam, ut iis laudibus aliquando respondeat. Si talis iam est, adniti debet, ut seipso melior evadat." Erasmus 1974, 178–179.

[30] Sola facit claros virtus, nec levia curat
arma, nec ad cristas, nec ad ornamenta retorquet
hec oculos, proprio atque suo est contenta nitore. (De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 6. 85–87).

Figure 2: Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.

Note how the reference to "piety cast aside" (l. 268) distances Charles from Aeneas, the archetypal epic hero, and aligns him instead with Aeneas's furious opponent Turnus:

O nihil est gravibus vindicta dulcius aulis,
si, pietate procul iacta, furor iraque mores
turpiter humanos abigant: sic ferrea fiunt
pectora, et indutis fit homo tunc durior armis.
Et sese armatus dum spectat in agmine princeps,
ad solis radios fulgentibus undique lamis,
hunc ratus esse sui splendorem corporis, astrum
se putat, aut de diis, nunquam mortalibus, unum.
Mollia nec sentit quam sint precordia, ferro
septa, nec ex abavis sese mortalibus ortum.
Hinc, hinc illa amens multorum audacia regum
atque ducum excrevit, que se precellere celum
autumat, in vires quotiens bellumque coitur.
At quamquam multos animus facit Hectores ingens,
inveniet sibi quisquam suum semel Hector Achillem.
"Vincor et," exclamans, dicet, moriensque superbum
incipiet tarde cum vita mittere pectus,
mallet et inscribi tumulo "vir pacis amator"

quam "de carnificum Martis grege." Sed tamen unus
quisque bono se iure putat contendere bellis.[31]

(Nothing is sweeter than vengeance for self-important courtiers, if, when piety has been cast aside, madness and rage disgracefully drive out humane behaviour: in this way hearts become steel and a man becomes harder than his own armour. While the prince, at the head of his troops, dressed in his suit of armour, regards himself as the plate metal flashes all over in the rays of the sun, he admires the brilliance of his person and thinks himself a star, or one of the gods, not a mortal. He does not even feel how vulnerable he is, but thinks himself wrapped in iron and not descended from human ancestors. From this belief has grown the mad audacity of many kings and generals, affirming that they surpass the heavens and is so often united in a show of strength and war. But although a great spirit makes many Hectors, every Hector will at some time encounter his own Achilles. He will then shout and say, "I am defeated" and as he is dying too late he will begin to put aside his proud heart with his life and would prefer to have inscribed on his grave: "a lover of peace' rather than 'a man from Mars' herd of butchers." Yet everyone believes they wage war with right on their side.)

Both the warhorse and its rider are proud in their armour. The description of Charles' horse after the battle further highlights the moral. This is compounded by the pathetic simile:

At generosus eque postquam se filius uda
sentit humo captum, contra conatus in astra
surgere vi pugnat, nec durus mollia vincit.
Sed latus obversans nunc hoc, nunc illud, in armos
inque caput recidit: franguntur ephippia, criste
franguntur fragiles, et nuper fulgida nigro
arma luto pallent, rerum decor et fugit omnis.
Sic in viscata passerculus arbore visus
est mihi, cum redimi tentat, contendere captus.
Quo magis hic pugnat plumas absolvere, crasso
hoc magis intricat se visco, et rostra pedesque
implicat, elususque opera cruciatur inani.[32]

(But when the noble thoroughbred feels himself trapped in the quagmire, having tried to raise himself up into the air, he fights with all his might, but his strength can no longer overcome his weakness. Turning to and fro, he falls on the weapons and on his head: the saddle

[31] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 3. 267–286.
[32] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 6. 684–695.

> is ruined; the delicate plumes broken, and the armour recently gleaming is dull with and discoloured with mud, the brilliance of all the trappings has gone. Thus I once saw a little sparrow caught in a tree smeared with bird-lime fight to set itself free. The more it struggled to release its feathers, the more it snared itself in the thick glue and trapped its beak and nails and, deluded by the useless effort, tortured itself.)

In addition to the descriptions of battle, the narrative reaches its dramatic climax via three episodes involving entrance into the besieged city. Increasing degrees of success highlight Charles' own failure to take the city: in Book Three Suffren de Baschi is captured within the enemy lines; in Book Four a messenger sent to René safely returns to Nancy; while at the end of Book Five Charles' Breton soldiers desert and seek refuge within the city. In Book Six the citizens themselves eventually break out and burn Charles' camp. Within this framework De Blarru has woven a withering critique of Charles' arrogance and the horrors of contemporary warfare. One incident must suffice to illustrate the theme:

Ad rem, Musa, redi. Sub principe seva locuto
imperiis tandem duris paretur. Et aptat
horrida sese acies, iam muro infesta valenti.
Multaque turbato tonat ethere machina, petras
eiaculata graves, gentique urbique timendas.
Atque aut a colubris, aut a serpente venenum
cognomenque trahens, omnis tunc belua rugit
fusilis, inferno sua spargens castra latratu.
Et Narciseis deserta a vultibus, Eccho
nube repercussas traducit in ethera voces.
Et tonitru reboat celum, ac fremit omne cor, extra
se positum. Sed tam subito fragor irruit ictu
ut gravide crebro matri promittat abortum.
Vis furit: hinc vastis ferri mugitibus aures
attonite, nec enim mutum mugire metallum
fert natura, modum hunc artes docuere Cyclopum.
Audet et irati genus heu mortale tridentum
usurpare dei, stigiosque equare furores.
Nostra habet aethneos etas Cyclopes, et omnis
ars horum tremulis illatrat menibus, usquam
vita nec in tuto est, ferus at furit undique turbo,
aut qui intus cives, aut qui foris opprimat hostem.[33]

[33] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 3. 90–111.

(Return, Muse, to our theme. As the prince had spoken so fiercely, his harsh commands are finally obeyed. The bristling frontline prepares for war, already hostile to the strong walls. Many cannon thunder across the disturbed heavens and discharge great rocks which terrify those within the city walls. Deriving their venom and names (culverin and serpentine) from colubris and other snakes, then every monstrous gun roars filling its own camp with the infernal barking. Echo, forsaken by Narcissus, makes her complaints into the sky rebound back in a cloud. Heaven resounds with the thunder and everyone shouts as their hearts jump. The crash arrives with such a sudden impact that pregnant mothers abort. This violence rages: ears are deafened by the overpowering bellowing of the metal, nature does not make mute metal roar, the Cyclopes have taught this skill. Alas, humankind dares usurp the weapon of an angry god and to rival the fury of hell. Our age has its own Cyclopes from Etna, and all their skill is focused upon making walls tremble; no life is safe, but the wild barrel rages from all sides and crushes both the citizens within the walls and the enemy without.)

Figure 3: The Execution of Suffren de Baschi, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.

Charles is not only presented as an archetype of arrogance in his shining armour, his pride is further bolstered by the gunpowder artillery in which he

delights. This innovation, which was transforming the art of warfare in the fifteenth century, is here literally portrayed as a diabolic.[34] The guns are named after snakes while their invention is ascribed to the Cyclopes in their Underworld caverns. How far Charles has degenerated from the classical ideal is shown in his vindictive treatment of Suffren de Baschi (fig. 3). There is something of Lucan's Caesar about him. The demonic sing-song of Charles's refrain, "Hang him high" recalls Caesar's words to the burghers of Marseilles: "dabitis poenas pro pace petita, / et nihil esse meo discetis tutius aeuo / quam duce me bellum." (You will suffer for seeking peace; you will learn that in my days none are safe but those who fight under my banner. Luc. 3. 370–372):

> Cognitus at postquam est, inimici ad principis ora
> ducitur. Hinc letus princeps, si letus ovante
> est animus rabie, totum vomuisse furorem,
> milite narratur viso, sed voce sub ista:
> "Pendeat, aptaque det castris spectacula nostris:
> pendeat et, laqueo fauces elisus, ad urbem
> respiciens, reliquis commendet bella Renatis;
> augeat his animum, et fructus promittat eosdem;
> pendeat ergo: cibus mea non prius ilia pascet
> quam mors ista oculos, iuro per numina, nostros."[35]

(But when he [Suffren de Baschi] was recognized he is brought before the enemy leader. Overjoyed at this, if a someone can be overjoyed as madness rejoices, the duke spat out all his rage and it is said that, when he saw the soldier, he spoke thus: "Hang him high to entertain our troops: hang him high and, when the noose has stretched his neck, turn him to look at the city, let him recommend this war to the rest of René's troops; let him inspire them and promise them the same reward; so hang him high: I swear to god, I will not eat until I have feasted my eyes on his execution.")

Charles' behaviour contrasts with that of his prisoner who does not plead for his life, but asks only for an honourable means of execution:

> A me tolle tamen, tolle hec suspendia, claros
> nescitura viros. Capior, non latro, nec armis
> proditor in vestris: ego iustus miles, et hostis
> iustus. Et huic laqueo solus me, Carole, damnas.
> Quod patria morior pro nostra et principe, mortis

[34] "With the introduction and development of artillery, sieges and siege-craft became more complex. Broadly speaking, the use of guns meant that sieges could be brought to a conclusion much more quickly." Vale 1976, 59.

[35] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 3. 367–376.

lenit amarorem nostre, sed abominor huius
triste trabis speculum, et turpis me hec machina terret.[36]

(Yet spare me this; spare me a hanging unfit for men of repute. I have been taken prisoner, I am not a thief, I am not a traitor in your army: I am an honest soldier and an upright enemy. Charles, you alone condemn me to this noose. Because I die for my prince and my fatherland, this eases the bitterness of our death, but I abhor the sad spectacle of this gibbet, this vile contraption terrifies me.)

When Suffren is hanged, the citizens of Nancy retaliate by stringing up all the Burgundian prisoners from the ramparts. This provokes Charles the Bold to redouble the bombardment which results in the grotesque spectacle of his artillery splattering the corpses hanging against the walls: and by blasting the walls he spatters the friends whom he sought to avenge' ("Et murum feriens, cum muro obtundit amicos, / quos petit ulcisci", De Blarru, *Nanceid* 3. 548–549).

Charles' use of gunpowder not only highlights his inhumanity, it also undercuts his classical pretentions. On the eve of the battle of Nancy the Swiss manoeuvre to avoid Charles' artillery, thus turning the tide of the battle (6. 448).[37] Without his cannon Charles is lost. He curses the day, Friday (*Veneris dies*), upon which he is forced to fight. This alienates the classical gods with whom he is associated, for Venus hears this curse and, complaining to Mars, curses him in return: "Believe me, proud man, you will never enjoy another day of Venus; you will never see another Friday," she spits ("Nulla, superbe, dies Veneris, mihi crede, colenda, / nulla tibi superset", 6. 197–198). Thus Charles enters the fray with the classical gods ranged, and raging, against him. His fate is sealed and his defeat comes as no surprise.

As we have seen, the narrative offers a withering critique of classical heroism exemplified in the arrogant persona of Charles the Bold, whose hubris transforms this epic into a Christian morality tale of pride before a fall. After the final battle the poet observes: "Arrogance was demolished and the smoking camps show that, when luxury has been put aside, those puffed up with pride can do nothing before the right hand of the thundering god bearing peace and arms."[38]

[36] De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 3. 468–374.

[37] An aside by De Blarru emphasizes that the first point of war is avoidance of the guns: "A tonitru Martis se posse absolvere prima / necnon precipua est procinctis caution", 6. 448–449.

[38] Diruta castrorum fumansque superbia, luxu
deposito, monstrat tumidos nil posse tonantis
ante dei dextram pacem portantis et arma. (De Blarru, *Nanceid*, 6. 888–890).

By disparaging the classical ideology of one of the main protagonists, this poem, yet again, presents the triumph of Christianity over heretical paganism. In a critique of the heroic ethos the poet himself had lamented: "Oh glory, transient glory, how many generals have you destroyed, how many generals have you mocked with spurious renown" ("O gloria, gloria, quantos / fluxa duces perdis, falsoque eludis honore!" 5. 844–845). Charles's arrogant, destructive folly resulted not only in his own death but also in the total annihilation of his whole army. René, in contrast, is seen as the ideal Christian ruler. This simplistic equation can easily be maintained while the setting and the protagonists are all secular. A dilemma occurs when the leading protagonist is the pope.

Rococciolo, *Mutineis*

Upon his election to the papacy (1 November 1503) Pope Julius II continued his predecessors' policy against the dissident papal vicars by attempting to regain control of the Papal States. After successful campaigns against Perugia and Bologna, the pope turned his attention towards the Duchy of Ferrara. Unable to launch a direct attack against this powerful city, Julius focused instead upon Modena and neighbouring towns. Setting off from Bologna in deep snow on 2 January 1511 declaring, "Let's see if I've got as much balls as the King of France", Pope Julius II arrived before the walls of Mirandola a few days later (6 January) to direct the siege operations in person.[39] Annoyed by the local resistance, this 'warrior pope' spoke of sacking the town so that his 'poor infantry' could have some reward. "Those who were with Julius at the siege of Mirandola and saw him undaunted by cold and wind and snow and artillery fire knew that they were witnessing legend in the making. 'This is something to put in all the histories of the world', the Venetian envoy exclaimed."[40] The attack on Mirandola is just one incident in the complex narrative of the *Mutineis* by the Modenese poet Francesco Rococciolo (*c*. 1460/70–1528).[41] His episodic poem, composed and supplemented as the protracted campaign continued, records the events that led to the annexation of Modena and a number of satellite towns from the Duchy of Ferrara in the second phase of the Italian Wars as the Pope, Holy Roman Emperor, France and Venice battled for control of northern Italy.[42] The

[39] Creighton 1911, 5, 143.
[40] Shaw 1993, 270.
[41] For Rococciolo's earlier epyllion on the arrival of the army of King Charles VIII of France before the walls of Modena see Haye 2005.
[42] The *Mutineis* thus resembles Zuppardo's *Alfonseis* which similarly grew in length as news of the on-going situation in Albania reached the Neapolitan court; see Haye 2009.

poem concentrates in particular upon the campaigns of Julius II against Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, in the years 1510–1513. Book Four describes the winter siege of Mirandola. Guicciardini records that the pope "lodged in a farmer's hut lying within range of the enemy artillery, no farther than twice an ordinary crossbow's shot from the walls of Mirandola."[43] Rococciolo makes a similar observation:

> Tum subit hospitio tenuis pauperrima tecti
> Culmina. Despecto sedes vix digna colono
> Atque oculis subiecta tuis, Mirandula, quantum
> Quis peteret torto Balearis verbere fundae,[44]
> Nec pediti placitura domus, nunc continet altum
> Ductorem coeli, nostrum qui temperet orbem
> Quique praeest foribus divum, cui sidera parent,
> Aeternique aditus nutu moderator Olympi.[45]
>
> (Then for his lodgings he enters the poorest eaves of a little house. A place hardly suitable for a grubby ploughman, and within sight of Mirandola that someone could hit it with a shot whirled from a Balearic sling; a house that would not please an infantryman now hosts Heaven's noble commander, who rules our world and who controls the gates of Paradise, whom the stars obey and the controller by his nod of entrance to eternal Heaven.)

Julius however changed his lodgings and moved even closer to the walls. On 17 January "a cannon-ball passed through the room where the pope was sleeping and wounded two of his servants."[46]

> Hostibus hinc data sunt magnae praesagia laudis
> Immensumque decus spectant et pacis ademptae
> Materiam facilem, dum se superare deorum
> Fata putant sperantque suis ea vincere factis.
> Ergo sulphureo praeclusam turbine glandem
> Machina lata capit.[47] Contacto ferreus igni

[43] Guicciardini 1969, 212.
[44] Cf. Luc. 1. 229.
[45] Rococciolo, *Mutineis*, 4. 283–290.
[46] Pastor 1891–1953, 6, 342.
[47] The mechanics of the new ordnance clearly taxed Neo-Latin authors. At the beginning of the third book of his *Decades* Biondo Flavio justifies the use of neologisms to describe modern warfare and mocks the absurd circumlocutions the exclusive use of ancient terminology entails: "Quis enim et non legat libenter, et non vehementer admiretur, vas aeneum fusile, ferreumve oblongum, tanquam cavo ex gutture in orbem dedolata librarum sexcentarum, septingentarumque saxa, ignis ad interiorem partem sulphureis admoti pulveribus, et vaporis concludi impatientis violentia evomens densissimos quosque muros perfringere, […]", Biondo 1531, 294.

Mox volat ille globus, quanto non murmure credas
Fulmina Phlaegreos quondam turbasse Gigantes
Insanam aut Bacchi vexasse tonitrua matrem.
Effugiunt tormenta procul per culmina tecti
Pauperis et frangunt sonitu monstrante ruinam
Fulcra thori, quo membra pater reparabat ab alto
Lapsus equo. Fugiunt omnes. Fugientibus illis
Intrepidus perstat media in caligine putris
Sulphuris et caeci volventibus omnia fumi.[48]

(The enemy now sees a chance for great praise and honour and an easy opportunity to regain the peace that had been snatched away; at the same time the Fates believe themselves superior to the saints and hope to conquer them by their own deeds. So a wide cannon takes a loaded missile with a sulphurous whirl. When the fuse is lit an iron ball immediately takes fight; you would not believe that the lightning which once routed the Phlegraean giants or the thunder which savaged Bacchus's mad mother raged with as much noise. The cannon-balls fly far and through the roof of that poor house and, with a tremendous bang, heralding destruction, smash the bedstead on which the pope, having dismounted his lofty steed, was resting. Everyone scatters. While they are all fleeing, he stands undaunted in the midst of the darkness with everything enveloped in clouds of foul-smelling sulphur and black smoke.)

The primary object here is, of course, to emphasize the pope's staunch determination and ability "to keep his head while all about were losing theirs"; yet standing in the midst of the sulphur and smoke there is something of the foul fiend about him, reminding us that "war, the traditional epic theme, produces a Hell on Earth"[49] The image recalls (perhaps inadvertently) the opening of Claudian's *In Rufinum* where Allecto stands amid the fire and brimstone of Tartarus, summoning the Furies to destroy world peace.[50] Despite this setback Julius's campaign was ultimately successful. Pastor records that the pope "was in such a hurry to set foot in his new conquest that he would not wait to have the gates unbarred, but clambered through the breach on a wooden ladder."[51] Book Five opens with Fortune smiling as the

[48] Rococciolo, *Mutineis*, 4. 291–305.

[49] Hardie 1993, 79. Note also Cervantes' observation: "Blessed be those happy ages that were strangers to the dreadful fury of those devilish instruments of artillery, whose inventor I am satisfied is now in Hell, receiving the reward of his cursed invention, […]", Cervantes 1925, 1, 402; cited in Vale 1976, 57.

[50] Allecto similarly disturbs the golden age of Naples by stirring up the Barons' War at the beginning of Paralecto's *Tarentina*: "Pro dolor! En iterum redierunt aurea mundo/ Saecula: Parthenopes regnum sic pace quiescit." (Paracleto, *Tarentina*, 1. 96–97).

[51] Pastor 1891–1953, 6, 342.

French, who were coming to relieve Mirandola, have decided, for the moment, not to continue the war. But as the Pope leaves, Erinys begins to sow discord. Adopting the form of an aged town councillor the Fury makes an impassioned speech against the new Imperial overlords:

Infernos egressa sinus nam murmure caeco
Ac placitas varians formas tentavit Erynnis
Corda ducum. Coeunt faciles in crimina Galli
Pactaque despiciunt. Montes tum corripit altos.
Ingerit obscaenum sceleratae caedis amorem
Sanguineamque sitim populandaque viscera monstrat
Urbis et occulta laudem sibi quaerere palma.
Tum Mutinae turres ac celsa palatia tristi
Corripit afflatu mediamque accensa per urbem
Solicitat proceres, sanctum quin ausa senatum,
Longaevum mentita senem, sermone benigno
Intrare ac patribus tristes immittere curas:
'Non bene conveniunt Germanica facta Latinis.
Vox diversa sonat. Mos noster discrepat illo
Vivendique modus. Variam sic aspice mentem
Corporis ut cultum. Tetram fluit undique vestis
Ingluviem plenique sinus abdomine Bacchi.
Ebria gens certe est, semper temulenta, prophanis
Vocibus atque gravem medio in sermone Lyeum
Ructat et immunda stantes aspergine vultus
Conspuit ac olido stomachum conturbat hiatu.
Indomitum stertit, clamoso somnia somno
Nostra ruens, potatque iterum vix sidere nato
Luciferi et tarda vix claudit pocula nocte.[52]

(Having slipped from the depths of hell with a silent hum, and adopting a pleasing appearance, Erinys insinuates herself into the generals' hearts. The French immediately start conspiring and scorn the treaties. Then she crosses the high mountains. She encourages obscene love for wicked slaughter and thirst for bloodshed and reveals how the centre of the city can be plundered and how they can earn praise for themselves with a secret victory. She then seizes the towers and lofty palaces at Modena and inflamed with a sad breath she solicits the elders throughout the city; indeed having ventured into the venerable city council, she mimics a senator of great age and begins with genial conversation and infuses the councillors with sad cares: 'German and Italians do not get on well together. They speak differently. Our customs and way of life are different from theirs.

[52] Rococciolo, *Mutineis*, 5. 27–50.

> Consider their different attitude as well as the way they behave. Their clothes are covered with foul gluttony and their bellies brimming with wine. They are a race of drunkards for sure, always sloshed, belching profanities and their breath thick with wine and standing in a filthy spray they dribble down their faces and stuff their stomachs through their stinking jaws. They snore fiercely disturbing our dreams by the fearful noise, and they start drinking again as soon as day breaks and scarcely put aside their cups late at night.)

As this chauvinistic diatribe ends, the poet calls upon the saints to intervene. The Fury's speech is thus balanced by the mediation of Saint Geminianus, the fourth-century bishop and patron saint of Modena:

> Dic, age, dic, Erato: Quisnam deus expulit istas
> Insidias facilique dedit nos currere vento?
> Non opus hoc hominum. Coelestia fata revolvi
> Iam decet et divum penetralia pandere cantu.
> Cura vigil nostri pastoris vidit ab alto
> Audentes crudele nefas et conscia fraudum
> Murmura et instanti fluitantia cuncta periclo.
> Ingemuitque deus gemitu, quo sancta deorum
> Maiestas gemuisse potest. Dehinc talia secum
> Fatur et attonitae succurrit fortiter urbi:[53]

> (So speak, now speak, Erato: which saint banished these sieges and allowed us to run with a favourable wind? This was not the work of men. It is now fitting that the heavenly fates are turned and to reveal inner shrines of the saints in song. From on high our patron saint's wakeful love saw those men daring cruel wickedness and conscious murmurs of plots and everything wavering in the present danger. The saint heaved a great sigh of the sort which only the holy majesty of the saints could groan. Then speaking to himself, he valiantly moved to the rescue of the thunder-struck city.)

The siege of Modena and its satellite towns was a minor event in the greater scheme of the Italian wars. The supernatural machinery elevates the factional in-fighting and local discord to universal significance. In so doing the poet does not apportion blame to an individual or a particular event. He is thus able to remain neutral and liberate himself from potential censure in the shifting political climate.

The death of Julius II and the election of Leo X in 1513 signified a change in papal policy and potential peace for the inhabitants of Modena. This again causes consternation in Hades. Book Eight opens with an Infer-

[53] Rococciolo, *Mutineis*, 5. 146–155.

nal Council in which Pluto incites his minions to action once more. The devils use gunpowder. History repeats itself when a fragile truce is broken by a gunshot.

Perfurit incassum vallo depulsus ab alto
Herberiae miles. Tum certat fraudibus: Unum
Perculit, in summo qui perstans culmine portae
Dum tormenta parat, liventis fulmina plumbi
Sensit et ardenti percussus tempora glande
Procubuit vitamque ferox emisit in auras.[54]

(A soldier from Ruberia, emerging from the deep valley rages to no effect. Then he fights with deceit: he shot a lone man who was standing on the gatehouse preparing the cannons; he felt the lightening shot of the livid lead and, stuck in the temples by the fiery bullet, he sank down and angrily sent his life into the air.)

The fresh outbreak of hostilities recalls that moment in the Trojan War when the archer Pandarus sabotages a truce by wounding Menelaus with an arrow (Hom. *Il*. 4. 85–140); in both cases the heroism of hand-to-hand combat (*comminus*, l. 158) is completely undercut by the use of artillery. While no ancient epic was complete without *aristeia* (Greek ἀριστεῖα, 'deeds of excellence') in which the hero, or one of his companions, demonstrated his prowess in single-handed combat, the increasing use of fire-arms in Renaissance warfare virtually precluded deeds of individual heroism on the battlefield for "the gun could not only batter down fortifications, but could kill, and kill selectively, from afar".[55] Even in the ancient world, Paris had earned eternal opprobrium for killing Achilles at a distance with the help of Apollo to guide his arrow (see Verg. *Aen*. 6. 56–58).[56] In this passage our sympathy is entirely with the lone, fallen soldier (and by association the besieged); all are portrayed as the helpless victims of external and, as we have noted, diabolical forces.

Following the pessimistic readings of Virgil in Lucan and the Silver Latin Poets, much of the *Mutineis* is a fierce diatribe against war; in particular the reliance in contemporary warfare upon artillery and the involvement of innocent civilians in the conflict. As such it can be read as a critique of the panegyrical epics on the *condottieri* warlords who were using the new technology to bolster their classical pretensions. It is certainly more

[54] Rococciolo, *Mutineis*, 9. 160–165.
[55] Vale 1976, 64.
[56] In this context it is interesting to note that in the nineteenth century Zulu warriors would not have firearms – the arms of a coward, they said, "for they enable the poltroon to kill the brave without awaiting his attack". Bourquin 1979, 149. For the one-sided use of artillery in the same war see Hall 1979.

than "a poetic *laus Urbis*" as Craig Kallendorf suggests.[57] For by celebrating the patriotism and communal sentiments of the city under siege Rococciolo questions the relevance of classical heroism in contemporary society when warfare was being dramatically reshaped by increasingly sophisticated ordnance. Indeed Mussato, De Blarru and Rococciolo present in their siege epics a vibrant and alternative response to the tradition of heroic poetry that survived far into the eighteenth century, thus proving that epic was not, as Bakhtin once advocated, "complete in its development" and "already antiquated" by the end of the classical period.[58]

As a postscript it should also be noted that the theme can be found in other poetic genres. An elegy ascribed to Baldassare Castiglione no less, records a particular instance of heroic bravery attributed to civic pride. On 29 June 1500 a combined French and Florentine force had laid siege to Pisa. The French artillery immediately began to pound the city. Realising that their high walls were vulnerable and would not resist the French bombardment, the Pisans constructed a second defence system, behind, but not part of, the wall being battered by artillery fire. This consisted of an earthen rampart with a ditch in front of it. Within a day the French guns had knocked down over a hundred feet of the city walls, but when they surged through the breach, they were surprised by this second barrier with the feisty Pisans on top:

De Fortitudine Poliphilae Pisanae

Quo fessum rapitis,[59] Pisae gens libera, faustum?
  Haec urbs usque aliquid parturit egregium.
Gallorum instabant acies, et miles ethruscus.
  Tormentis dabant moenia aperta viam.
Matronae aggeribus subeunt, nataeque parandis

[57] Kallendorf 2010, 895.

[58] Bakhtin 1981, 3–4. A few examples of later siege poems must suffice: Oliver Cromwell's poet laureate Payne Fisher (1616–93) wrote an epyllion in five books (or *Idylls*) on the Battle of Marston Moor (2 July 1644), *Marston Moor sive de obsidione praelioque Eboracensi carmen* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1655); Heinrich Meibom the younger (Henricus Meibomius, 1638–1700) dedicated his *Panegyricus de Brunsvicensi obsidione* to Rudolph Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1666–1704) (Helmstedt: Henning Müller, 1671); an *oratio metrica de obsidione urbis Viennenis* in 409 Virgilian hexameters (*quantum fieri potuit*) was recited in the Gymnasium at Ulm by Johannes Gaupp (Gauppius, 1667–1738) on 22 June 1684 (Ulm: Johannes Carolus Gassenmajerius, 1684); while Carolus Antonius Wetstneius dedicated over 500 hexameters on the relief of Leiden to Prince William V of Nassau-Orange (1748–1806) with the dramatic title, *Avitarum victoriarum inlustrissimam Leidam a Gulielmo Primo reipublicae fundatore, ex Hispaniorum faucibus extortam atque adsertam Heröo nunc carmine decantatam* (Leiden: Henricus Mostert et Petrus Delfos, 1771).

[59] Verg. *Aen*. 6. 845.

Atque viri: inter quos deiicitur Thamyras.
Matris et ante cadit vultum: silet illa: tegitque
Aggere: neu trepidat, dissimulat quid agat.
Hortatur comites ad opus: labor undique fervet.
"Nate", ait "ensis eras, nunc patriae es clypeus.
Exanimoque tuos defendes corpore cives:
Dignior esse tibi non poterat tumulus."
O non foemineum pectus: quod casus acerbus
Non tetigit nati: sed patriae pietas.[60]

(On the courage of Polyphila of Pisa.

Free people of Pisa, to what place are you hastening your fortunate dead? This city constantly produces something remarkable. The French were pressing on hard together with the Florentine soldiery. The walls had been blown open by their cannon. The women mount the ramparts to repair them with their daughters and their men, amongst whom Thamyras is killed. He fell before his mother's gaze: she stood silent: she covers the rampart and she does not tremble nor disguise what she is doing. She encourages her comrades to the task and they are busy on all sides. "Son", she says, "you were a sword, now you are a shield. You can defend your fellow citizens with your lifeless corpse. You could not have a more honourable grave." It is not feminine courage, it is not the bitter death of the son which blocks the ramparts, but regard for the fatherland.)

This tenacious defence of their city and their fierce resistance earned the Pisans the admiration of all Italy. Within two weeks the French were forced to break off the siege. On 11 July they retreated northwards while 'Fare come Pisa' became a proverb for gallantry and determination.[61]

[60] BAV, Vat. lat. 3351, fol. 71^{v}.

[61] See Mallett 1995, 254. More poems on this remarkable event can be found at BAV, Vat. lat. 3351, fol. 63^{v} *De Fortitudine Martiae Pisanae etiam a Marullo celebratae*. Incipit *Obsidet Etruscas gallo dum milite Pisas*; fol. 70$^{r–v}$ *De Fortitudine Andraginae Pisanae*. Incipit *Assidua Pisas galli obsidione premebant*; fol. 83^{r} *De Eudoxa Pisana*. Incipit *Stabat pro patria et muris Pisana virago*; fol. 83^{r} *De Antimacho Pisano Agricola*. Incipit *Menenius plebem eloquio sedavit et urbem*; fol.83^{v} *De Conviciis Pisanorum in Ethruscos*. Incipit. *Sume cholum muris Pisanus clamat ab altis*.

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Figures

1 René II, Duke of Lorraine, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.
2 Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.
3 The Execution of Suffren de Baschi, woodcut from Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceid*, 1518.

WEAVING ON A HISTORICAL THREAD:

William Camden's Elizabethan documentaries

By Geoffrey Eatough

Lord Burghley, chief advisor of Queen Elizabeth I, gave William Camden access to a wide range of official documents and ordered him to take the basic elements in the reign of Elizabeth and weave them together on a historical thread. Camden gained access to a vaster range of documents than those offered by Burghley and made himself the authority on the reign. He admired Elizabeth enormously, but his history is far from uncritical. This paper reviews Camden's conception of history as seen in his address to the reader. It then looks at the primordia of the reign, the social and religious context and the queen's unmarried state, and also her involvement in the downfall of Mary Queen of Scots and the clumsy attempt by her and the English establishment to shift the blame for Mary's death on to secretary William Davison. Her control weakened. In an age of expansion and dramatic overseas developments leadership necessarily devolved on to others, even to foreigners such as the persistent Dutch, and new men, such as Drake, who were not entirely answerable to the old order. Camden was an outstanding writer of Latin. His Latin as a vehicle of these modern events is a major concern of this paper.

Camden's England was very much part of Europe, and only survived as an independent nation by making the right diplomatic and military choices. It was a country of four million, with the population concentrated in the south and especially south east, compared with a French population of sixteen million and a Spanish one of eight million. Elizabeth, its queen, who talked so much about her people, never travelled far from London. London as now dictated the politics of the country, though there were two Londons, Westminster where the government was concentrated and the City of London. Camden (1551–1623) was for a considerable time deputy head and then head of the new Westminster school,[1] though he was not parochial, as

[1] Herendeen 2004 on Westminster School; see also Kay 1995, 2–8 on Ben Jonson's experience at Westminster School under Camden.

Londoners can be, since he had travelled the country to write his *Britannia.*[2] He must, however, have been totally familiar with what we still call the Westminster scene and its actors, that is parliament and the court. He is less informative about the City, but it was the city, the traders, and adventurers, who were the driving force in the English expansion, often determining England's allies. Elizabeth was aware of the importance of the city. She was in her early reign in debt to it, for she had elements of an accountant in her nature, and at a late age took lessons in advanced accountancy, which enabled her to shake the complacency of senior advisers who were part of the corruption.[3] She considered her greatest achievement the restoration of the currency. For 1560 Camden writes:

> Quodque maiori, imo maximae gloriae cedit, aeratam pecuniam paulatim tollere, probamque ex puro puto argento restituere coepit ad regni gloriam restaurandam.
>
> (What turned out to be the greater glory, indeed her greatest glory was that she began gradually to get rid of the coinage which had been debased by brass, and to bring back a sound coinage made of pure unadulterated silver, in order to restore the glory of the kingdom.)[4]

Base money caused inflation and Camden tells us the chief sufferers were those on salaries, soldiers, servants and all who earned their daily wage by their own labour. From these early days, when the treasury was empty, peace seemed to her a better option than even the most just war. For 1559 he had written:

> Et sane pax pro sexus ratione, et ob aerarii inopiam iustissimo bello optatior ipsi visa, quae gloriosius esse pacem prudentia firmare quam bellum per acies conficerere, dicere solebat.
>
> (And certainly peace, by reason of her sex and the lack of money in the treasury, seemed more desirable than the most just war; she was accustomed to say it was more glorious to strengthen peace through being wise than win war on the battlefield.)[5]

War, however, was unavoidable. She and the nation had to be defended and the politics meant that European neighbours had to be helped, but then reminded of England's contribution in men and money to their theatres of war.

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[2] Camden 1607 & 2004. Even for those who do not entirely trust their Latin it would be worth seeing the 1607 edition on *EEBO*.

[3] Camden 1627, 21–22 = Camden 2001, 1590 §2, tr. Norton 2001, 1590 §2.

[4] Camden 1615, 61 = Camden 2001, 1560 §16, tr. Norton 2001, 1560 §16.

[5] Camden 1615, 30 = Camden 2001, 1559 §7, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §7.

Camden's history contains a good deal of what we call diplomatic history, sometimes in excess. It might seem that Latin is for that reason the language in which Camden wrote. Yet though it was a diplomatic language, it was also a live language, which Elizabeth spoke with ease.[6] The original title of this paper was *Speaking to Europe: Camden's documentaries.* First readings made me think that it was a work tending to impartiality, which would appeal to European intellectuals with whom Camden was in constant communication.[7] It is essentially however a most English work, though written in Latin, at a time when English itself was being Latinised, which can leave the reader with a strange sense of familiarity as they read the Latin. Camden's Latin is excellent, at times even exciting, which leaves problems of ownership when Camden translates official documents, originally written in English or French, even personal letters, into Latin.[8] Latin could also make the history not immediately accessible to local troublemakers both of his and of the later generation under Elizabeth's successor, James, or accessible to continental enemies whom he was happy to offend. The conclusion to his address to the reader is full of fighting spirit.

A brief word about the text and its translation

I have read Camden's *Annales* a number of times in the Latin; I am the common reader not a historian. A major purpose of this paper is to draw other readers to the Latin text. It is the Latin text which leads us to Camden and back into the Elizabethan age. My reading among modern Elizabethan historians has been opportunistic, occasionally dated, but enough to confirm that Camden sometimes shapes events to his own ends, whatever they might be. I have confined myself on the whole to the Latin edition which was published in 1615 and which deals with the years from 1558 to 1588 the year of the Armada, that is the first three books. The post Armada England of the fourth book became rather a different place and the queen grew older.

I had intended throughout to use Richard Norton's translation for the Latinless.[9] It is used by Dana Sutton in his electronic bilingual edition,[10] on

[6] Camden 1615, 91 = Camden 2001, 1564 §6, tr. Norton 2001, 1564 §6. Camden 1615, 103 = Camden 2001, 1566 §4, tr. Norton 2001, 1566 §4. Camden 1627 53 = Camden 2001, 1592 §13, tr. Norton 2001, 1592 §13. Camden 1627, 132–139 = Camden 2001, 1597 §13, tr. Norton 2001, 1597 §13.

[7] See Smith 2002. This contains only the life but that allows us to see the high regard in which he was held by European scholars. Smith 1691 includes a substantial correspondence with scholars in England and in Europe.

[8] See note 44. Mary's letters are woven into a Latin speech by Camden.

[9] See Norton 1635 in the bibliography.

[10] Cited as Norton 2001 in the bibliography.

the grounds that it is a translation of a close contemporary. Norton's translation has a plausibility, and I shall generally resort to it, but where it is particularly unsatisfactory or bad, as in this first passage quoted below, I shall translate the passages myself, in ways that I trust seem closer to the meaning. It will become clear that it is difficult for any translator to capture the flavour of the *Annales*. Camden presents himself as an austere man in his writing style, but it is an austerity which is inimitable; in fact he has many styles, and his Latin is also inimitable. I will make it clear which translations are Norton's and which are mine.

Since one can easily switch between English and Latin in the Sutton edition, it would have been convenient to use Sutton regularly for the Latin, but I am aware that there may be those who do not have access to the site where Sutton's text can be found, and my own reading was almost mainly with the 1615 edition of the *Annales* on the *Early English Books Online* site (*EEBO*). I have, therefore, made reference to this edition of the Latin text, except for the *Address to the reader* where there is no pagination in the 1615 edition, but which is brief enough, and with which I deal immediately. However, when I quote from the Latin text or paraphrase the Latin text I have also made reference to Sutton's online Latin text,[11] which will also bring the Latinless reader easily to Norton's translation.

Camden's address to the reader: gaining possession of the text

Camden prefaces his *Annales* with an address to the reader. It begins as follows:

> Ante annos octodecim, Guilielmus Cecilius baro Burghleius, summus Angliae thesaurius, mihi ne cogitanti quidem, primum sua, deinde regia tabularia aperuit, atque inde primordia regni Elizabethae filo historico contexere iussit [...] Obsecundavi, nec invitus quidem, ne optimae principis memoriae, eius expectationi, et veritati, quae mihi utriusque instar, defuisse viderer. Illam enim subterfugientem, et sese occultantem, aut ibi, aut nullibi, deprehendere speravi.
>
> More than eighteen years ago, William Cecil, Baron Burghley, the Lord Treasurer of England opened up first his own registry and then the royal registry – when such an event had not even been in my thoughts – and then he ordered me to take the basic elements in the reign of Elizabeth and weave them together on a historical thread [...] I fell in with his command, happy to do so, I did not want to seem to have failed an excellent queen and her place in history, or his

[11] Cited as Camden 2001 in the bibliography.

> expectation or the truth which for me is pattern of them both. Truth quietly slips away and hides, my hope was that I should grasp her there, or she would be nowhere.[12]

This was both a story-telling age and an age of text, both written, printed and indeed truly woven text. A brief digression into the *tex–* root in the *Annales* is interesting.

Besides *contexere* we find in the *Annales texere*, *intexere*, *intertexere*, *attexere*, *subtexere*, *pertexere*, *retexere*, and most frequent of all *praetexere,* a word based on an image of a thick outer garment which will cover things, since this was an age of subterfuges and alibis. The following are some examples of the *tex–* root in use:

1) "ne gens Hibernica inculta et ideo magis superstitiosa, in rebellionem Gallorum artibus religionis praetextu concitaretur" (lest the Irish race uncivilised and therefore more superstitious should be roused to rebel through the trickery of the French using religion as a cover).[13]

2) The most important text of the period was truly inwoven. The French king ordered his son Frances and daughter-in-law Mary to use on their official documents the title *Francis and Mary by the grace of God King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland,* and "he displayed everywhere the arms of the kingdom of England joined with the arms of Scotland in household furnishings and painted on walls and woven into the official cloaks of the heralds" ("Insigniaque regni Angliae coniunctim cum insignibus Scotiae in supellectili et parietibus ubique depicta, et foecialium paludamentis intexta passim proposuit.")[14] Elizabeth would never allow Mary to forget the implications of this inwoven tale.

3) If caught on a treason charge your life could depend on the ability to weave a plausible story. Francis Throckmorton who had remained Catholic and who was found with two catalogues on him, one of English ports and the other of the locality of English nobles, confessed quickly and wove together a plausible story ("huiusmodi narrationem contexuit").[15] Camden tells us the story, later Throckmorton denied it, claiming he had made it up to avoid torture, a respectable mode of interrogation in the period; then he reclaimed it when given what was obviously a specious chance to gain a pardon from the queen, and then he started to deny it again on the gallows, at which point the noose tightened.[16]

[12] Camden 2001, To the Reader §1, tr. Eatough.
[13] Camden 1615, 47 = Camden 2001, 1559 §27, tr. Eatough.
[14] Camden 1615, 42 = Camden 2001, 1559 §20, tr. Eatough.
[15] Camden 1615, 357 = Camden 2001, 1584 §9.
[16] Camden 1615, 353–358 = Camden 2001, 1584 §5–10.

4) Gawdy, the prosecutor at Mary's trial, gives her a history lesson of the recent events, which had finally doomed her, that is her contact with the Babington plotters. Gawdy is a member of a body of men determined to kill Mary by a legal process and prepared to bring together every shred of evidence however circumstantial: "At hinc historicam Babingtoniae coniurationis narrationem contexuit" (And then he wove together a/the historical story of the of Babingtonian conspiracy.)[17]

5) Davison, the secretary of Queen Elizabeth, when he was framed on a charge of precipitating the death of the Queen of Scots, found himself in the Star Chamber, the 'fall guy' of the guilty men who were trying him. The pedant Manwood, no doubt for something to say, weaves the whole story of Mary's treason all the way from those misappropriated English emblems through to the Babington plot (*narrationem pertexuit*), of no relevance to Davison.[18]

To return to Camden's address to the reader, a *tabularia* was a place originally where you kept the *tabulae*, for very ancient Roman writing tablets. This word will come into view with a different meaning in a poetic touch at the end of The Address. Norton translated it "Roles, Memorials, Records" and *contexere* as "compile", which is quite the reverse of what Camden did with his historical documents. Camden turns out to be more of a free agent than Norton suggests. He does not compile, but weaves or creates.

When Camden stood on the threshold of the registry, he was horrified by the difficulties he saw involved in the scene of confusion ("implicatissima difficultas quodammodo absterruit"). He stumbled on dense piles of every kind of writing and document (*instrumentorum*). There may be irony here, since *instrumenta* are meant to ease labour. The material was well enough arranged in chronological sequence, but documents also need to be arranged by content, and here there was total confusion (*confussisimas*). In shaking out these papers he became covered in dust, and he sweated profusely. He gathered together (*conveho*) some suitable material which he had found by concentrated search, but what he had found was less than expected. Then he (that is Burghley) stopped living and Camden's passion for this work rather cooled ("industria mea admodum deferbuit").[19]

[17] Camden 1615, 423 = Camden 2001, 1586 §58, tr. Eatough. Norton's translation is here insipid.

[18] Camden 1615, 462 = Camden 2001, 1587 §22.

[19] Camden 2001, To the reader §2.

But when, as Norton translates, "that incomparable Princesse also had rendered her celestiall soule to God,"[20] Camden waited to see if anyone of the learned men, whom Elizabeth had favoured with wealth and leisure, would write her history, but when they were not forthcoming, he says, "I buckled myselfe againe to my intermitted study, and plied it harder than before."[21] This is Norton of course – it is wonderful that the English still use the expression 'buckle to'; from Camden's Latin we could, with the rest of the sentence extract, "pressed on more keenly than before."[22]

Camden would find his independence as a historian, yet first he needed the right kind of historical documents, and a great body of these were supplied by Robert Cotton,[23] a former pupil of Camden's, who, travelling round the north of England with Camden, had been of considerable help in the development of Camden's *Britannia,* and who, along with Camden, was a member of the College of Antiquities (deemed a subversive body under James I, and closed down). Cotton is an example of the varied ways in which private enterprise could sustain the state in Elizabethan and Stuart England.

> From all places I procured all the helpes I could to write: Charters and Letters patents of Kings and great personages, letters, consultations in the Councell Chamber, Embassadors Instructions, and Epistles, I carefully turned over and over. The Parliamentary Diaryes, Actes, and Statutes I ran thorough, and read over every Edict or Proclamation. For the greatest part of all which, as I am beholden to that most excellent man Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet, who hath with great cost, and successefull industry, furnished himselfe with most choice store of matter of History and Antiquity (for from his light, he hath most willingly given great light to me). So (Reader) if I shall in any thing helpe or delight thee in this behalfe, thou art most worthily to give him thankes for the same.[24]

Camden also had his own papers. Though famous as an admirer of antiquity, he says that he had taken an interest in recent events and seen and observed much; and he had learned from a previous generation and from people who could be relied upon, who had taken part in government, and from supporters on both sides of the religious divide. And we can see that he had the ability to make us visualise events clearly, even where he had not

[20] Norton 2001, To the reader §2.
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] The Latin reads: "ad intermissum studium denuo me accinxi, et acrius quam antea incubui" (Camden 2001, To the reader §2, tr. Eatough).
[23] About Cotton see Handley 2011.
[24] Norton 2001, To the reader §2.

been present, such as the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, or Sir Francis Drake's voyages in the Pacific.

He had cleared away the items which blocked the doorway to truth, an image (missed by Norton) which perhaps went back to the registry experience, in this case items standing for ignorance and its offspring doubt and falsity. This clear-out meant that he had acquired no less knowledge of events, by which he surely means more knowledge, than those with long and vast experience in state affairs. He might, we could conclude, know more than Lord Burghley ever did. Such knowledge, of course, means that he could control the narrative, and locate the threads of history.

The historian has however to be fearless. Camden says he has not feared danger, not even from those who think that memory can be wiped out by ever present power in a succeeding age. Nor will anyone find that he is lacking in "parrhesia, that noble freedom of speech, which respects the boundaries worthy of a historian, to be distinguished from the specious freedom of slander and abuse."[25]

> Manifesta non reticui, dubia mollius sum interpretatus, occultiora non indagavi. "Abditos principum sensus", inquit magnus ille historiarum antesignanus, "et si quod occultius parant, exquirere illicitum; anceps nec ideo assequare." Atque cum Halycarnassaeo curiosulis succenseo, qui plura quam legibus permissum, quaerere, aut cognoscere volunt.
>
> (About things evident I have not kept quiet; about things uncertain I have been more gentle in my interpretation; the more hidden things I have not investigated. "About the private feelings of Princes", says the great standard bearer of Histories, "and if they plan anything to be kept secret, it is not permissable to enquire; it is fraught with danger, do not go after it." And with the man from Halycarnassus, I feel anger at those prying people who want to seek and know more than is permitted by the laws.)[26]

The object of their prying was principally Elizabeth, who had to maintain a royal persona, and yet her privacy was constantly being invaded. She also had to conceal her opinion and her feelings. Mary Queen of Scots complained that Elizabeth "personam non transgreditur", that is she did not come out from behind her public persona.[27] For various reasons, mainly reasons of state, Elizabeth refused to meet Mary. Elizabeth's court was full of tittle-tattle by which people's reputations could be destroyed. And

[25] Camden 2001, To the Reader §4, tr. Eatough.

[26] Camden 2001, To the Reader §4, tr. Eatough.

[27] Camden 1615, 75 = Camden 2001, 1562 §4. Norton's translation does not make great sense: "'which', to use her owne words, 'goeth no farther than the person.'" (Norton 2001, 1562 §4).

Elizabeth was mixing with courtiers often in a private capacity. She did enjoy the gossip of her ladies-in-waiting, which was also a means of accessing the outside world. Leicester seemed to have a special relationship with her and people might speculate about what she and Anjou discussed. Camden, by being aware of the boundaries, leaves us with the feeling that he might have known more than he tells us. Nonetheless the execution of Mary Queen of Scots leads to the devastating indictment of Elizabeth and the English establishment, as they attempt to find stories which will be acceptable to a critical public. Thus Camden also allows us to glimpse weaknesses of the queen whom he admires, here and elsewhere.

Camden tells us history deals with the big issues, though there can, according to taste, be room for some minute matters. Circumstances which might seem trivial must always be included because they can explain why things happened. History deals with why, how and to what end. He has not interposed his own opinion. As far as he is concerned people are free to make what they want of it according to their taste. He has not scattered around in the text *sententiolae,* that is smart memorable remarks which might influence people. He has not adorned his narratives with what the Greeks appropriately called *epistaseis*, that is where the author stops the action and stands over you to express his opinion.[28] Actions and their consequences should reveal themselves, but that they can only do, of course, through the text of the historian.

The author does not make speeches, the people in the narrative do. What people caught up in an event say is important; speeches have a major historical role reaching back to Thucydides and even Homer. Historians might still, you could argue, manipulate speeches so that they become platforms for their own views, but Camden claims that he has only included actual speeches, or summaries of actual speeches.[29] The *Annales* are, in fact, full of brilliant speeches, mainly by Elizabeth, but also by Mary, in Latin, a language with dynamics of its own, and were certainly often not the actual words used. Further, summaries of speeches gave the historian great creative freedom, as did crowd or party speech, and rumour.

Camden says that he writes annals because Tacitus teaches us that famous deeds must be entrusted to annals, which ensure that virtue is talked about and those who speak or do evil fear the damnation of posterity. The style of annals, he says, is also his style, rather dry and terse ("aridius et contractius scribendi genus") in Norton's words "a more niggard and succinct kind of writing."[30]

[28] Camden 2001, To the Reader §5.
[29] Camden 2001, To the Reader §5.
[30] Camden 2001 and Norton 2001, To the Reader §6.

Camden says that when he reached the end and polished his work, he planned to bestow it on Jacques Auguste de Thou who was writing a universal history, but was clearly not doing justice to English matters, because he was like some stranger wandering in a foreign country.[31] Unfortunately very rough drafts of Camden's work were sent to de Thou, and he hacked them up and interpolated, selecting just a few English and Irish matters, not pleasing either English or European readers. So Camden revised his work, making many additions and giving it some literary qualities using natural language ("aliquem orationis cultum adhibui, sed sine conquisitis verborum lenociniis"). The result can be likened to a *tabula*, in this case not a literary document but a picture; the documents relating to Elizabeth's reign have been transmuted into a picture. He writes: "Satis enim mihi videtur, si tanquam tabulam dilutioribus coloribus minus eleganter pictam, bono lumine collocavero." This is not easy to translate: "It seems to me enough if it is like a picture not too refined in the subdued colours in which it has been painted, which I will have placed in a good light."[32] 'To place in a good light' is a phrase still used of presenting something or some situation, which is imperfect, in a way which makes it more acceptable. I suggest that Camden is saying that he has not aimed for literary effect with heightened language, but that he is relying on the narrative he has created and on the way he has presented events to clarify history.

Primordia of the Elizabethan reign: religion and the unwedded queen

When the young Elizabeth was acclaimed queen Camden writes:

> nec alterum unquam Principem populus proniore et constantiore mente et amore, maiore observantia, laetiore applausu, et votis repetitis, quoties in publicum prodiret, toto vitae decursu, unquam prosecutus est.
>
> (neither did the people ever embrace any other Prince with more willing and constant mind and affection, with greater observance, more joyfull applause, and prayers reiterated, whensoever she went abroade during the whole course of her life, then they did her.) [33]

The facts do not quite match this publicity. In the final weeks of 1558 occurred the counter coup which re-established the protestant religion:

[31] Camden 2001, To the Reader §7.
[32] Camden 2001, To the Reader §8, tr. Eatough. Norton's translation of this passage is appallingly bad: "if as a Table ill-favourable painted with grosse colours."
[33] Camden 1615, 18 = Camden 2001, 1558 §1, tr. Norton 2001, 1558 §1.

> Primis auspiciis primam curam, sed cum pauculis intimis adhibet de protestantium religione restauranda, quam sacris literis, et primaevae ecclesiae synceritati maxime consonam et verissimam esse tum ex informatione a teneris, tum ex iudicio, ad veritatem sibi persuaserat; et restaurare quidem certa et stabili sententia apud animum statuerat.
>
> (In the first beginning of her Raigne, she applyed her first care (howbeit with but a few of her inwardest Counsailors) to the restoring of the Protestants Religion, which both by her instruction from her tender yeeres, and by her own judgement, shee verily perswaded her selfe to be most true and consonant to the sacred Scriptures, and the sincerity of the primitive Church, and to restore the same she had with a settled and constant resolution determined in her mind.)[34]

This is an emphatic piece of Latin writing, perhaps offending the Camden rule to cleave to the arid style *primis…primam...pauculis… protestantium… primaevae*; *sacris…ecclesiae synceritati maxime consonam…verissimam esse*; *tum…informatione a teneris, tum...persuaserat et restaurare…stabili sententia…statuerat*. Norton's is, however, a lumbering translation, but his *howbeit* perhaps sounds a critical note which we may pick up more quickly than with the Latin *sed*. Should one conduct a religious revolution with so few people? This small group of people certainly did not carry a great swathe of the English people with them. The Anglican church which Elizabeth established was hardly a recreation of the early church. *Informatione* traverses a whole range of experiences from being taught to being formed or shaped, and Camden may be aware of that. "Sibi persuaserat" (she had persuaded herself) is ambiguous, and the last sentence reminds us that Elizabeth's motto was "semper eadem" (always the same). She had stable opinions – the unkind might say set opinions – but in fact her stability was also founded on a perception which was sharper than some of those around her.

Religion was inseparable from politics and was to determine England's allies. Elizabeth closed the ports and made sure that the Tower of London was in safe hands, she renewed the commission of Sussex, Viceroy of Ireland. Money was not to be exported to countries across the seas for exchange, a beginning to the establishment of sound money, as important as religion. Ireland was always high on the agenda. It generally forms the tag end of the year in Camden's annalistic format: a confession that it was a different country.

[34] Camden 1615, 19 = Camden 2001, 1558 §3, tr. Norton 2001, 1558 §3.

The queen's unmarried state

At the end of the parliamentary session in 1559 everyone in the three estates were agreed that Elizabeth should be asked to find a husband. Since there were those in the Upper House, the nobility, who hoped they might be the lucky man, the task of addressing Elizabeth was given to a Speaker of the Lower House, Sir Thomas Gargrave. Gargrave approached Elizabeth most graciously, and delivered a perfect speech on human beings and the state, who can only find immortality through marriage: rulers have a special responsibility to breed.

> Hanc vero immortalitatem Anglis donare poteris, si quod humana natura, aetas, forma, et fortuna postulant, aliquem in maritum adsciveris, qui sit solatio et adiumento, secundarum adversarumque consors. Unius enim mariti opera magis ad res gerendas quam multorum coniuncta industria proculdubio valet. Nihil esse potest a publicis rationibus magis alienum, quam eam principem, in cuius matrimonio salus reipublicae et pax continetur, caelibem quasi Vestalem virginem vivere. Regnum e maioribus acceptum liberis relinquendum, qui regno futuri et ornamento et firmamento.
>
> (This immortality may your Majestie give to the English, if (as your humane nature, age, beauty, and fortune doe require) you will take some man to your husband, who may be a comfort and helpe unto you, and a Consort in prosperity and adversity. For (questionlesse) more availeth the helpe of one onely husband for the effecting of matters, then the joynt industry of many men. Nothing can be more contrary to the publicke respects then that such a Princesse, in whose marriage is comprehended the safety and peace of the Common-wealth, should live unmarried and as it were a vestall virgin. A kingdome received from ancestors is to be left to children, who will be both an ornament and strength to the Realme.) [35]

Elizabeth replies with her defining speech, the high point of which is the following piece of theatre

> "Et ecce", *inquit*, "quod vos oblivisci demiror, maritalis huius foederis, et matrimonii mei cum regno meo pignus," *(simul digito extento aureum ostendit annulum, quo in inauguratione se regno in matrimonium conceptis verbis rite dederat). Respiratione hic facta, "*Nec mihi quaeso", *inquit, "*miseram orbitatem exprobando obiicite: vos enim singuli, et quotquot existunt Angli, mihi liberi, mihi cognati."
>
> ("I have already joined my selfe in marriage to an husband, namely, the Kingdome of England. And behold", said she, "which I marvaile

[35] Camden 1615, 33–34 = Camden 2001, 1559 §9, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §9.

> ye have forgotten, the pledge of this my wedlocke and marriage with my Kingdome" and therewith she drew the Ring from her finger and shewed it, wherewith at her Coronation she had in a set forme of words solemnly given herselfe in marriage to her Kingdome. Here having made a pawse, "And doe not", saith she, "upbraid me with miserable lacke of children; for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are children, and kinsmen of me.")[36]

In 1566 when Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic, had produced a son who was in line to become king of England, and did become King James I of England in 1603, there was panic at the English Court and in Parliament. The mood on the marriage question was different: "Tempestates formidolosissimi temporis…ominarentur."[37] The English language translates this Latin for the reader without the aid of Norton. Angry seething minds broke cover to accuse the queen of failing the country and posterity. The Earls of Pembroke and Leicester openly, and Norfolk very secretly, even went so far as to say that a husband should be imposed on Elizabeth. The Upper House, where the aristocracy were, spoke through Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, but his speech is the multiple voice of the aristocracy. It is a conventional speech, which, with its row of gerundives, heavy and insistent, Camden clearly mocks as hyperbolic and academic. "Omnes omnium penates penitus" near the end is particularly poor stuff:

> Praeterea proponunt quanta malorum tempestas Angliae impendeat, si illa successore certo non designato mortalitatem exueret, seditiones et intestina bella, in quibus ipsa victoria est miserrima, proruptura; religionem eliminandam, iustitiam obruendam, leges proculcandas, cum non fuerit princeps certus qui legis est anima, regnum in praedam exteris cessurum. Et alias id genus calamitates enumerando exaggerant, quae, illa sine sobole defuncta, omnes omnium penates penitus involverent. Ex sacris etiam literis praecepta, consilia, et exempla modeste adiungunt.
>
> (Moreover they propound how great a storme of calamities would hang over England if she should put off her mortality, designing no certain Successour; that seditions and Civill warres would breake forth, wherein the victory itselfe were most miserable; that Religion would be abolished, Justice smothered, the Lawes trodden under feet, when there would be no certaine Prince, which is the soule of the Lawe, and that the Kingdome would fall as a prey to forrainers. And other calamities of that sort they reckon up and exaggerate, wherein all men would be involved if she should dye without issue. Out of the

[36] Camden 1615, 34–35 = Camden 2001, 1559 §10, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §10.
[37] Camden 1615, 104 = Camden 2001, 1566 §5.

> sacred Scriptures also they modestly joyne hereunto precepts, counsels, and examples.)[38]

The Lower House were in a state of rebellion. Individuals were prepared to speak. There were those too inclined to snatch at the authority of her royal majesty. They make it clear that in the relationship between monarch and subjects, the subjects were the important party, "unicum fulcrum et firmamentum" (their onely prop and pillar).[39] By not naming a successor she was provoking the wrath of the deity and alienating her citizens. Describing shiftless princes as fearful little women was a disrespectful image.

> Ut vero numen propitium habeat, et cives amantissimos et obstrictissimos, statuasque sibi in animis hominum nunquam perituras erigat, successorem designet. Sin minus, non nutrix, non patriae parens, sed noverca, imo patriae parricida audiat, quae Angliam eius spiritu iam spirantem simul cum ea expirare mavult, quam superesse. Principes nullos nisi ignavos, suis exosos, et meticulosas mulierculas a successoribus unquam timuisse, et pericula a successore designato, illi principi, qui civium charitate circumseptus erit, minime esse formidanda.
>
> (But, that she may have God favorable to her, and her people most loving and fast tyed unto her, and that she may erect Statues for her selfe in mens mindes never to decay, let her designe a Successour. If not, she may be spoken of not as a nurse, not as a mother of her Country, but as a step-mother, nay, as a parricide of her Country, which had rather that England which now breathed with her breath, should together with her expire, then survive her. That no Prince but cowards, and such as are hated of their owne people, and timorous women, have ever stood in feare of their Successours, and the dangers of a designed Successour are not to be feared of that Prince which is fortified with the love of his people.)[40]

The Latin is vivid. It captures the language of people dangerously lost in their own rhetoric, forerunners of the popular journalism of our own times, a reminder that rebellion could lie close to the surface. The sibilants convey contempt, almost hatred.

The Queen was not pleased. She despised their arguments, and she brooded secretly. Camden enters her mind, as Lytton Strachey was to do nearly four centuries later.[41] Three times in Camden's text (§8) she uses the word *norat* (she had learned) and in the first instance through having once

[38] Camden 1615, 104–105 = Camden Norton 2001, 1566 §6, tr. Norton 2001, 1566 §6.
[39] Camden 1615, 105 = Camden 2001, 1566 §7, tr. Norton 2001, 1566 §7.
[40] Camden 1615, 105–106 = Camden 2001, 1566 §8, tr. Norton 2001, 1566 §8.
[41] Strachey 1928.

been a designated successor to Mary Queen of England. She called in representatives of both Houses and subjected them to a withering speech, where she is the "simplicis veritatis cultrix", while they are the schemers. She has found deception walking around in Parliament under the masks of Liberty and Succession. At the end she says that they might one day have a wiser prince, but not one who loved them more, though without naming anyone she made it clear that she loved some more than others.[42]

In 1559 she had replaced Catholic bishops with Protestant ones, the mass was abolished, liturgy was established in the vernacular, images removed from churches and many other changes instituted. Camden describes it as no sudden change, but slow and by degrees, and all Christendom was surprised (Norton translated *mirante* as 'admired'). It had in fact been a very rapid change. Camden writes that as a result of this change, as the political philosophers observed, England was made the freest of all the kingdoms in the world of Christendom.[43] This is immediately belied:

> Religione protestantium authoritate parlamentaria iam constabilita, Elizabethae prima et praecipua cura fuit, ut eandem sartam tectam contra omnes omnium machinationes inter medios eo nomine hostes constantissime tueretur, nec tantillum quidem unquam innovari permisit. Secunda, ut aequabilitatem in universa vita singulisque actionibus conservaret. Unde pro symbolo usurpavit semper eadem.
>
> (The Protestants Religion being now by authority of Parliament established, Queene Elizabeths first and chiefest care was for the most constant defence thereof, against all the practises of all men amidst the enemies in that behalfe, neither indeed did she ever suffer the least innovation therein. Her second care was to hold an even course in her whole life, and all her actions; whereupon she tooke for her Motto, *semper eadem*, that is, always the same.)[44]

Almost every word in Camden's Latin here has found its way into the English language. Norton does not translate *sartam tectam* which means 'repaired roof'. The repaired roof completes the protection, ironical perhaps to describe the actions of a queen of a country which was removing roofs from monasteries. She is the arch conservative *semper eadem*, and appropriately *conservaret* defines her action.

Innovari is a glance in the direction of the *congregati*, the people who have formed a flock, the innovators, or *separati,* which was to become an even more appropriate term when members found exile first in Holland, and

[42] Camden 1615, 106–108 = Camden 2001, 1566 §8–10, tr. Norton 2001, 1566 §8–10.
[43] Camden 1615, 35–40 = Camden 2001, 1559 §11–15, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §11–15.
[44] Camden 1615, 40 = Camden 2001, 1559 §16, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §16.

then as the Pilgrim Fathers settled in America. They almost immediately make their proper appearance in Camden's narrative. Their way of changing religion is different from Elizabeth's. They are republicans. They were violently active in Scotland, an independent kingdom whose future was increasingly enmeshed with England's.

> Iam protestantium religionem in Scotia professi, qui congregationis nomen sibi assumperant, a ministris quibusdam importunis, et imprimis a Knoxo, perfervido regiae authoritatis impugnatore, persuasi, procerum esse sua authoritate idololatriam tollere, et principes intra legum praescripta per vim reducere; obsequium regenti, reginae matri, matronae modestissimae praestare detractarant, religionem, tumultuose loca sacra incendendo et diripiendo, mutarant.
>
> (Now the professors of the Protestants Religion in Scotland, who had taken upon them the name of The Congregation (being perswaded by some importune Ministers, and especially by Knox, a most fervent impugner of the Queenes authority, that it was the duty of the Nobility and Estates by their own authority to abolish idolatry, and by force to reduce Princes within the prescript of the Lawes), had refused to yeeld obedience to the Regent the Queenes mother, a most modest Matron, changed Religion, tumultuously firing and sacking Religious places.)[45]

In terms of rhythm and sound the Latin version is a lively piece, and the *congregati* are an active people. The sentence where the Queen Mother's social position is built up comes to a shattering end with *detractarant*, itself picked up by *mutarant*; *tumultuose*, a term for violent behaviour out of control, is set between religion and the sacred places.

This paragraph ends with a quick introduction to the prior of Saint Andrews, James Stuart,[46] who will become the Earl of Moray, sometimes introduced as The Bastard. He was the illegitimate half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots. Camden does not remind us that Moray's father, James V, had wanted to divorce his wife and had not been given papal dispensation, nor that the King's choice of new wife, from among many mistresses, might have been Moray's mother. Moray could have been the Scottish equivalent of Elizabeth. Camden gives us a perfect picture of religious hypocrisy. Accused of being the leader of those wanting to dispossess Mary, Moray responds:

> Ille suspicionem amolitur sanctissime protestando se nihil aliud quam divina gloriam et patriae libertatem sibi proponere, eandem a regente et Gallis oppressam, non posse non dolenter deplorare.

[45] Camden 1615, 44 = Camden 2001, 1559 §23, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §23.
[46] About Stuart see Loughlin 2011.

> (He laboureth to remove a suspicion, most religiously protesting that he sought nothing else but Gods glory, and the liberty of his Country, and could not but sorrowfully bewaile the oppressing thereof by the Lady Regent and the French.)[47]

Sanctissime with its connotations of saintliness works better than Norton's *religiously*. Liberty of the fatherland, then as now, is the rogue's pretext, as too often are laments of oppression, especially when the oppressor is a gracious queen. This hypocrisy leads to the performance of grief by people I would call Lords of the Congregation, Norton calls them "Masters of the Congregation". One of their complaints make them sound serious people. They complain that their coinage is being debased by the costs of the French occupation. William Cecil, later to be Lord Burghley,[48] using as his agent Henry Percy, later to be the Duke of Northumberland, who was from the very North East of England, the area closest to the Scots, asks him to find out what was the aim of these Lords of the Congregation. This is what agents, moving behind enemy lines, are asked to do, to assess the mood of the dissidents. The result is a priceless piece of satire on evangelical religion, but in fact it has extremely serious implications:

> Respondent illi, oculis in coelum sublatis, non alium sibi propositum scopum, quam ut Iesu Christi gloriam, sinceram verbi divini praedicationem promoverent, superstitiones et idolatriam extirparent, persequentium furorem cohiberent, avitamque libertatem conservarent. Quibus rationibus haec conficere valeant plane nescire, sperare autem divinum numen, quod incoepit, cum adversariorum confusione ad optatum finem perducturum. Mutuam vero inter regna amicitiam summam esse votorum, atque ad eam firmandam opes, fidem, et constantiam devovent.
>
> (They answer, with eyes lifted up to heaven, that they have no other ayme but to advaunce the glory of Jesus Christ and the sincere preaching of Gods Word, to roote out superstitions and idolatry, to restraine the fury of their persecutours, and preserve their ancient liberty. By what meanes they may be able to effect this, flatly they know not; but what God had begunne, they hope he will bring to an happy end, with the confusion of his adversaries. And that a mutuall amity betwixt the two Kingdomes is the summe of their prayers, and for confirmation thereof they vow their wealth, their fidelity, their constancy.)[49]

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] About Cecil see MacCaffery 2004.
[49] Camden 1615, 45 = Camden 2001, 1559 §24, tr. Norton 2001, 1559 §24.

Their simple aim is quite a difficult list. What is dangerous about these people is that they are religious first and foremost. Elizabeth ties politics and religion together but not in this way. These people need no human authority. They can talk to God as they walk down the street. In 1560 Elizabeth expelled Anabaptists and heretics of that kind, who on the pretence of avoiding persecution, had flocked from regions across the sea into the coastal towns of England, and who were scattering their sectarian poison in England. Whether they were English or foreigners, she ordered them to leave the kingdom within twenty days, or find themselves in gaol and their goods confiscated. Anabaptists were in fact a most persecuted sect.[50]

There is more satire in the middle of events for 1560, the wooing of Elizabeth. There was William Pickering living in fantasy land, a mere knight with a bit of money, with some knowledge of what Camden calls the fine arts, and a tiny bit of public service abroad to his credit. Still he fancied Elizabeth. There was also Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, with a house full of statues, lots of money, but whose age was beginning to diverge from Elizabeth's. Finally there was Robert Dudley, the future Earl of Leicester.[51] He was at the peak of youthful manhood and his features so arranged that they made him stand out. The Latin "conspicua lineamentorum compositione" (comely feature of body and limbes)[52] seems to drool, malevolently, on the author's part. What Camden has to say here can be verified by the portraits in Elizabeth Goldring's *Robert Dudley*: he was strikingly handsome and no one had their portrait painted as often as he had.[53]

Camden writes that to the degree that his father and grandfather had had burning hatred from among the people, to that same degree Dudley burned (*flagravit*) in the favour of the queen, who with a rare royal kindness heaped honours on a man whom she had saved, yet whose father had wished her dead. Whether this was because of young Dudley's qualities, of which he displayed some shadowy signs (*adumbrata signa*), or from the imprison-ment which by chance they had experienced together (*communi carceris sorte*) under Queen Mary, or from their horoscopes, and the secret agreement of the stars at their hour of birth, and thence the tight embrace of mind kinship (*arctissima animorum cognatione*), one could not easily say. (Certainly monarchs seem to have a forward leaning towards these people, and a deadly aversion to those people.) [...] [Elizabeth] in the first year of her reign elected him to the Order of Saint George which among the English

[50] Camden 1615, 60 = Camden 2001, 1560 §14, tr. Norton 2001, 1560 §14.
[51] About Dudley see Adams 2008.
[52] Camden 1615, 56 = Camden 2001, 1560 §10, tr. Norton 2001, 1560 §10.
[53] Goldring 2014, 8.

is by far the most honourable order, to the wonderment of everyone.[54] Camden, in reporting thus, seems to be rehearsing the salacious gossip of the court. Dudley may have become a threat to rivals at court, but he was not an evil genius who dominated the age. In Camden's account he has a tendency simply to be unpleasant and to fall short.

Marian sympathies: the dangers of being near the throne and the sad downfall of the Scottish queen

The events of 1561 commence with Elizabeth sending Thomas Randolph to Scotland with a message for the Scots. He teaches them – Elizabeth has a penchant for teaching and Camden's *Annales* have a didactic undercurrent, whether from him or actors in his narrative – that the German princes have formed an alliance against the Roman pontiff, and Elizabeth wishes for the English and Scots to be included in the same.

> Iam commodissimum tempus adesse (cum Scotorum Regina sit vidua) consopiendi omnem inter Anglos et Scotos discordiam, qui multo et mutuo sanguine tot seculis concertarunt.
>
> (Now the most suitable time was at hand (when the Queen of Scots was a widow) of putting to sleep the discord between English and Scots who had striven with one another for so many centuries with great shedding of one another's blood.)[55]

Camden's Latin expresses the sentiment so much better. *Mutuo* for those who like to read behind the text almost suggests a blood bond, as of course there can be between warring societies. This was a very early move in a complicated process, which would lead over the years to the unification of the countries. Elizabeth also quietly warns the Scots not to let Mary marry a foreigner again. Mary, tragically for herself, eventually obeys. Meanwhile Mary asks permission to sail through English waters home to Scotland; Elizabeth refuses because the treaty of Edinburgh has not been ratified by Mary. Mary is upset by this repulse and has long talks with Elizabeth's man in France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden has found records of these letters in the papers of Throckmorton. He will summarise them, even though some have already been mentioned and will have to be reworked into the text (*retexenda*). Camden will do this so that we can see the beginnings and development of the accusations between the greatest and wisest princes of our age, and, courtesy of Throckmorton's records of Mary's long talks, Camden delivers for Mary a powerful speech. Throckmorton does not have it

[54] Camden 1615, 56 = Camden 2001, 1560 §10.
[55] Camden 1615, 63 = Camden 2001, 1561 §1, tr. Eatough.

in his brief to reply to the points she has made, but he lays aside his persona as legate, and speaks to Mary as a private individual. He tells her it all goes back to the time when Elizabeth had just been crowned queen, and Mary had seized on (*invasisti*) the insignia and title of England, a symbolic invasion. Injuries of that kind even private people never digest, let alone princes.[56]

There was a body of Scots, especially Protestants, who supported the English. They feared this Mary would be like Mary, Queen of England. Camden reports William Maitland of Lethington, (called Lidington by Camden), who was destined to become Mary's principal secretary, expressing their views thus:

> Illa reversa tragedias excitaret, omne commercium literarum et nuntiorum cum Anglis intercluderet, factionem Anglis addictam labefactaret, et demum in Protestantes Scotiae non tanquam in proditores, sed tanquam in haereticos, perinde ac Mariae Anglica non ita pridem saeviret.
>
> (She returning, should raise Tragedies, stop all intercourse of Letters and messages with the English, weaken the faction that was addicted to the English, and finally exercise cruelty against the Protestants of Scotland, not as Traitors, but heretickes, as Queene Mary of England had done not long before.)[57]

In fact she proved a good, gentle, impartial queen before she was undermined by the various factions, above all by the *nothus*, James Stuart, destined to be the Earl of Moray. In Camden it is she who has the tragic role. Lidington, who has his reservations, becomes her messenger. She was to be betrayed by messages true or false as comes clear at her trial, and near the end Sir Patrick Grey, known as Master of Grey, (from 1609 6th Baron Grey) sent by her son James to plead for her life whispered for her death, whereas Lidington had eventually become a loyal subject who thought she had been badly treated.[58] Camden reveals all this.

Catherine Grey

A distinctive event in 1562 is the treatment of Catherine Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and the granddaughter of the second sister of Henry VIII. She was divorced from her husband, a son of the Earl of Pembroke, was then long neglected and eventually found to be pregnant, indeed close to term, and thrown into the Tower of London. She claimed to be

[56] Camden 1615, 64–67 = Camden 2001, 1561 §2–6.
[57] Camden 1615, 67 = Camden 2001, 1561 §7, tr. Norton 2001, 1561 §7.
[58] Camden 1615, 239 = Camden 2001, 1573 §11, tr. Norton 2001, 1573 §11.

legitimately married to the Count of Hertford. He, summoned from France where he had been cultivating his mind with permission of Elizabeth, openly stated this was true. She was thrown (*coniicitur*) into the Tower, unborn child and all; he was placed (*conditur*) there. No witnesses to the marriage could be found, so no less than the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced a definitive sentence, that this was an illicit and illegal carnal relationship or *copula*, and that that man and that woman must be punished. You might think that the Hertfords were simply three or four hundred years ahead of their time, but they were acting outside their class norms.

At this point a man called John Hales said that the archbishop's sentence was unjust, arguing that they were a legitimate married couple based solely on their own consent. If accepted this would have destroyed a major foundation of Elizabethan upper class society.[59] It would also have weakened the church. Camden calls Hales "homo opinosissimus, sed eruditione multiplici" (a man most opiniative, but of much variety in learning).[60] One senses a sneaking admiration from Camden. He had strong reservations about churchmen. Hales was stressing the actualities, as Hertford was to do in his account of his relations with his wife in prison. But Hales too was put in prison. Even in the Tower the love of the Count for Catherine Grey was such that he gained access to her by bribing the guards and she became pregnant again. Hertford was called before the Star Chamber on three charges. That he had corrupted in the palace a virgin born of royal stock, that he had broken out of prison, and that he had compressed her (that is squeezed her in a sexual embrace again). His reply was that the doors were open, he walked through, consoled her over the sentence she had earned, and paid his conjugal dues. He was fined 5,000 pounds and detained for nine years. Catherine became seriously ill, and begged the Queen's pardon commending her children and her husband, still to be freed, to Elizabeth, before she "pie et placide in Christo obdormivit" (slept piously and peacably in Christ).[61] She becomes a kind of Christian icon in death.

Her mother Frances, Dutchess of Suffolk did not die in peace. In 1563 "miseram vitam exuit" (she divested herself of her miserable life).[62] One daughter had been Lady Jane Grey, proclaimed queen of England and soon beheaded, as was Frances' husband and a third daughter she saw married to Keys, whom Norton describes as "Groom-porter at the Court", but who

[59] Pye 2014, 255, says that marriage started with the mutual consent of the man and woman in the North Atlantic countries. Clearly this could not apply to parties close to the royal house or those with powerful status to maintain.

[60] Camden 1615, 73 = Camden 2001, 1562 §1, tr. Norton 2001, 1562 §1.

[61] Camden 1615, 74 = Camden 2001, 1562 §1, tr. Norton 2001, 1562 §1.

[62] Camden 1615, 87 = Camden 2001, 1563 §14, tr. Eatough.

looks rather like the man who acts as umpire among the gamblers at court ("aulico aleatorum arbitro"). Frances herself, to her shame but also to her security, married a noble from the lesser gentry.[63] They were a tragic family, who might have expected better.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk

Camden witnessed both the trial and execution of the Duke of Norfolk. There are a lot of public executions in the *Annales*. The stories of how various people ended their lives on the scaffold is one of the fascinations or horrors of his history. He was particularly interested in how a state of mind could betray a person, the classic case being the Welshman William Parry.[64] The case of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is not unakin to this genre of stories. It also illustrates another theme in Camden, that is how chance events can develop a momentum of their own.

At the execution Camden was amazed at the love which the common people had for Norfolk, who had been the premier duke in the land: "Incredibile est quanta charitate multitudo illum complexa sit, quam benignitate et comitate singulari, nec tanto Principe indigna, conciliaverat."[65] *Princeps* is an ambiguous word, 'leader', 'prince', 'king' even. He was a great English gentleman and the common people loved him.

The more perceptive had differing opinions, some saw the dangers he and his party posed if he survived. This was also the view of the Lower House, of counsellors at Court, who were of course his rivals, and of the preachers who stood outside the parliamentary tradition and were opposed to the nobility as a body. Others were moved by pity for the man, a supreme example of nobility and goodness, conspicuously handsome and with a manly face, who would have been a bedrock for his country and adorned it, if the cunning scheming of rivals and slippery hopes, presented to him with the appearance of being for the public good, had not deflected him from the course he had started out on in life. They noted that his father, twenty five years before, had been beheaded on an insubstantial charge. Camden is offering us a guide to modern tragedy, the inevitabilities thereof.

Elizabeth in an extraordinary move had offered Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as he was to become, as husband to Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's family were appalled at the prospect. Leicester was socially well below their class,[66] though in the minds of the salacious perhaps not beneath the

[63] Camden 1615, 87 = Camden 2001, 1563 §14, tr. Norton 2001, 1563 §14.
[64] Camden 1615, 366–370 = Camden 2001, 1585 §2–5, tr. Norton 2001, 1585 §2–5.
[65] Camden 1615, 218 = Camden 2001, 1572 §18.
[66] Camden 1615, 84 = Camden 2001, 1563 §9.

Queen's. Lidington was involved in the negotiations to bring Dudley to Scotland, when he met with Norfolk and it occurred to him that Norfolk was a better prospect. He offered him the chance and Norfolk modestly declined.[67] When Norfolk, Arundel, Sussex, Leicester and Norfolk were negotiating with Mary, they accepted a proposal from Mary, which infuriated Elizabeth, who said "that the Queene of Scots would never want an advocate as long as Norfolke lived."[68] Later, in conjunction with the Earl of Moray, Lidington once more offered Mary to Norfolk and again Norfolk modestly declined.[69] The spies were out. A servant of Norfolk's had been seen constantly visiting Bolton Abbey, where Mary was confined, on the pretence of visiting the lady of the house. Nicholas Throckmorton advised Norfolk to step back and allow Leicester precedence, or alternatively to work with Leicester. He followed the second piece of advice and Leicester gained control of this shy man and destroyed him. Soon it became common rumour that Norfolk would marry Mary.[70] There is an extraordinary scene where Leicester takes to his bed and Elizabeth visits him at Tichfield:

> Reginae invisenti, consolatione permulcenti, et deprehendenti spiritum et sanguinem ex timore intra retrahi, cum suspiriis et lachrimis culpam deprecatus, rem totam ab origine explicavit.

This is extremely difficult to translate. *permulcere* can cover a spectrum from 'stroke', to 'sooth', to 'beguile'. That she strokes him is irresistible:

> As the queen was visiting him, and stroking him as she consoled him, and discovering that his breath and pulse from fear were very faint, with sighs and tears he begged her to forgive him and explained the whole story from its beginnings.[71]

When Elizabeth confronted Norfolk, he said he was happy to abandon Mary. His income was not much less than the kingdom of the Scots, in other words he had the financial clout of a king, and, when he was on his tennis court in Norwich, he felt himself in a way to be the equal of many kings. It was a tactless response – words kill. Day by day he sensed the queen's looks and voice grow more hostile, that Leicester was alienated (*abalienatum*) from him, and that many of the nobles scarcely greeted him, or broke off conversation. When the Scottish ambassador came to negotiate with the Queen, she told him to tell that woman, i.e. Mary, to keep quiet, or else she

[67] Camden 1615, 97 = Camden 2001, 1965 §3.
[68] Camden 1615, 145 = Camden 2001, 1568 §18, tr. Norton 2001, 1568 §18.
[69] Camden 1615, 146–147 = Camden 2001, 1568 §20 & §21.
[70] Camden 1615, 160 = Camden 2001, 1569 §18.
[71] *Ibid.* tr. Eatough.

would see those on whom she relied trunks without heads.[72] There was a brutal side to Elizabeth.

Norfolk, without realising it, had been caught up in a large conspiracy of whose ramifications he was undoubtedly unaware, though he was undone by his own vanity. He could never escape because of the cowardice of the peers, and the coincidence of the Northern Rebellion sealed his fate. He was tried in 1572, without access to papers or legal aid, in a trial where the most junior of those who sat in judgment was asked his opinion first, in full knowledge beforehand of what his seniors wanted, which was death. As a result the verdict was unanimous.[73]

The execution of Mary

Mary Queen of Scot's execution at Fotheringay many years later was great theatre. She was extremely brave and we must all admire great bravery. The Duke of Kent, *fervide flagrans*, translated by Norton as "in hot burning zeale to religion", came out with a silly sententia "Tua vita exitium erit nostrae religioni, ut contra tuum exitium eiusdem erit vita" (Your life will be the death of our religion, as contrariwise your death will be the life thereof).[74] She seizes on this remark, and conducts her final hours as a religious drama. She has a last supper with her people; she comforts them, telling them she is now to emigrate from the abyss of evil; she drinks to the health of her servants; they respond by kneeling, mixing tears with their wine, and seeking pardon for their neglect of duty, as she does from them. She dresses for her execution as for a feast day. The Dean of Peterborough tries to impose on her an official Anglican procedure, and the crowd milling around pray with him, while Mary on stage conducts in competition a Catholic service in Latin.[75] One can admire her, while noting that it would have been impossible for this lady to have been a queen of a protestant England. Someone fixed an epitaph near her grave which was soon removed. Camden lets us read it after its removal. It fills a whole page of text with its bold capitals, as if it declared something of importance. It is a rant on Mary's royal status, the obsession which had doomed her.[76] She was in his account, though bound by her class, better than that.

[72] Camden 1615, 160–161 = Camden 2001, 1569 §19.
[73] Camden 1615, 210–216 = Camden 2001, 1572 §3–15.
[74] Camden 1615, 446 = Camden 2001, 1587 §10, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §10.
[75] Camden 1615, 456–458 = Camden 2001, 1587 §11–14, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §11–14.
[76] Camden 1615, 458 = Camden 2001, 1587 §15.

The power of hypocrisy and the implosion of the Scottish nation

When Mary was sentenced to death, Elizabeth responded to this sentence "magna et vultus et vocis maiestate" (with great Majestie of Countenance and voice).[77] It is a stately speech, in pitch not unlike the speech where she described herself as mother of her people. She omits her refusal to engage directly with Mary. Instead she says:

> Tantumque abfuit ut erga illa fuerim malevola, ut cum molitiones in me nonnullae dilucescerent, ad eam clam scripserim, si eas privatis ad me literis fateretur, silentio involverentur. Nec eo sane animo scripsi ut irretirem, cum mihi innotescerent quaecunque fateri poterat.
>
> (And so farre have I beene from bearing her any ill will, that upon the discovery of certaine treasonable practises against me, I wrote unto her secretly that if she would confesse them by a private letter unto my selfe, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in minde to intrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confesse.)[78]

She did not need to entrap Mary, she already had the information to do so. In the world of spies knowledge could be put in storage for another time. With her high sentiments she refers the death sentence, which was eventually passed on Mary, back to the two houses of Parliament to consider again, and they come to the same conclusion with reasons given. The Queen made another speech of this kind ("Regina huiusmodi habuit orationem").[79] "Of this kind" does not tell us the degree to which Camden has edited her words or had input. The high philosophical tone of this speech is set by the first sentences:

> Perquam grave est illud iter e quo, et dum pergitur, et cum conficiatur, nihil nisi molestia percipiatur. Conflictata sum hodie, si unquam alias, loquerer, an silerem. Si loquar, et non conquerar, certe simulabo. Si sileam, vestra opera luditur; sin autem conquerar, novum plane videatur.
>
> (Full grievous is that way, whose going on and end yeelds nothing but cumber for the hire of a laborious journey. I have this day beene in greater conflict with my selfe then ever in all my life, whether I should speake, or hold my peace, If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble. And if I should be silent, your labour taken were all in vaine. If I should complaine, it might seeme strange and rare.)[80]

[77] Camden 1615, 433 = Camden 2001, 1586 §76, tr. Norton 2001, 1586 §76.
[78] *Ibid*.
[79] Camden 1615, 436 = Camden 2001, 1586 §80, tr. Eatough.
[80] Camden 1615, 436 = Camden 2001, 1586 §81, tr. Norton 2001, 1586 §81.

The simple Latin which is characteristic of the speech is here captured by Norton's translation. Mary wrote a letter, which deserved reply but Camden will not have it said whether it came into the hands of Elizabeth. The controversial nature of the situation is then laid out by a rehearsal of the kind of statements made on various sides of the debate on whether Mary should die. These are speeches, which are not really speeches, of things that were said by whoever had an opinion. Then there were the actual communications of James, Mary's son, and a strangely pedantic list setting out the French position, which brings the reader to the end of 1587.

At the beginning of 1588 Camden tells of a plot to assassinate Elizabeth which emanated from the French ambassador, but never gained traction because of the lack of agreement and commitment by the conspirators. Those who wished Mary Queen of Scots dead then created an atmosphere of panic by spreading rumours of the arrival of a Spanish fleet in Milford Haven, and, more improbably, that the Duke of Guise had landed in Sussex with a strong army.[81] And so Elizabeth panicked and signed Mary's death warrant.

> Huiusmodi terriculamentis et formidulosis argumentis fluctuantem et anxium reginae animum eo pertraxerunt, ut literas consignaret, quibus funesta sententia executioni mandaretur.
>
> (With such scarr-crows and frightful arguments as these they drew the Queenes wavering and perplexed mind to that passe that she signed a warrant for the execution of the sentence of death.)[82]

She was assisted into that position by Patrick Grey, King James' emissary, who while officially pleading for Mary to be spared, drummed (*inculcavit*) into Elizabeth's ears "mortua non mordet" (a dead woman does not bite).[83]

"Then that woman by nature a delayer (*natura cunctatrix*) began to balance in her mind whether it was more advisable to take her out or to spare her."[84] Perhaps Elizabeth aired her concerns to close advisers who could tell Camden about these things later. Whatever his source Camden gives the impression that he has access to Elizabeth's mind. Her desire to strike a balance is blocked by the *aulici* (the courtiers) who have a penchant for trite *sententiae* of the kind which we now associate with cheap journalism. To make the point Camden in conclusion writes that not only did courtiers come out with these sentiments in the presence of the queen, but also preachers with a keener edge, and some plebeians "either in hope or

[81] Camden 1615, 451 = Camden 2001, 1587 §4, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §4.
[82] Camden 1615, 451 = Camden 2001, 1587 §5, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §5.
[83] *Ibid*., tr. Eatough.
[84] Camden 1615, 451 = Camden 2001, 1587 §6, tr. Eatough.

feare, more sawcily exercised their wits at their pleasure in this argument", or rather as Camden's Latin points "they shamelessly exercised the libido of their minds" ("ingeniorum libidinem in hoc argumento procacius exercuerunt.")[85]

We are then asked to believe that Elizabeth fell into a serious depression. We have an even more intimate picture of her, which could of course have derived from a lady-in-waiting or someone with private access to her, but reads like the script from a novel:

> Inter has anxias cogitationes, quae reginam adeo solicitam et ancipitem habuerunt, ut solitudine gauderet, sine vultu, sine voce subinde sederet, et saepius suspirans, AUT FER, AUT FERI, et e nescio quo emblemate NE FERIARE, FERI sibi immurmuraret.
>
> (With these anxious thoughts which kept the queen so worried and not knowing which way to turn, solitude was her only pleasure, she kept sitting there expressionless, voiceless, repeatedly moaning, either strike or be struck, or from some motto, 'don't be struck, strike,' she would mutter to herself.)[86]

It is in this depressed state that she hands William Davison the death warrant, signed in case some crisis should arise. The warrant then is passed on by Davison to senior figures, who have been eager to implement it. The Queen in a change of mind responds belatedly to its departure to the keepers of Mary. After the death of Mary, Elizabeth has to write to James. Without naming names she prepares the ground to shift the blame from herself, leaving it for others to explain more fully.[87] Davison is summoned into the Star Chamber to stand judgment. The consequences were a long term in prison. But he was not guilty. We have the most remarkable passage in the whole of the *Annales*. Privately he tells Walsingham what really happened. Camden published this private confession.

> "Regina", inquit, "post Gallicorum et Scotorum legatorum discessum sponte iussit ut mandatum de sententia in Scotam exequenda exhiberem, exhibitum sua manu lubens signavit, signatum magno Angliae sigillo muniri imperavit, et iocans dixit, 'Haec Walsinghamo aegrotanti significes, etsi male metuo ne inde prae maerore expiret.' Causas etiam tam diu differendi addidit, nimirum, ne videretur violenter vel malitiose eo pertractam fuisse, cum interea minime ignoraret, quam hoc sit necessarium. Porro Powlettum et Drurium

[85] Camden 1615, 451–453 = Camden 2001, 1587 §6–8, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §6–8. The quotation is the last phrase of §8, the first translation Norton, the second Eatough.
[86] Camden 1615, 453–454 = Camden 2001, 1587, §9, tr. Eatough.
[87] Camden 1615, 460 = Camden 2001, 1587 §17.

culpavit, quod eam hac cura non liberassent, et optavit ut Walsinghamus eorum animos hoc de re tentaret. Postridie, postquam magno sigillo munitum esset, per Killegraeum iussit ne fieret, cumque iam factum docuissem, festinationem tantam reprehendit, innuendo aliam rationem, ex prudentum quorundam iudicio posse iniri. Ego respondi, eam rationem semper esse optimam et tutissimam, quae iustissima. Sed veritus ne in me crimen derivaret (ut Norfolcii supplicium in Burghleium contulerat) rem totam Hattono communicavi, protestatus me nolle memet altius tanto negotio immergere. Ille mox Burghleio impertiit, Burghleius reliquis consiliariis, qui omnes de supplicio maturando consenserunt, et singuli voverunt ex aequo culpam praestare, Bealumque cum mandato et literis miserunt. Tertio post die, cum ex somnio quod de morte Scotae narravit, eam animo fluctuare sentirem, rogavi an sententiam mutarat. Negavit, at inquit alia ratio excogitari poterat, simulque an a Powletto aliquid responsi acceptum quaesivit. Cuius literas cum monstrassem, in quibus plane recusavit id suscipere, quod cum honore et iustitia non coniunctum, illa commotior eum et alios qui associatione se obstrinxerant periurii et voti violati accusavit, qui magna pro principis salute promiserant, at nihil praestabunt; esse tamen innuit qui hoc sui causa praestabunt. Ego autem quam infame et iniustum hoc foret demonstravi, simulque in quantum discrimen Powlettum et Drurium coniiceret. Si enim illa factum approbaret, et periculum et dedecus non sine iniustitiae nota sibi traheret; sin improbaret, homines optime meritos et eorum posteros prorsus pessumdaret. Posteaque me, eodem quo Scota sublata est die, quod supplicium nondum sumptum, leviter perstrinxit."

("The Queene", saith he, "after the departure of the French and Scottish Embassadours, of her owne motion commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the sentence against the Queene of Scotts; being delivered she signed it willingly with her owne hand, an in jeasting manner sayd, '*All this you may signifie to Walsingham who is sicke, though I feare mee hee will die for sorrow thereof.*' She added also the causes of her differring it so long, namely least shee might seeme to have beene violently or maliciously drawne thereunto, whereas in the meane time she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed Powllet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feele their mindes touching this matter. The next day after that it was under the great seale, shee commanded me by Killigrew that it should not be done; and when I had informed her that it was sent already, she found fault with such hast. But fearing least shee would lay the fault upon me (as she had layed the putting of the Duke of Norfolke to death upon the Lord Burghley), I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge my selfe any deeper in so great a businesse.

> He presently imparted it to the Lord Burghley, and the Lord Burghley to the rest of the Counsell, who all consented to have the execution hastened, and every of them vowed to share equall blame, and sent Beale with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when by a dreame which she told of the Queene of Scotts death, I perceived that she wavered in minde, I asked her whether shee had changed her purpose. She answered no, 'but another course', said she, 'might have been devised', and withall shee asked me whether I had received any answere from Powllet. Whose letters when I had shewed her, werein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honor and justice, shee waxing angry accused him and others which had bound them selves by the association of perjury, and breach of their vow, who had promised great matters for their Princes safety, but would performe nothing; 'Yet there are', saith she, 'which will doe it for my sake.' But I shewed her how dishonorable and unjust this would be, and withall into how great danger she should cast Powllet and Drury. For if shee approved the fact, shee should draw upon herselfe both danger and dishonour, not without note of injustice; and if shee disallowed it, she should utterly undoe men of passing good desert, and their whole posteritie. And afterwards she lightly blamed me the same day that the Queene of Scotts was executred, because shee was not yet put to death")[88]

This puts the fine speeches Elizabeth made after sentence was passed on Mary into context. What trust could one put in this monarch again. Camden, the teacher of Ben Jonson,[89] uses a stage image to explain the contemptuous treatment Davison received.

> Ita Davisonus, vir ingenue bonus, in auleis artibus minus versatus, in scenam aulicam ex composito, ut plerique existimaverunt, inductus, ut huic personae in ista tragaedia tantisper serviret, detracta mox persona, quasi extremo actu defecisset, e scaena extrusus, et non sine multorum commiseratione in carcere diu conclusus.
>
> (Thus was Davison, a man ingenuously good and simply practised in Court artes, brought upon the Court stage, of purpose (as most men thought) to act for a time this person in this tragedy; and soone after, this person being taken away, as if hee had failed in the last acte, hee

[88] Camden 1615, 465–466 = Camden 2001, 1587 §28, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §28.

[89] Kay 1995, Jonson was a pupil at Westminster school and Camden was the most influential person in his life 8–11. Westminster school developed a strong theatrical tradition, 5–7. "Every Man in His Humour" was dedicated to Camden, 21. A folio of *The Works of Ben Jonson* was printed in 1616 by William Stansby who also printed a folio of Camden's *Annales*.

> was thrust downe from the stage and, not without pitty of many, shutt up a long time in prison.)[90]

This is a clever piece of writing, quite well translated by Norton. Courtiers were actors constantly presenting themselves, brought out by *auleis… aulicam*; *ex composito* can be translated "deliberately" but also "as a result of a plot". He who has been a state servant serves a role, *detracta* (is dragged down) could refer to the character in the play being dragged down to disaster by those who have plotted against him, and it is tempting also to think of a mask being dragged off, becoming something other in reality. "As most men thought" is echoed by "with the pity of many". The majority verdict is that this man is innocent. Unlike many who came to disaster at court, this man was deserving of pity. Camden is rehearsing his Aristotle.

Almost the most interesting point of this case is the sheer hypocrisy of those who played the roles of judges, whether they performed as they really were, or whether they too put on the mask. Certainly the sentence Davison received seems real, though there is uncertainty about the actual outcome. The best intervention is by Baron Grey who plays himself, the outspoken, loquacious Scot who has his own mind. Mildmay is wonderfully condescending; he criticises Davison for his lack of experience in the affairs of royalty. Davison had in fact performed important missions in the Netherlands and Scotland.[91]

The Earl of Moray and James Hamilton

Some of the great disturbers of the Scottish peace had already departed the stage, their deaths lessons on chance, the uncontrollability of events, and of how great men can fall in ways which are unexpected, except by some. Mary's half brother, the Earl of Moray, had been causing havoc in the Scottish borderlands, especially to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth in the hope that his sister might be handed over to him. He seemed irresistible.

> Eodem autem mense, cum iam magnis laboribus perfunctus, sercuro animo videretur, Limnuchi (*Lithquo* vulgus vocat) ex insidiis globulo plumbeo infra umbilicum dum per plateam equitaret, transfossus occubuit.
>
> (But the same moneth, when after great labour sustained, he seemed secure in minde, hee was slaine at Limnuch (commonly called

[90] Camden 1615, 465 = Camden 2001, 1587 §27, tr. Norton 2001, 1587 §27.
[91] Camden 1615, 256 = Camden 2001, 1574 §7; Camden 1615, 282 = Camden 2001, 1579 §1; Camden 1615, 339 = Camden 2001, 1583 §1 & 4.

> Lithquo) being shot with a leaden bullet beneath the navell as he rode in the streete by one that lay in waite for him.)[92]

Camden writes that his killer was one James Hamilton (of Bothwellhaugh and Woodhouselee) who fled to France. Some French wanted to hire his services, as what we might call a professional killer, to dispose of people such as Coligny. But Moray was the only man that Hamilton had wanted to kill, because of the abuse he had suffered from Moray. In particular Moray had robbed him of a farm which had come to him by way of his wife."Unde uxor mente capta, et ille in furorem versus, carcere effracto, caedem admisit". (Whereby his Wife became distracted in minde, and he himselfe in a rage brake prison, and committed the murther.)[93] Norton's translation is nice, but Camden captures the pent up fury of the man, while not answering the question of how he broke out of prison. To the end of his days he repeated "that he had beene a just revenger of his own griefe, whereof he repented him, but to be a revenger of another mans he would never be drawne, neither by intreaty nor reward."[94] In Norton's translation here one can almost detect a Scottish accent.

This is the story that Camden wished to use. There is another version of the event, that Hamilton was part of a gang and there was a horse waiting for him to make his escape. This is Wild West stuff, deserving to be captured on film, as was much that happened in Ireland. Camden himself tells us that shortly afterwards an Anglo-Scottish army on its way to Glasgow turned aside to destroy the castle of the Hamiltons: "maioribus machinis diverberatum, brevi deditum, et semirutum" (which being battered with the great Ordinance, was soone rendred and halfe razed). The Latin captures the violence of destruction. Camden goes on to tell us that a magnificent town was torched, and in the quest for plunder Clydesdale was ravaged, as on the return journey was Hamilton's palace.[95]

James Douglas, Earl of Morton

The Earl of Morton, James Douglas, the successor of Moray as Regent to the young James VI, was the last of James' sole regents. In 1578:

> Interea Mortonius ingenio (quod sane erat acerrimum), longo rerum usu, et numerosa clientela fretus, dum nihil recte factum nisi quod ipse faceret putaret, et eundum non esse qui fuerat ferre non posset, rerum

[92] Camden 1615, 171–172 = Camden 2001, 1570 §2, tr. Norton 2001, 1570 §2.
[93] *Ibid*.
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] Camden 1615, 174 = Camden Norton 2001, 1570 §7, tr. Norton 2001, 1570 §7.

> administrationem, collegis neglectis et praescripta administrandi ratione posthabita, ad se retraxit, regem in potestate sua in Sterlinii castro detinuit, et quos voluit pro arbitrio vel exclusit vel admisit.
>
> (In the meane while Morton, presuming upon his own wit (which certainely was very sharpe), and upon his long experience and number of adherents, while hee thought nothing to be well done which hee did not himselfe, and could not endure not to be the same as he was, resumed unto himselfe the government, neglecting his Colleages, and sleighting the prescribed manner of government; the King he deteined in his own power within the Castle of Sterlyn, and at his own pleasure, either excluded or admitted whom he listed.)[96]

This is a very human weakness with which we are all familiar. Morton a good man, and a useful Anglophile, was thrown into prison as a result of his wanting to be what he had always been, and in 1581 just at the very moment when English protection had to withdraw, he was convicted of being implicated in the murder of the king's father long ago, and beheaded.[97]

In 1573 when Morton had become Regent, he had placed William Kirkaldy of Grange in charge of Edinburgh Castle. The French, as always supporters of Mary, were opposed to Morton, and Kirkaldy and Lidington did indeed think that Mary had been harshly treated. Elizabeth, who was tightening her grip on Scotland, proposed a general Scottish amnesty for murders committed in the past. This provoked Kirkaldy to rebel and to start bombarding the city of Edinburgh from its castle, or as Camden vividly describes it "urbem Edenburgensem iustitiae sedem eiaculationibus et irruptionibus indies infestarent" (infest the Citty of Edinburgh the Seat of Justice every day with their Ordnance and irruptions),[98] and to summon help from France. The situation was decided by a four-day bombardment by the English, and, then, outside the usual practice, by permission for the ordinary soldiers to leave without retribution, a clemency which was not allowed their noble leaders. The besieged, without their troops, could not hold out. The two Kirkaldy brothers were hanged along with two counterfeiters,

> though for saving of Kircalds life, an hundred of the familly of Kircald offered themselves to bee ever retainers to the Regent, to pay a yearely pension of 3000 markes, and twenty thousand pound of Scottish money in hand, and security to be given that he should from thenceforth continue faithfully in the Kings obedience.[99]

[96] Camden 1615, 278–279 = Camden 2001, 1578 §12, tr. Norton 2001, 1578 §12.
[97] Camden 1615, 316–317 = Camden 2001, 1583 §3.
[98] Camden 1615, 239 = Camden 2001, 1573 §11, tr. Norton 2001, 1573 §11.
[99] Camden 1615, 241 = Camden 2001, 1573 §13, tr. Norton 2001, 1573 §13.

As an offer it was impossible to refuse, and yet it was refused. Lidington died of sickness, so unexpectedly that "yet not without suspicion of poison; a man amongst all the Scottes of greatest experience, and of an excellent wit, had it not been less wavering" ("ingenio splendidissimo, si minus versatili").[100] He was so versatile that the Scottish humanist and tutor of James VI, George Buchanan (1506–1582), wrote a piece on him called *The Chameleon*.[101] Scotland had a respite from civil strife at this point. The leaders and soldiers of the various parties left for Sweden, France and the Netherlands to win praise for their courage and ability in war, no doubt on occasion fighting one another on opposing sides.

The great intercourse: Dutch, Russians, pirates, and the dilution of royal power in a wider world

An important section in the *Annales* for 1561 is the rearming of Britain. Although she found the treasury exhausted, Elizabeth spent a great sum of money on arms and weapons from throughout Germany, after Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba (1507–1582), had seized the materials she had contracted for in Antwerp. She made the fleet the best equipped which Britain had ever seen. Camden tells us that she built a fortress on the river Medway near Upnor, where Sir Francis Drake's father was vicar, and she raised the pay of the sailors and marines.[102] She deserved, writes Camden, the recognition she was given by foreigners as "navalis gloriae restauratrix" (the restorer of the glory of shipping) and "Arctoi Regina Maris" (the Queene of the North Sea).[103] This last title has massive implications. The northern seas gave England confidence to develop as an imperial nation. People living near the sea followed Elizabeth's example and competed in building ships, so that there was capacity to carry 20,000 *belligerantes* into battle. One can see why piracy, which so often can be another name for private naval enterprise, became particularly associated with the English. On land noblemen and common people were quick to acquire weaponry, so that there were arsenals in the houses of nobles and they had a very complete range of weaponry. So much hardware leads to exports in arms to undesirables, so Elizabeth brought in severe measures to prevent the selling of weaponry both to the Russian Emperor for use against the Poles and to the enemies of Christianity.[104]

[100] *Ibid*.
[101] *Ibid*.
[102] About Sir Francis Drake and his expedition in the pacific see p.114 and p.118.
[103] Camden 1615, 70–71 = Camden 2001, 1561 §12, tr. Norton 2001, 1561 §12.
[104] *Ibid.*

In 1563 the English found themselves fighting in France in occupation of Franciscopolis, or New Haven, by agreement with the Protestants of France. But their allies proved to be Frenchmen first and foremost, and the English forces found themselves isolated in a difficult situation, rendered impossible by onset of plague. Camden gives us an unusually long list of men from the higher classes, who died of the plague at New Haven, and other men with technical skills.[105] One man deserved special mention:

> Ultimus mansit Edwardus Randolphus tribunus militum, qui pietate nunquam satis laudata misellos milites aegros et peste laborantes suis humeris in naves convehere non destitit.
>
> (The last that stayed was Colonell Edward Randolph, who in piety never sufficiently commended spared not to carry the poore Souldiers sicke and labouring of the plague upon his shoulders into the ships.)[106]

It is useful to know that *tribunus militum* can be translated as 'colonel'. Randolph was to die in Ulster fighting against Shane O'Neill in a devastating war caused by O'Neill's wild ambitions. There Camden says there was no one who combined greater authority with greater charity among the soldiers.[107] His act at New Haven was later to a lesser degree matched by the Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Howard, helping to launch the English navy as the Armada approached, by joining the crowds of soldiers and sailors in the physical work of hauling the ships into the sea.[108] It would be interesting to know what exactly Norton understood by *pietate* (piety) in the case of Randolph.

The plague was taken back by the English soldiers to England with the result that in the City of London alone 21,130 corpses were carried out for burial.[109] On every count the retreat of the English was a bonus for the French, not least the fact that the international protestant movement had been split. Camden shows his contempt for what he wishes to portray as the excessive rejoicing ("Rex Galliae immortales Deo gratias publice egit") over the recovery of what modern English might translate as a piddling little town ("oppidulum receptum").[110] It did however carry the corollary that, if England could not hang on to New Haven, what power did they have to demand Calais back. It is embarrassing to read English attempts to recover Calais in 1567. The door is in effect slammed in their faces when the

[105] Camden 1615, 81–84 = Camden 2001, 1563 §4–8.
[106] Camden 1615, 83 = Camden 2001, 1563 §7, tr. Norton 2001, 1563 §7.
[107] Camden 1615, 130 = Camden 2001, 1567 §34.
[108] Camden 1615, 487 = Camden 2001, 1588 §17.
[109] Camden 1615, 84 = Camden 2001, 1563 §8.
[110] *Ibid*.

Virgilian line (*Eclogue* 1. 67) which had graced the opening description of Britain in Camden's *Britannia* to suggest that Britain was another world, "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos" (or Britain, from the whole world sundered far)[111] is thrown back at them. That, suggests the French wit, is where they belong.[112]

But History is not like that. In 1563 the enmities roused by the battle for New Haven had spilled over on to the sea and Camden says, such a force of English pirates invaded the seas that they shut out the French and even the Spaniards. The Queen found it necessary to apologise to the Spanish for their "praedatoriam insolentiam", and to restrain the pirates by proclamation; Norton here translates "necessarium fuerit" as 'was faine', which in modern English might be translated as 'was pleased to', meaning it was the diplomatic thing to do.[113] One enemy, the French, was enough. But edicts did not restrain pirates. Later within the context of this year we are told that Philip of Spain was becoming more angry with the English, because English pirates were attacking the French off the Spanish coast and were planning to sail into the West Indies.[114] This was a seminal moment.

The Netherlands

In 1564 a sanctions dispute between England and the Netherlands came to a head, two peoples described as "mutuo commercio beatos", which Norton translates as 'happy by mutual commerce';[115] *beatos*, however, can also be translated as 'blessed' or 'rich', and all meanings can apply here. Under the reign of Mary and Philip the Netherlanders had been irritated by excessive imposts from the English, which remained in force, and by a great number of mechanical devices being banned by the English parliament. The English complained that their goods in the Netherlands were being confiscated on the tiniest pretexts through new edicts, by which some goods were also forbidden export. Further, passage of vital goods from Italy and Germany, including horses and gunpowder, was being prohibited, and heavy duties, previously unheard of, were being most rigorously exacted on foodstuffs, anchors, houses etc. The language, although Latin, is frighteningly familiar. Camden writes "haec omnia contra foedus commercii (intercursum magnum vocant) olim initum" (all this contrary to the League of commerce

[111] Tr. Greenough 1895.
[112] Camden 1615, 123 = Camden 2001, 1567 §22, tr. Norton 2001, 1567 §22.
[113] Camden 1615, 81 = Camden 2001, 1563 §4.
[114] Camden 1615, 86 = Camden 2001, 1563 §11.
[115] Camden 1615, 89 = Camden 2001, 1564 §2, tr. Norton 2001, 1564 §2.

heretofore concluded, called The great Intercourse).[116] The Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Netherlands, attempted to turn the screw by forbidding the import of English cloth. She hoped according to Camden, to cause riots in England among the clothiers (*pannarios*) and those dependent on them, and at the same time to set up a clothing industry in the Netherlands. [117] But that is not how economies work. Economies have laws, or to use the Aristotelian phrase "changes of fortune".

The English in response to the Duchess simply moved their market to Emdem in Frisia, ironically the location of the greatest commercial empire in post Roman Europe and a place of origin of the English.[118] The main sufferers meanwhile were the Netherlanders, since the fabled wealth of medieval Bruges had been, in part, a by-product of trade with England. The English had in those distant days been given great concessions and people had come from everywhere to buy articles made of English wool and other English goods, and had brought their own to sell, so that it became a market for everything. The tradition had persisted. Camden had studied the account books for the modern period and claimed that trade between England and the Netherlands amounted to twelve million ducats every year, and more. Sensibly agreement was now reached in Bruges that there should be free trade between the countries once more, until it was decided otherwise.[119]

Russia

Nor could England be shut out of Europe by the French. Soon after the French wit had suggested that the English should confine themselves to England, Camden offers us the amusing picture of the Earl of Sussex, clearly a pro-European, enjoying a leisurely journey through Europe to find a foreign prince for Elizabeth to marry. Leicester, his rival, who had his own ambitions for Elizabeth, having attached a spy to Sussex, remained at home, where Camden gives us a summary of a discourse Leicester made to Elizabeth against foreign marriages. True as some of the points made might be, it reads like a school exercise from a convinced anti-European. Meanwhile Sussex and his large party continued their journey through famous German cities and on to Austria.[120] It is at this point that two emissaries arrive from Russia, and that Camden chooses to give an account of English relations with Russia, going back to the voyage of Hugh

[116] *Ibid*.
[117] Camden 1615, 89 = Camden 2001, 1564 §2 & 3.
[118] Pye 2014.
[119] Camden 1615, 90 = Camden 2001, 1564 §4.
[120] Camden 1615, 125–127 = Camden 2001, 1567 §25–27.

Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to find a North East passage to Cathay, launched as King Edward VI lay dying. Willoughby was trapped in the ice and froze to death, but Chancellor landed at the mouth of the Dvina, from where he and his people were brought by sledge over the ice to Moscow. The Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, promised great privileges if they would trade in his empire. So under Mary Queen of England the Muscovy Company was formed. But only now does Camden introduce us to the Russian enterprises. This is Camden manipulating one of the turning points of history.

Camden says that with these Russian ambassadors came Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1610), who had made an exact survey of Russia, which became a map which was taken up by Ortelius.[121] In fact Jenkinson, who is one of the most remarkable people of his generation, was used by the Tsar to survey Russia. Camden waits until his account of 1569 before describing in more detail the journeys of Jenkinson. Here he merely says that he was the first Englishman to sail on the Caspian Sea and to penetrate as far as Bokhara (in Uzbekistan), what Camden refers to as the land of the Bactrians. Tsar Ivan was desperate to trade with England and to bind himself with Elizabeth in a treaty both defensive and offensive. In exchange for English technology, the English would get cheap hemp, flax and furs. Jenkinson's journey along the Volga to Astrakhan, across the Caspian and on to Bokhara occurred in 1558, and he returned to England in 1560. His second expedition, a journey into Persia occurred in 1561, and he came close to gaining access to the Persian Gulf, which could have taken him on to India; he returned to England in 1564. His return to Russia in 1567 was his third journey to Russia and it was to resolve a trade dispute, which Jenkinson did with great success.

The Battle of Ulloa

In 1568 there occurred the battle of Ulloa in Mexico between English privateers and Spanish forces. Camden talks of the injury done to John Hawkins:

> Ille cum mercibus et nigritis mancipiis quorum frequens iam erat per Hispanos, et eorum exemplo, per Anglos in Africa venatio, et in America venditio (nescio quam honesta) quinque navibus ad commercium ad portum Sancti Ioannis de Ullua in sinu Mexicano exercendum appulerat.

[121] Hakluyt 1598–1600, 1. 324–335 & 1. 343–352. There are six letters from Ortelius to Camden (letters 2, 21, 25, 26, 29 and 35) in Smith 1691.

> (This Hawkins had arrived at Saint John de Ullua in the Bay of Mexico, with five ships for commerce, laden with marchandises and Black-more slaves, which were now commonly bought in Africa by the Spaniards, and by their example by the English, and sold againe in America, how honestly I know not.)[122]

"Nescio quam honesta" begs a lot of questions about slave trading, and saying that the English were following Spanish example, shows a guilty conscience. Nor were Hawkins' five ships simple commercial ships. They were heavily armed and took on the Spanish royal Navy within the confines of Ulloa, suffered devastating losses. Yet there were those who escaped, including Sir Francis Drake who was luckily not inside the close harbour, though he is not mentioned here.

> Hinc viri militares et natio nautica per Angliam fremuerunt, contra Hispanos bellum expoposcerunt, eos foedifragos esse clamitantes, quandoquidem foedere inter Carolum V imperatorum et Henricum VIII convenerit, ut liberum esset commercium inter subditios utriusque princips *in omnibus et singulis regnis, dominis, insulis* (America quidem quae tunc ad Carolum spectavit ne excepta).
>
> (Hereat the military and sea-faring men all over England fretted, and demanded warre against the Spaniards, exclaiming that they were League-breakers, inasmuch as it was agreed by the League betwixt the Emperour Charles the fifth and King Henry the eighth that there should be free commerce betweene the subjects of both Princes *in all and singular their Kingdomes, Dominions, and Isles,* not excepting America, which then belonged to the said Charles.)[123]

Norton's translation is wanting. *Viri militares* suggests a military establishment, *natio nautica* that there is within the state a race of seafarers, *fremuerunt* that they roared, *expoposcerunt* has the sound of demands that must be heard, *clamitantes* that they kept shouting, *foedifragos* looks like name calling, and free trade is of course someone else's slavery. Moreover *spectavit* does not quite mean 'belonged to'; it has more the sense of 'looking to a person for guidance or protection', perhaps against the New World exploiters, since actual possession could be still be contested. Elizabeth shut her ears to this clamour, says Camden, having been called away by Scottish matters. Mary Queen of Scots had broken out of Scottish custody and was in England. However the chance encounter in Ulloa was tantamount to a declaration of war.

[122] Camden 1615, 134 = Camden 2001, 1568 §3, tr. Norton 2001, 1568 §3.
[123] *Ibid*.

Bellum Belgicum

In that same year what Camden calls the *bellum Belgicum* (Netherlands War) broke out. Camden writes:

> Ab instituto non alienum videatur si paucis hic perstringam quibus initiis bellum Belgicum hoc tempore proruperit, cuius saepius necessario meminero, quandoquidem cum rebus et rationibus Anglicis sit colligatum et implicitum.
>
> (Let it not seem alien to my topic if in a few words here I touch on the beginnings of the Netherlands war which broke out at this time. I shall have to make mention of it fairly often since with it was bound in and tangled with English matters and policies.)[124]

In fact Camden had in the previous paragraph been telling how Elizabeth had been sending money and war munitions on a large scale to co-religionists in France, and receiving refugees not only from France but also from the Netherlands, whom she settled in an arc stretching from Norwich to Southampton. He adds, as if meeting criticism from English nationalists, that these refugees brought great rewards for England with their own particular skills in textiles, an ironical response by events to the Duchess of Parma's policies.

The few words in which he touches on the outbreak of the war in the Netherlands are of concern to everyone. Increasing use of torture to attack people's consciences, a practice which could be found in England of course within a different context, abolition of parliamentary assemblies, government by decree on policies originating in Spain, and not from the deliberations of the indigenous people, these according to Camden caused the dregs of the people or plebs to riot and smash images. Camden does not make clear why the dregs did revolt. Although this riot was quickly put down, Philip of Spain allowed himself to be influenced by people whose burning desire was to place a yoke on a completely free nation, and so they put the blame for the riot on the whole people. As if their liberty were now quite lost, the Duke of Alba, whom he calls "a wild man", was sent "ad dominationem invadendam". The direct translation, 'to seize total power', does not quite do justice to this phrase; law courts were abolished, replaced by places of hearing, where leading men were sentenced by foreigners, then executed. [125]

[124] Camden 1615, 149 = Camden 2001, 1568 §23, tr. Eatough.
[125] Norton 2001, 1568 §24.

Anthony Jenkinson's exploits in Russia

At this time a great sum of money belonging to Genoese and other Italian merchants, was in transit from Spain to the Netherlands with a small fleet of ships. Pursued by a French pirate, and ultimately protected by William Winter, a leading English naval commander, these ships found refuge in English ports. The ownership of the money became a major international dispute, which led to English goods being held in the Netherlands.[126] The English now moved their continental market to the safety of Hamburg.[127] There was increased piracy from the English, and face-saving proclamations against the purchase of pirated goods.[128] It is here that Camden finally gives us some detail on Jenkinson's exploits in Russia. Trading restrictions had developed in Russia too; Jenkinson had gone there and resolved them. The English could move around more freely in Russia ("confidentius regiones illas perlustrare coeperunt" (the English began more confidently to survey those Countries).[129] He gives us, for example, a glimpse of their goods being brought upstream along the Dvina by rowing and hauling with boats made of one tree. Then he describes a seven-day journey across land before sailing down the Volga, which was more than a mile wide, to Astrakhan, making frequent crossings of the Caspian, and penetrating the vast solitudes of Hyrcania and Bactria. Camden recognised that the Tsar was a tyrant, but he was our tyrant, the Duke of Alba was not. Russia was in fact a New World. The Tsar in return wanted England as a place of refuge if he were forced to leave Russia in a hurry. Elizabeth granted him that wish, even with provision that he could practice his own religion, something she would never grant a Catholic. He was a difficult man to please; he complained that Elizabeth was neglecting him and was too intent on the business of merchants, which was unfitting for a ruler.[130]

Elizabethan excess

The Tsar was not to see the Queen at the beginning of 1571 when she entered the City of London:

> Primo anni mense Elizabetha regia pompa Londinum ingressa, peristyllium pulcherrimum (*bursam* vocant) quod Thomas Greshamus eques auratus civis Londinensis, regiusque mercator in mercatorum

[126] Camden 1615, 149–150 = Camden 2001, 1568 §25.
[127] Camden 1615, 152 = Camden 2001, 1569 §4.
[128] Camden 1615, 152–153 = Camden 2001, 1569 §5, tr. Norton 2001, 1569 §5.
[129] Norton 2001, 1569 §7.
[130] Camden 1615, 153–155 = Camden 2001, 1569 §6–8.

> usum extruxerat, invisit, et excambium regium voce praeconis tubis clangentibus quasi dedicando nominavit.
>
> (In the first month of the year Elizabeth entered London in royal pomp and visited the extremely beautiful courtyard with its surrounding pillars (they call it the Burse) which Thomas Gresham, golden knight, London citizen, and royal merchant had reared for the use of merchants, and to the blare of trumpets in a kind of dedication through the voice of a herald she named it The Royal Exhange.)[131]

Camden spoils the effect somewhat by going on to write at much greater length of the raising of William Cecil to the peerage. Like the Tsar he was not entirely happy with merchants. He spoils a glamorous event:

> Summus vestium luxus his temporibus in Angliam se infuderat, et patrius cultus peculiari gentis imitatricis vitio ita sordescebat, ut homines nova vestium forma, et apparatu nimis splendido, animorum deformitatem et insolentiam quandam proderent, dum sericati auro et argento, vel intexto vel bracteato rutilantes passim volitarent.
>
> (In these times extreme luxury in clothing poured into England and the traditional manner of dress, by a vice which is peculiar to the people who are followers of fashion, was deemed so shabby, that men by their new form of clothing and over ostentatious apparel betrayed the deformity of their minds and a kind of arrogance, as in their silks they flitted everywhere, flashing with gold and silver, inwoven or veneer.)[132]

This was Elizabethan flash. The country was losing money on importing this extravagance, nobles were falling into debt and debt could initiate social unrest, so the official story went. Elizabeth tried to prescribe what people should wear, but through the malignity of the times (*temporis malignitate*), says Camden, failed. When one looks at the extravagant dress of the court, of Elizabeth and Leicester especially,[133] this does not ring wholly true. Extravagance of banquets crept in, omitted by Norton, and of buildings built both for the nobility and private individuals, elegant, spacious, stylish in a way that compelled attention, an adornment to the country. They were a sign of a changing society, of a spread of wealth, of a desire to be conspicuous, but as Camden concludes "hospitalis gloriae detrimento",[134] presumably that kind of generosity which is the mark of a civilised society was lost to personal display. People were breaking free in their various ways.

[131] Camden 1615, 189 = Camden 2001, 1571 §1, tr. Eatough.
[132] Camden 1615, 250 = Camden 2001, 1574 §5, tr. Eatough
[133] See Goldring.
[134] Norton 2001 1574 §5.

The adventures of Sir Francis Drake

Camden writes that educated minds, inflamed by a simple curiosity (*honesto studio*) to explore the most remote countries on earth and the secrets of the ocean, had encouraged those well provided with money (*bene nummatos*) to attempt to discover, if there was a North West passage to rich Cathay, so that the wealth of East and West might be joined together through trade exchange with one another. This was private, not state, enterprise. "Opes mutuo commercio coniungerentur" (the wealth of the East and West might bee conjoyned by mutuall commerce)[135] seems to be edging in intent to the conjugal relationship enjoyed by English and Netherlanders. The result was the Frobisher expeditions which are interesting but ended in farce.[136]

Soon afterwards there was Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world (1577–1580). Camden had spoken to Drake personally. Uniquely within the context of the *Annales* he tells us of Drake's origins, which were fairly humble, and of his development, of his grudge against the Spaniards because he had participated in the battle of Ulloa, of his wealth gained by seamanship and also piracy, of his interception of a mule train in Panama loaded with gold and silver, and of his first sighting of the Pacific which he vowed to sail. There is by Camden's standards masses of detail on the voyage. When he returns everyone admires Drake, though enemies remind people, as does Camden, of Drake's second-in-command, Thomas Doughty, whom Drake had executed, of a Portuguese navigator whom Drake had callously abandoned to the cruelty of the Spaniards, and of a beautiful black girl who became pregnant during the voyage and was inhumanely cast away on an island. The voyage up the western coast of the Americas so took the Spanish by surprise that many of the episodes of contacts between Drake and the Spaniards have a comic aspect, as does his landing in California, though this had a serious angle. The naked dancing natives make a long speech, in which they seemed by their signs to choose him as their king, and he claimed the land in the name of the queen, naming it New Albion. Both actions were a challenge to the social order in England, perhaps reminding some of Hernán Cortés, the Conquistador.

On his return Elizabeth came on board, took control of the money in case the Spaniards should want it back, turned the ship into a memorial, banqueted on it and knighted Drake. She liked him, though many of the nobility at Court did not: when he offered them some of the gold from his voyage, they spat it back at him as being pirate money. They were obviously jealous of this upstart. Camden then writes something remarkable. The

[135] Camden 1615, 262 = Camden 2001, 1576 §6, tr. Norton 2001, 1576 §6.
[136] Camden 1615, 262–263 = Camden 2001, 1576 §6.

common people (*vulgus*) celebrated him with wonder and praise. They thought it was as glorious to have extended the bounds of England's praise as of her empire (or power). I take it that they meant an increase in England's prestige, especially in Europe, was glorious, though it could also mean that the country's name would become renowned everywhere, not only in Russia, or in Turkey, for example, but increasingly in areas such as the Far East. Drake's voyage, in modern colloquial English, was a game changer strategically, economically, and socially.[137]

Allegiance with the Netherlands

In 1575 the Netherlanders had approached Elizabeth for an alliance which would protect them. They had considered alternatives and they lighted upon the English for the following reasons.

> Anglos vero quasi sub eodem parallelo, eiusdem cum illis esse ingenii, religionem plane eandem, linguam haudquaquam diversam, regionem esse vicinam, portuosam, navigationi commodam, mercimoniis copiosam; reginam terra marique praepotentem, mitem, benignam, immunitates conservaturam, eiusque imperium temperatum, nec exactionibus grave futurum, disseruerunt
>
> (But as for the English, they were as it were under the same Paralel, of the same nature and disposition with them, their Religion the very same, their language not much differing, their Country neere at hand, full of havens, commodious for Navigation, and plentifull of Marchandize; the Queene very strong both by Sea and Land, curteous, benigne, one that would maintaine their priviledges, and her government temperate, and would not bee heavy by exactions. Thus they argued.)[138]

In a sense, especially where communications were by sea, they were claiming to be more or less the same people. Elizabeth was pleased to be approached, but she was wary of incurring the enmity of the Spaniards, and of the uncertainties of war. She did not want to be seen entering into a treaty with the subjects of another prince. However she did not believe, what some dinned into her ears, that the Netherlands had come to the ancestors of the Spaniards by election, that is by choice, of the subjects, not by law of inheritance. Elizabeth, who styled herself as always being the same, was happy with the status quo among the international ruling class, accepting

[137] Camden 1615, 301–309 = Camden 2001, 1580 §19–28.
[138] Camden 1615, 254 = Camden 2001, 1575 §4, tr. Norton 2001, 1575 §4.

that in time past the Spanish had inherited the Dutch. One should observe inheritance law.

Events dictate. As early as 1577 the idea of an Armada against England was on the Spanish agenda.[139] Elizabeth was arranging securities with the City of London to enable the Netherlanders to borrow money from wherever they could, and she entered into a defensive alliance with them explaining her actions to Philip. She felt genuine pity for the Netherlanders, and "provinciae magna situs opportunitate, et mutua necessitudine, Angliae, quasi maritali amore coniugatae, pluribus seculis adhaeserant" (the provinces because of the great opportunities offered by their location and the bonding arising from the exchanges had clung to England for many centuries as if joined in married love).[140] 'Marital love' is a powerful image sadly omitted by Norton. By his time perhaps the relationship was fraying. Elizabeth immediately sent an army into the Netherlands consisting of many volunteers who still had to learn the rudiments of warfare. It found itself in action sooner than expected, was forced to retreat and then learnt how to resist with English and Scots fighting side by side in the heat of the day, throwing off their garments and fighting with their tunics knotted between their thighs. It was the start of a commitment for British troops to re-engage with Europe. British, of course, included Welsh, and indeed the Irish, who, to the cost of the English, learnt the art of modern warfare, as indeed the English were having to do.[141]

In 1585 Elizabeth formally accepted the *patrocinium* of the Netherlanders. Camden reports the debate which took place in the Netherlands, then their approach to the English, where Camden gives just one side of the debate – that of those who wanted to reject the Netherlanders – at extraordinary length. The views expressed were extremely reactionary, or politically blind, such as: God has given them (the Spaniards) supreme power; he has left those (the Netherlanders) the glory of obeying. It was true, as opponents of intervention argued, that people in need of help might have to be continually helped, and that they might be ungrateful and look after themselves afterwards, which was often the case with the Netherlanders, but nonetheless action had to be taken then: "Sed qui in hac sententia, ut in Hispani partes propensiores, degeneres et ignavi gravem offensionem apud viros militares incurrerunt." (But they which were of this opinion incurred heavy displeasure amongst maritall men, as inclining to the Spaniards party, degenerate and faint-hearted cowards.)[142]

[139] Camden 1615, 268 = Camden 2001, 1577 §4.
[140] Camden 1615, 274 = Camden 2001, 1578 §1, tr. Eatough.
[141] Camden 1615, 274–275 = Camden 2001, 1578 §2.
[142] Camden 1615, 382–383 = Camden 2001, 1585 §24, tr. Norton 2001, 1585 §24.

Camden leaves the impression that the military are now in control. They are men of few words and Elizabeth herself comes to a simple conclusion. Camden presents Elizabeth as taking her time while she makes her decision, after a thorough analysis of all the factors in the situation. The decisive fact is the realisation that if the Netherlands' fleet were joined to the English it would be easy to gain control of the sea. In 1572 at the request of the Duke of Alba, Elizabeth, had driven rebels from the Netherlands out of their havens in England. They had responded by capturing Briel, Flushingham and other towns, immediately cutting Alba off from the sea,[143] and the following year they destroyed a fleet of Alba's which could have taken troops into England[144] – a demonstration so early that an Armada launched from Spain might well fail.

While Elizabeth was accepting the *patrocinium* of the Netherlanders, a fleet under Drake was wreaking havoc in the West Indies. Nonetheless there were great losses of men owing to disease, and the fleet as it returned helped to evacuate founders of the Roanoke colony in Virginia, a seeming failure. At this point Camden chooses to introduce a digression on how tobacco and nicotine were becoming a part of English culture, with barbarising effects on Englishmen's bodies – an American connection, if you like. Yet John Davis was heroically pushing into what would be known as the Davis Straits between Greenland and America, and a favoured few, in another form of expansion, were being granted concessions in the cloth trade in Mauritania, one of the beneficiaries being Leicester.[145]

Leicester and the Netherlands

In 1585 Leicester was made Governor General in the Netherlands. Part of the agreement with the Netherlanders was that Elizabeth would send five thousand infantry and a thousand horse under a governor general who would be a man of some distinction ("viro clarius notae").[146] Such was Leicester. He had wanted to marry Elizabeth and this was the nearest he got to being royalty. He was given a royal welcome by the Netherlanders and Elizabeth was infuriated. She wrote a wonderfully savage rebuke to him in which she described him as a man she had raised from the dust. Then she chastised the Netherlanders on the grounds that they had given absolute power to a subject of hers. But these democratically-minded citizens, who had resisted the Spaniards for over twenty years, replied in measured speech. They said that

[143] Camden 1615, 224–225 = Camden 2001, 1572 §25.
[144] Camden 1615, 232 = Camden 2001, 1573 §1.
[145] Camden 1615, 385–389 = Camden 2001, 1585 §29–32.
[146] Camden 1615, 385 = Camden 2001, 1585 §27.

to avoid political turmoil it was necessary to give authority to someone. And certainly no one should take the word absolutely at face value, since princely office and supreme lordship, and the dignity which went with being a lord, remained in the hands of the people, inviolable. However to revoke an authority already delegated was simply to send the state of the Netherlands headlong into extreme danger. They were taking a firm line with Elizabeth, the voice of a republic is having to be heard:

> nec illa sane tanta sit, quanta verbum absoluta prae se ferre videatur, cum ipse principatus, et dominatio suprema et dominii dignitas penes populum integra maneat. Authoritatem autem delegatam revocare nihil aliud esse quam in extrema pericula rem Belgicam praecipitare.
>
> (neither indeede was the same so great, as the word Absolute might seeme to import, considering that the principality it selfe, and the supreme rule and dignity of dominion remained wholly in the peoples hands. And to revoke the authority already passed, were nothing else but to plunge the State of the Netehrlands into extreme dangers.)[147]

This was how the Netherlanders managed the crisis; Leicester did it by weepy letters, since he had learned how by tears and simulated pain to win back the favour of his most gentle princess. His offence was gradually forgotten and it disappeared ("His ordinum et flebilibus Leicestrii literis qui lachrimis et simulato dolore mitissimae principis gratiam reconciliare noverat, offensio paulatim obliterata evanuit").[148]

But he did not know how to handle the Netherlanders. He imposed new taxes on them and this they did not forget; they turned against him. The English fought bravely and with success, and Leicester proved himself a competent leader. But when he returned to the Hague he was met with a barrage of complaints. His response was to give himself dictatorial powers before crossing over to England.

When he returned in 1587 the Netherlanders did not give him enough troops to be effective, they held the real power and despite giving him titles, they held the same power over him as governor, as the great Spanish king, Charles V, had held over his governors in the Netherlands. He was also undone by English traitors, William Stanley and Roland Yorke who defected to the Spanish side betraying Deventer to them. Leicester saw his authority cheapened (*evilsecere*), and retaliated by attempting to create factions among the Netherlanders. He was recalled by the queen. "excellentiaeque titulo quo primus Anglorum usus est, exploso" (and the title of his Excellencie, which of all Englishmen he was the first that ever used, exploded [or if you prefer:

[147] Camden 1615, 392 = Camden 2001, 1586 §4, tr. Norton 2001, 1586 §4.
[148] Camden 1615, 392 = Camden 2001, 1586 §4.

'blew up in his face']).[149] He attempted to outmanoeuvre the Netherlanders by an amateurish form of lobbying but as Camden tells us the Netherlanders had learnt the art of surviving. They were the only people he knew who could make a profit from war.[150] They caused trouble for Leicester's successors. Leicester had a survivor's instincts. Camden tells us that scenting that a charge of maladministration in the Netherlands was being put together by his enemies, he threw himself in private at the feet of Elizabeth, her suppliant, weeping. Others out at sea were more self-reliant. 1587 was a year of proven heroes, when Drake made his brilliant attack on Cadiz, and Cavendish became the second Englishman to sail round the world.

In 1588 the Armada was dispersed with crucial help from the Hollanders and Zealanders who prevented the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, from joining the action. Drake perhaps had a more telling role than Camden suggests in this battle.[151] Nonetheless if the Spanish had invaded England, the man in charge of the land forces, the last line of defence was Leicester. He died unexpectedly amid the public rejoicing over the defeat of the Armada. Camden writes sarcastically "Nec laetitiam imminuit mors Leicestrii, etsi regina permolestissime tulit" (Leicester's death did not diminish the happiness of the occasion although the queen took it very badly indeed).[152] *Permoleste* is in itself a kind of superlative with the prefix *per-* but it has an additional superlative ending, and the length and rhythm of the word suggests a grief which was unabating. She had been considering raising Leicester to dangerously high honours, she had signed the papers, but was advised otherwise by the two most powerful politicians in the land, Burghley and Hatton.

Camden sets out to destroy Leicester's reputation in a lengthy obituary from which I extract:

> Aulicus habebatur omnibus numeris absolutus, lautus et largus, viris militaribus et studiosis beneficus, tempori et suo commodo inservire gnarus, ingenio obsequioso, in aemulos insidioso, aliquandiu mulierosus, demum supra modum uxorius.
>
> (Hee was esteemed a most accomplished Courtiour, neate, free and bountifull to Martiall men and Students, skilfull to serve the time and his owne commodity; of an obsequious disposition, guilefull towards

[149] Norton 2001, 1587 §39.
[150] Camden 1615, 473 = Camden 2001, 1587 §40.
[151] Martin & Parker 1988, 176–179.
[152] Camden 2001, 1588 §37, tr. Eatough.

his adversaries, given a while to women, and in his later days doting above measure upon wiving.)[153]

Camden hisses as he describes the character of Leicester. He could loath courtiers, there are hints of the puritan about him, though he also disliked Puritans since they showed too much political independence. There was one limit to Elizabeth's grief. She, who could be easygoing in other things, would not forego debts. Leicester was indebted to her in the common meaning of the term, he owed her money, and so his estate was sold at auction.

What happened next ...

Life continued, and death. The Duke of Parma who failed to launch his ships to facilitate the Spanish invasion of England conducted a fruitless campaign in the Netherlands, the Puritans continued their insolent or unaccustomed ways, the Great Rebellion, long in the making, started in Ireland, the Danes remained offended at the English having found a way to Russia which avoided Denmark, and the new Tsar of Russia, in effect the regent Boris Godunov, like the old tsar, attentively and with all due regard, was attempting to win the friendship of the Queen, or as Norton more easily puts it, "was seriously bending himselfe by all good offices to procure the amity of the Queene."[154] So much seemed the same, but people die and others step forward, and the stories on which Camden had to adapt his weaver's craft had their own fierce dynamics. It was the great decade of Elizabethan literature. Centre of Camden's stage for a while stood the Earl of Essex, imaginative, theatrical and doomed to fail, unable to escape his own inner nature and the complications of his time, lacking his historian's insight, his ability to grasp the threads of history.

[153] Camden 1615, 496 = Camden 2001, 1588 §37, tr. Norton 2001, 1588 §37.

[154] Camden 1615, 497–499 = Camden 2001, 1588 §38–42, tr. Norton 2001, 1588 §38–42.

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Nahua Humanism and Political Identity in Sixteenth-Century Mexico:

A Latin letter from Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin, native ruler of Tlacopan, to Emperor Charles V (1552)[1]

by Andrew Laird

Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin made several requests for alleviation of the tribute due from Tlacopan to the town's encomenderos *Isabel de Montezuma and the conquistador Juan Cano. In a Latin letter, transcribed and translated below, Don Antonio explained Tlacopan's importance in pre-Hispanic Mexico and described how his father had welcomed Hernán Cortés, allying his people with the Spaniards against the Aztecs – a version of events which diverges from other accounts, including Hernán Cortés' own. The following discussion examines the letter's rhetorical strategies in relation to its historical context, shows how the writer's humanist learning accommodated European and Mexican traditions, and considers why petitions like this were sometimes made in Latin.*

1. Introduction

The Valley of Mexico, an area of more than six thousand square miles, had a large multiethnic and multilingual population when the Spaniards first arrived in 1519. There were five major peoples in the area with their own languages: the Mazahua, the Otomí, the Matlatzincas, Tlahuicas, and the Nahuas who named the region Anáhuac. Races from other parts of the Mesoamerican isthmus, belonging to different language groups, had also settled or traded in the area or were brought there as captives. These

[1] Thea De Armond and Mark Pyzyk offered invaluable observations on the letter for a seminar on "Aztecs, Romans and Spaniards" which the Stanford Department of Classics enabled me to organise in 2012. I would also like to thank Pablo Aparicio Durán, Ed Carter, Byron Hamann, Erika Valdivieso and especially Marianne Pade for their comments and corrections to this paper – which owes much to discussion at the 2014 *Texts and Contexts* meeting in Rome. Keith Sidwell's pioneering approaches to early modern Latin continue to inspire my own endeavours, and the present piece is fondly dedicated to him.

included Mixtecs from the west, Zapotecs from Oaxaca, Totonacs from the eastern coastal territories and Mayans from Yucatan.[2]

The dominant city-states had been Nahuatl-speaking. Each polity or *altepetl* had its own ruler known as a *tlatoani* (chief speaker; plural *tlatoque*). Tenochtitlan and its sister city of Tlatelolco, whose inhabitants were together known as the Mexica, or Aztecs, became the most powerful. The Mexica are generally believed to have forged and led a "Triple Alliance" with the states of Texcoco and Tlacopan in 1428.[3] In whatever way the alliance in fact operated, the Aztec empire might best be seen as a mutable, symbolic confederation led by the Mexica, who had more complete control over regions beyond the Valley of Mexico than they did within it. After the Spanish conquest, tensions remained between the different Nahua principalities, some of which retained their continued identity as *cabeceras* under Spanish rule, governed by Christianized descendants of their original pre-Hispanic *tlatoque*.[4]

From the 1530s onwards, a few youths selected from the Nahua nobilities were taught Latin by missionary friars and the Imperial College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco was inaugurated in 1536 to offer more advanced instruction in grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. The Franciscan college was not established to train Mexicans for the priesthood, as has often been supposed: its purpose was rather to create an indigenous gubernatorial class imbued with a Christian humanist education.[5] Thus by the mid-1500s, a few privileged natives of central Mexico were able to send appeals to the Spanish crown in Latin as well as in Castilian and Nahuatl.[6] The first known example of such a petition in Latin is the letter edited and translated here,

[2] Prior to the conquest, Mexico's population may have been greater than twenty-seven million: Prem 1997, 124–125. See further Knight 2002, 132–192 and Kline 2008.

[3] The pre-eminence of the three powers is affirmed in Don Antonio's Latin letter, section 13 below. Carrasco 1999 is a full history of the Tenochca Empire and the alliance. Herrera Meza, López Austin and Martínez Baracs 2013 consider the force of the Nahuatl term *excan tlatoyan* (parliament in three places), but Gillespie 1998, 233 has argued "the Triple Alliance, as it appears in the postconquest historic traditions, did not exist" because remembrance of it varied along ethnic lines. The Jesuit historian Francisco Javier Clavigero 1780, 1: 221 first used the expression *triplice alleanza* of an earlier confederation between Mexico, Acolhuacan and Tlacopan.

[4] Gibson 1964a, Lockhart 1992.

[5] Laird 2015, 121–122, 134–135. Ramírez de Fuenleal 1533, a letter to the Empress by the institution's founder, president of the First Audience, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal had envisaged the students being trained in "good Latinity and oratory" and in religious doctrine. A 1536 royal decree (cited in Ricard 1966, 221) credited the idea to the first bishop of Mexico Fray Juan de Zumárraga.

[6] Laird 2014a is a descriptive inventory of the known documents in Latin by sixteenth-century Nahua writers. Natives in other parts of New Spain wrote in Spanish, Mayan and other indigenous languages: Restall, Sousa & Terraciano 2006.

addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V by Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin (or Totoquihuaztli), who was the indigenous governor of Tlacopan from 1550 until his death in 1574.[7] A brief account of his life in the next section will precede an account of the argument of the letter.

2. Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin

Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's own writings make clear that he was the son of Totoquihuatzin who was *tlatoani* of Tlacopan at the time the Spaniards first reached Mexico.[8] The *altepetl* was situated on the western shore of Lake Texcoco and had been a city in the Tepanec empire of Azcapotzalco before coming to prominence as a partner of Mexico and Texcoco, receiving approximately one fifth of the total tribute that had been due to the alliance.[9] Totoquihuatzin belonged to the royal line instituted in the city by the Mexica in the 1430s, after their overthrow of the Tepanec empire.[10] Writing in the 1530s, the Franciscan chronicler Fray Toríbio de Benavente remarked that the rulers of both Texcoco and Tlacopan "might well be called kings because they lack nothing to be such."[11] Totoquihuatzin died in 1520 and was succeeded by Antonio Cortés' brother, Tetlepantquetzatzin, who met a violent end at the hands of the conquistador Hernán Cortés in 1525.[12]

Various individuals, with or without links to the pre-Hispanic ruling family, were then appointed as successive *caciques*, until Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin was made *gobernador* by the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, on 21 April 1550, formally re-establishing the authority of Tlacopan's royal lineage.[13] On his appointment, Don Antonio was charged with "securing the good governance of the town, seeing to everything with a bearing on the service of God, ensuring that the Indians learned Christian teaching and attended church services, taking care that

[7] The letter, in the Seville General Archive of the Indies [AGI, Patronato 184, 45], was first transcribed in Zimmermann 1970, 2–4 (with German translation and a facsimile in *Tafel* 1–5) and later presented in Pérez-Rocha & Tena 2000, 167–178 with a Spanish translation.

[8] Section [15] of the Latin letter below. The *Chronica Mexicayotl* incorrectly stated Don Antonio was son of Juan Cortés – Juan was Antonio's own son: Pérez-Rocha & Tena 2000, 48; Alvarado Tezozomoc 1598, section 349 [1998: 169]. The *Chronica* long attributed to Tezozomoc is now ascribed to Chimalpahin: Schroeder 2011.

[9] Wagner 1944, 117 (adducing testimonies from Alonso de Zorita and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl); Carrasco 1999, 176–204.

[10] Alva Ixtlilxochitl, 1625 [1:543]; Carrasco 1984, 89–90.

[11] Benavente 1536–1541, Treatise 3, chapter 7 [1951, 267].

[12] Cortés 1526, [1986: 366–367]: see further Don Antonio's letter, [17], and discussion below.

[13] Gibson 1964a, 171.

they would not practice drunkenness, sacrifice or idolatry, and to see that tribute would be collected."[14] The question of tribute was the subject of three letters he wrote to Charles V in 1552.[15] The first two in Spanish were both dated 6 January, "the day of the kings" (the choice of that feast of Epiphany was doubtless significant). Both letters asked for the return of estates which had been seized and handed over to Spanish settlers – along with the concession of two villages: Chiquipilco for the governor himself, and Tlallachco for the *república* of Tlacopan.

In the third letter of 1 December 1552, which was in Latin, Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin made a more detailed complaint about the servitude and excessive tribute imposed on his people by their *encomenderos* Juan Cano and his late wife Isabel, daughter of Montezuma [II] Xocoyotzin. The writer also called attention to Tlacopan's former greatness in pre-Hispanic Mexico and maintained that his father had sought an alliance with Cortés against the Mexica at the time of the conquest. Don Antonio would express the same preoccupations more succinctly in a fourth letter, in Spanish, penned nearly a decade later, on 20 February 1561 and addressed to Philip II.[16] In 1566, Antonio Cortés and other leading citizens lodged an appeal to the Audiencia in Mexico City for Tlacopan to be placed directly under the control of the Spanish crown, commuting payment of tributes to any other party.[17]

The letters written in Spanish asked, in addition, for a coat of arms. In the first letter of 1552 this request was expressed as follows:

> suplico por quanto yo soy señor natural y lo fue mi padre Totoquivaçi y mis agüelos y a mi me llaman gobernador, que de aqui a tres o quatro años quitandome la gobernación me quedaré sin nada me mandes confirmar mi señorio para mejor servir a V.M. y demando en pago de lo que yo y mi padre sirvió en la conquista de México y después acá que siempre hemos servido lealmente un escudo de armas y que dentro entren estas que nosotros antiguamente teníamos y a este pueblo de Tlacopan lo mande V.M. hazer ciudad. [18]
>
> (Since I am an indigenous lord, as my father Totoquihuatzin and my forebears were as well, and they call me governor, and given that in three or four years from now I will be left without anything once I am relieved of the governorship, and you order me to consolidate my control to better serve your majesty, in payment for the service I and

[14] AGN, ramo Mercedes, vol 3, exp, 48, f. 22 cited in Pérez-Rocha & Tena 2000, 50 (my translation); Pérez-Rocha 1982, 82–83.
[15] Cortés Totoquihuatzin 1552a, 1552b, and the Latin letter below.
[16] Cortés Totoquihuatzin 1561.
[17] Cortés Totoquihuatzin 1566.
[18] Cortés Totoquihuatzin 1552a.

> my father provided in the conquest of Mexico, and for the loyal service we have provided after that, I ask for a coat of arms which contains within it those arms we had of old, and for your majesty to decree that this town of Tlacopan be made a city.)

The arms, which were conceded in 1564, did incorporate the pre-Hispanic emblem which the people of Tlacopan had "of old": there were two flowers (*tlacōmeh*, evoking *Tlacōpan*) in the upper section of the shield.[19] A palace with three *xihuitzolli*, the traditional turquoise diadem of a *tlatoani,* symbolised the place of the former *altepetl* in the Mexican triple alliance. The use of the masculine *pequeño* in the accompanying motto "águila blanca pequeño" (small white eagle) shows that those Spanish words were a gloss of the Nahuatl meaning of the proper name *Totoquihuatzin* (Hurrying Bird).[20] Further images – of a crowned *tlatoani* before a Christian cross and of the same figure attaching a cross to the orb of the world – indicated the religious responsibilities with which the governor had been charged on his election some years before.

Don Antonio's enthusiastic provision of workers to build the first ever church for the Company of Jesus in Mexico demonstrated his readiness to promote the Christian faith. The workforce must have been donated very shortly after the first delegation of Jesuits had arrived in New Spain in 1572, under the direction of their Provincial Father, Pedro Sánchez Baquero. Sánchez himself described how he was approached by the native governor:

> La iglesia faltaba en que se pudiesen ejercitar nuestros ministerios; y la divina Bondad, que quería servirse de ellos, se mostró, como en todo, liberal en esta parte; porque un indio cacique y cabeza del pueblo de Tacuba, llamado don Antonio, con la gente de su pueblo, que era mucha, se vino a ofrecer diciendo que sus antepasados habían hecho la iglesia de México, y que no querían ellos ser vencidos de sus mayores, y así querían hacer la iglesia de compañía, con toda brevedad, sin ningún interés mas que del cielo: y luego comenzaron a juntar materiales…[21]

[19] The royal *cédula* (ed. Paz y Meliá 1892, 253–255 and Villar Villamil 1933, *cédula* number 140) granting the arms in March 1564 states that there were "two green branches with some coloured flowers, like pink carnations". Three such flowers [*tlacōtl*, plural *tlacōmeh*] symbolise Tlacopan in the *Codex Osuna* (1565). Domínguez Torres 2011 examines Cortés Totoquihuatzin's coat of arms in detail; Castañeda de la Paz 2009, 135–138 and Rubial García 2011, 32–33 discuss the similar city-arms [*altepetlauiztli*] conferred on Tlacopan itself in 1564.

[20] *Totōquiltiā* and *totōquītiā* are causative forms of the verb *totōca*, hurry; *huāctzīn* or *huāhtzīn*, a large bird: Karttunen 1992, 80, 248–249. Domínguez Torres 2011, 73 identifies the bird in this context as a Laughing Falcon.

[21] Sánchez Baquero c. 1580, 54.

> (We lacked a church to practise our ministry, but divine Goodness, seeking to serve our members showed itself to be liberal as in everything else in this region, because an Indian chieftain and head of the town of Tacuba called Don Antonio came with the people of his town, which had a large population, to offer help saying that his predecessors had built the cathedral church of Mexico City, and that they did not want to be outdone by their elders, and so wanted to build the church for the Company, in all speed, without any reward other than from heaven: and then they began to assemble materials…)

The Provincial Father went on to relate how the church was completed to perfection within just three months by more than three thousand Indian labourers, who showed evident joy and care in the work. Pedro Sánchez had already given a similar account of these events soon after they occurred, in a letter of March 1573 to Everard Mercurian, the Superior General of the Jesuits in Rome. [22] In the same letter to Mercurian, Sánchez also recalled that he gave the *cacique* a portrait he had frequently asked him for: a good likeness of Ignatius of Loyola, the principal founder of the Company of Jesus, whom the Indian greatly revered.[23]

Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin died in 1574. In his will and testament recorded in Nahuatl between 29 April and 1 May of that year he named his son Pedro Alvarado Tetlepanquetza as heir and as his successor as *cacique*.[24] Tlacopan, now Tacuba in Mexico City, continued to retain its economic importance and dependencies later in the colonial period.[25]

3. Structure and argument of the Latin letter of 1552

Don Antonio's only Latin letter was dated the Kalends of December 1552. The text is just over 2,000 words in length and it is structured in this way:

(i) Salutatio	Laudatio of the Holy Roman Emperor [1] Captatio benevolentiae [2]
(ii) Exordium	Introduction to subject of letter: hardships imposed on people of Tlacopan [3]

[22] Sánchez Baquero 1573, 65. This an early Italian translation of the lost original letter. In the 1700s the Jesuit historian Francisco Javier Alegre elaborated upon Sánchez' account of the church's construction, noting it had a straw roof and for many years was called *xacalteopan*, "the shed-church": Alegre 1841, 1: 65.

[23] Sánchez Baquero 1573, 67.

[24] [Cortés Totoquihuatzin] 1574. Alvarado Tetlepanquetza was succeeded in 1585 by his brother Juan Cortés Chimalpopoca Moteuczoma Totoquihuatzin: see further Gibson 1964a, 171. Ruiz Medrano 2010, 43 discusses Don Antonio's will.

[25] Gibson 1964a, 1964b.

(iii) Narratio 1	Oppression of people of Tlacopan and excessive tribute and labour imposed upon them by encomendero Juan Cano and Isabel de Montezuma [4]; Specification of tribute paid to Juan Cano and Isabel de Montezuma [5–8]; Details of land and locations appropriated by Juan Cano [9–11]: Atotoc [9]; Words of Juan Cano when he took Tetolinca [10]; Tepetlapan [11]
(iv) Petitio	Request for tribute to be paid to the Emperor instead of the encomendero and for Jacobo Ramírez to act as Visitor to moderate the amount due [12].
(v) Narratio 2	Importance of Tlacopan before the Spanish conquest and its alliance with Mexico and Tlatelolco [13]; Juan Cano's further appropriation of three towns belonging to Tlacopan [14]; Welcome given to Cortés by Totoquihuatzin [15]; Totoquihuatzin's speech to Cortés [16]; Support Tlacopan gave to Spaniards against the Mexica; writer's brothers killed by the Mexica [17].
(vi) Conclusio	Profession of loyalty to Emperor [18]; Summary of preceding petition [19]; Signatures [20].

This arrangement or *dispositio* is in line with Erasmus of Rotterdam's recommendations for writing letters. His *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522) was very influential in the mid-1500s and appears to have circulated in New Spain.[26] Erasmus did not believe it necessary to adhere to the conventional sequence of *salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio* and *conclusio* which had been advocated in earlier manuals on epistolography, and his associate Juan Luis Vives recommended that, after the opening, the structure of the main part of a letter could be devised *ad hoc* as the subject required.[27] In the text presented here, the first *narratio,* recounting the

[26] Burton 2007, Henderson 2007, and Mack 2011, 90–96, 228–256 highlight the success of Erasmus' treatise on epistolography in sixteenth-century letters and education. Ricard 1966, Bataillon 1998, 540–550, 810–827; Egido 1998; Laird 2012, and Laird 2015, 125–130 show the importance of Erasmus' thought for the missionaries' practical theology, linguistics and pedagogy in post-conquest New Spain.

[27] Erasmus, *Conficiendarum epistolarum formula* 1498 [1985, 261–262] opposed the conventional five-part format proposed in the *artes dictaminis*; Vives 1534 [1989, 82].

circumstances prompting the letter, precedes the pivotal *petitio*. That central petition is then succeeded by a further section of *narratio*. As a whole, the epistle is fluent and engaging.

The first sentence of the lengthy *salutatio* to Charles V begins the letter with a flourish:

> Tam alta est tua Celsitudo, atque cesarea majestas, Cesar invictissime, vt vbique gentium non tam imperium longe lateque patens, quam illa tui animi Christianitas per omnium ora sonet in finesque orbis terrae divulgetur… [1]
>
> (So lofty is your eminence and Caesarean majesty, most invincible Caesar, that among peoples everywhere the Christian quality of your soul, as well as your empire stretching far and wide, sounds on the lips of all and is proclaimed to the ends of the earth…)

While the Holy Roman Emperor was naturally addressed as *Caesar*, the Hapsburg monarchy's strategic appropriation of myths of Troy and Rome might have a particular bearing on conjunctions of Christian and pagan Roman idiom throughout this letter. [28] In the sentence quoted above, for instance, classical usages – *longe lateque* (far and wide), and *omnium ora* (on the lips of all) – are juxtaposed with *in fines… orbis terrae* (to the ends of the earth), an expression from Psalm 18.[29]

Praise for the Emperor's use of his authority to promote Christianity is amplified by a quotation from scripture: [30]

> Quo fit vt in te verissimum illa sancti Iob comprobemus, nimirum: Militiam hominis vitam esse super terram; quippe tuum studium eo semper tendere videtur quo gentes barbaras, ethnicos et demonum cultores, dei denique inimicos oppugnes ac e tenebris in lucem Christianorum pellucidam in ipsum scilicet iusticiae solem qui Christus omnium servator est educas, hosque victos pacifices, illustres, Christo tandem lucrifacias …
>
> (This has led us to commend in your case those words of the holy prophet Job as very true, namely, that "the life of man upon earth is

[28] Tanner 1993. The title of Caesar was also claimed by Philip II: Elliott 1989.

[29] "Longe late[que]" is found in Caesar and Cicero: Wölfflin 1933, 265 lists several instances; for "omnium ora" compare Virgil, *Georgics* 3.9: "victorque virum volitare per ora"; *Aeneid* 12.235: "succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur" (recalling Ennius Epigram 18, "Volito vivus per ora virum"); Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6.8.1: "per omnium ora populorum discurrens". Psalms 18:5: "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum: et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum."

[30] Carrera de la Red 1998, 142–144 examines a comparable *exordium* of a 1561 letter to Philip II by another Nahua noble, Pablo Nazareo, in the light of Erasmus' prescriptions in *De conscribendis epistolis*.

> warfare", since your exertions seem always to be directed toward fighting against barbarous peoples, pagans, and worshippers of devils, in short, against God's enemies, then leading them from the darkness to the clear light possessed of Christians, indeed to that Sun of Justice which is Christ, saviour of all, and to pacifying them once conquered, enlightening them, and at last winning them for Christ…[1])

Aquinas' interpretation of Job 7:1 had been influential: the condition of human life is like a military campaign because of the threats and dangers it presented. But here the verse was taken literally.[31] The expression *Sol justitiae* (Sun of Justice), also originated in the Old Testament, but the title was given to Christ in the third century AD, and later used in the "Propers" or Offertory of the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin.[32] This Mass was said between Epiphany and the Feast of the Purification — the period in which this letter would have reached Spain. In Christian antiquity Saint John Chrysostom had connected the *Sol Justitiae* to the pagan *Sol Invictus* (Invincible Sun) because the date of Christmas had once been the celebration of the birthday of the solar deity.[33] Though *invictus* or *invictissimus* was a conventional epithet for the Holy Roman Emperor, its use here to hail Charles V may be pertinent in this very context: the Caesars of antiquity had long been associated with the *Sol Invictus.*[34] The rejection of any identification with Christ by Augustine and Tertullian would only have made it better known in the 1500s when Chrysostom's works were being read in Latin.[35]

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[31] Aquinas, *Expositio super Job*: 7: 1: "hoc est quod dicit militia est vita hominis super terram, ac si dicat: vita praesens qua super terram vivimus non est sicut status victoriae sed sicut status militiae" (He says, "Man's life on earth is combat," as if to say: The present life which we live on earth is not like a state of victory, but like the state of a military campaign).

[32] "Felix namque es sacra Virgo Mariae et omni laude dignissima, quia ex te ortus est sol justitiae, Christus Deus noster" (For thou art happy, O sacred Virgin Mary, and most worthy of all praise, since out of thee hath arisen the sun of justice, Christ our Lord). Malachi 4:2: "et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae" (But unto you that fear my name, the sun of justice shall arise).

[33] Chrysostom 1588, *De Solstitiis et aequinoctiis* 2.118: "Sed et dominus noster nascitur mense decembris … VIII Kal. Ian. … Sed et Invicti Natalem appellant. Quis utique tam invictus nisi dominus noster? … Vel quod dicant Solis esse natalem, ipse est Sol iustitiae" (But Our Lord too, is born in the month of December … the eighth day before the calends of January [25 December] …, But they also call it the "Birthday of the Unconquered." Who indeed is so unconquered as Our Lord? Or, if they say that it is the birthday of the Sun, He is the Sun of Justice). Other editions of Chrysostom were probably available in New Spain before 1552: Yhmoff Cabrera 1996, 2: 200–217.

[34] Berrens 2004.

[35] Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 16 (cf. *Ad nationes* 1.13; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.67); Augustine, *In Evangelium Iohannis* 34.

The sun was also crucial to the calendrical epistemology of pre-Hispanic Mexico – and in some of the Nahuas' supposed interpretations of the catastrophe of the Spanish conquest. Several sixteenth-century testimonies maintain that the Mexicans initially connected the Spaniards with the sun and even venerated them as "sons of the sun": the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado was called *Tonatiuh*, (Sun).[36] Some of the omens held to have presaged the Spanish conquest also involved the sun—although the traditions about them may really have been based on European classical sources.[37] Such reports (which probably reflected *post*-conquest ideologies) could underlie the connection Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin made between the Emperor Charles' capacities both to "enlighten" (*illustres*) and to "pacify the conquered" (*victos pacifices*) – a principle inherited from the pagan Roman empire by the early church. [38]

The idea of a link between the Christian *Sol Justitiae*, the pagan Roman *Sol Invictus* and the Aztec *Tonatiuh* may seem tendentious, but a similar association had been made by the Franciscan Fray Toríbio de Benavente or "Motolinía" who was appointed guardian of Tlacopan.[39] Fray Toríbio's *Memoriales*, an ethnological work drafted more than a decade before and finalised only in 1549, contained a chapter entitled:

> De muchas y diversas fiestas que en esta tierra tenían, en las cuales se declara muchas idolatrías, y como para los destruir estuvo en nuestro favor el sol y la luna, esto es, Christo, Sol de Justicia, y su muy preciosa Madre y Señora nuestra.[40]
>
> (The many and varied festivals the natives held in this land in which many idolatries are revealed, and how in order to destroy them, the

[36] *Codex Ramírez* (1580s) [1975] trans. León-Portilla 1962, 59: "The Indians knelt… and adored the Spaniards as sons of the Sun, their god"; the *Anales de Tlatelolco Manuscripts* (c.1550) [1991, 256, 264]: refers to Pedro de Alvarado as *Tonatiuh*, "the Sun." In the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, c. 1563, fol. 46r., an image of the sun with a human face depicts Alvarado, captioned "al cual llamavan los yndios tonatihu que quiere dezer el sol" (the Indians called him *Tonatiuh* which means Sun). Hamann 2013, 529–530 discusses the significance of the sun's central position on the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (1552) at a turning point in this pictorial history of the conquest.

[37] Fernández-Armesto 1992; Lockhart 1993, 5, 18; Townsend 2003.

[38] Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 6.1.7–8, 6.22.5.

[39] Cervantes de Salazar 1560, quoted below. Cervantes' statement that Motolinía was guardian of the peole of Tacuba after their conversion implies this had been a long time ago. In any case the signature of *Thoribius* below that of Antonio Cortés in the Latin letter does *not* belong to Fray Toríbio de Benavente (as he customarily signed himself "Motolinía": Mendieta, Book 3, chapter 12, 211), but to Don Toríbio Feliciano, who signed Don Antonio's 1561 letter in full. It is conceivable that the native noble had taken the friar's name when he was baptised.

[40] Benavente 1549, cap. 14 [1996, 151].

> Sun and the Moon were on our side, that is Christ, Sun of Justice, and his most precious Mother and Our Lady.)

The friar's use of syncretism as a strategy for conversion does more than reinforce the connection between the Christian and pagan suns hinted at by Don Antonio: it suggests that missionaries were the ones who were first responsible for it.

The topos of pacification through conquest effected a transition to the *captatio benevolentiae*:

> Quam Rem in nobis es foelicissime operatus, qui vbi per tuos hispanos, demonum agmen horrendum profligasti, et *Xp*ianismum introduxisti, nostram hanc prouinciam, pace, ac quiete summa collocasti, quae etsi majorum nostrorum stragem, bonorum temporalium jacturam non minimam doleat, tamen tuum immortale beneficium agnoscit quam humillime. [2]
>
> (To this end you have laboured very happily among us: by the agency of your own Spaniards you have overthrown the dreadful army of devils, introduced Christianity, and with the utmost peace and tranquility given order to our province which has the humblest recognition of your immortal kindness, even though it grieved at the slaughter of our elders and at the very great loss of our worldly wealth.)

The courteous tone could be double-edged: the writer did not have to highlight the human cost of Charles V's victory for religion. The flattery of an earlier remark quoted above was not unalloyed either – the people of Tlacopan regarded Job's dictum that "the life of man upon earth is warfare" as being especially true of the Emperor.

The Emperor Charles is asked to look on the letter sympathetically – even though the petitioners "may be judged to be humans of the lowest condition and may seem to be of no worth in the eyes of the Spaniards" (etsi abjectissimae conditionis homines censeamur, nulliusque precii apud hispanos videamur) [2]. Erasmus, whose prescriptions on epistolography are generally followed in this letter, derided such obsequious formulae in salutations.[41] But in courtly Nahuatl speech such an abject tone seems to have been conventional – and there are comparable examples of passages in which writers of Latin from the educated Nahua elite introduced themselves in a similar way.[42] Despite appearances, Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's

[41] Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis* 1522 [1971, 276–285].

[42] Johansson K. 2002, 226–227, discusses *auto-humiliación* as a formulaic device in the Nahuatl language. Compare the description of "Inversion" in Maxwell & Hanson 1992, 20–21: "constant potential for antonymic interpretation gives the Nahuatl author the power to

wording may not betoken the submissiveness of a craven subaltern, but almost the opposite.

As noted above, the principal subject of this letter was the servitude and excessive tribute imposed on Tlacopan by Juan Cano and his late wife Isabel de Montezuma, whom Cano had married in 1532 after he became an associate of Hernán Cortés.[43] The aggravation Isabel caused the native governors of Tlacopan is conveyed in forthright terms at the beginning of the first *narratio*:

> que etsi nostri sanguinis nostraeque patriae fuit, tamen adeo ab humanitate aliena fuit vt pietatis loco et naturalis amoris quo sese vnius terrae et gentis homines amant, tyrannidem exercuerit: et nos qui a preclaris et nobilibus patribus sumus orti, loco seruorum tenuerit. [4]
>
> (Even though she was of our own blood and from our own country, she was herself so remote from humanity that instead of the duty and natural love which men of the same race and country usually show to each other, she exercised tyranny and kept us in the position of slaves, when we were born from renowned and noble parents.)

Montezuma's daughter had been of the same *sanguis* and *patria*, and – by way of rhetorical emphasis – of one *terra* and *gens* as the inhabitants of

say one thing but to mean another." Juan Badiano (1552, f. 1r), thus characterised his own "Indian" race in his Latin translation of the dedication of a Nahuatl herbal to the viceroy's son: "we poor little wretched little Indians are inferior to all mortals, and the smallness and insignificance ingrained in us by nature therefore merits pardon" (nos misellos pauperculos Indos omnibus mortalibus inferiores esse, et ideo veniam nostra a natura nobis insita parvitas et tenuitas meretur); and in 1561 the rulers of Azcapotzalco would present themselves in a letter to Philip II (ed. Laird 2011) as "poor people, wretches, barbarians, such then whose predecessors in the time of their paganism were altogether rustics, abject, bare of adornments for body and soul" (pauperes, miseri, barbari tales denique quorum praedecessores suae tempore gentilitatis fuere admodum rustici, abiecti, nudi et corporis et animae dotibus). See further Laird 2014a, 163–165.

[43] Juan Cano de Saavedra (1502–1572) was rewarded for fighting for Cortés, although he had originally arrived in Mexico in 1520 as a participant in Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition against him. Cano's appeal for full restitution of Isabel's patrimony in 1548, before her death is examined in Kalyuta 2008; another attempt was made in 1553: Pérez-Rocha 1998, 16, 23; Sagaón Infante 1998; Megged 2010, 201. Juan Cano had some unnamed Franciscans compile an account of genealogies and inheritances from pre-Hispanic Mexico (Toríbio de Benavente may have been involved) to be sent to Charles V, of which some pages survive: Benavente (undated); García Icazbalceta 240–280. Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1557) Book 33, chapter 54, staged a dialogue between Fernández and Juan Cano who gives his own commentary on the conquest of Mexico: Martínez 1986; Myers 2010, 166–173. See notes 64 and 65 below for an attempt to reconstruct a lost *Relación* of the conquest written by Cano himself.

Tlacopan: she and they alike were Nahuas or "Indians."[44] At the same time, the *tlacopanenses* were a distinct group, as the previous sentence had indicated: "no other people is so fiercely oppressed by such a multitude of tributes *as our people of Tlacopan* [nostrum populum tlacopanensem]" [4], reiterating the complaint made a few lines above [3]: "all we Indians are worn down by tribute and much servitude, but *especially we Tlacopanecs* [maxime nos tlacopanenses]."

The substantial dues to both Juan Cano and Isabel are then described in detail [5–8]: as well as money, they received grain, fruit, tortillas, wood, charcoal, wild fowl and poultry. Further products are listed with explanations of their names:

> viginti vestes, quas nauas, totidem vestes quas vipiles nostri vocant hispani, et sindones viriles totidem, ac etiam totidem indica femoralia que hic apud nos vulgo mastiles appellantur… Necnon et ducentas placentulas nomine apud nos tortillas, onera lignorum etiam sex damus, et pabulorum decem, carbonum duo grandja onera, vnum fasciculum tedarum quas ocote vocant, candelas tres nigras seu huius terrae… Infine autem cuiuslibet anni, mille frumentorum mensuras que hanegas vocantur… quorum vnicuique vnoquoque die vnam gallinam damus precio duorum argenteorum, vnum lignorum onus, pipera multa que axi dicuntur, dimidiam partem vnius orbis salis, et ducentas placentas [5]–[6]
>
> (twenty garments which the Spaniards call *naguas*, the same number of what our people call *huipiles*, the same number of finely woven male garments, and the same number again of Indian loincloths, which among us here are commonly named *mastiles* … We also give two hundred of the little pancakes we name *tortillas*, six loads of wood, ten of fodder, two large loads of charcoal, a bundle of the pitchpine torches which are called *ocote*, three black candles which are of this land. … And at the end of every year we give a thousand measures of grain which are called *hanegas* … To each of [Juan Cano's guards] on each day we give one hen worth two silver pesos, one weight of wood, many peppers which are called *axi*, half a wheel of salt, and two hundred *tortillas*…)

This catalogue not only provides glosses for terms derived from the Nahuatl words *huipilli*, *maxtli*, and *ocote*.[45] It also throws light on examples of

[44] Chipman 2005, 27–74, examines the Spaniards' accommodation of Isabel de Montezuma and her subsequent status. The complex process of the assignation of the *encomienda* of Tacuba [Tlacopan] to Isabel is summarised in Gibson 1964a, 423–426.

[45] The *huipil* was the traditional upper garment worn by women. *Tomastli*, a possessed form of *maxtli* is discussed in Fray Julián Garcés *De habilitate et capacitate gentium* (1537)

Spanish usage which had become common in New Spain, but were not widely known in the Iberian peninsular: *nagua* and *axi* were loan-words from Taíno, the Arawakan Caribbean language; *tortilla* in Spain has always designated an omelette, not the unleavened flat bread of Mesoamerica; and *hanega* was a variant (more widely used in the New World at this time) of the usual Castilian *fanega*.[46] By showing his awareness of all the words which might not be familiar to a reader in peninsular Spain, Don Antonio signals the extent of his acculturation – and he also conveys the authoritative status of Latin as a stable and effective vehicle of meaning. By writing in Latin he can make a conclusive statement of what the items given various names in Nahuatl, Spanish or Taíno actually are.

The letter also enumerates land, territories or towns belonging to Tlacopan which had been ceded to Juan Cano [9–11, 14], appropriated by him, or to which he laid claim following his wife's death a year earlier in 1550 or 1551. These allocations are confirmed and detailed elsewhere: several documents attesting the dowry Hernán Cortés had given to Isabel Montezuma in 1527; the pictorial Codex Osuna; and the *Memorial de los pueblos* – a Spanish text from the mid-1500s which enumerated Tlacopan's towns and estates and to whom they were subject. [47] The latter source lists Capolhuac, Ocoyacac and Tepehuexoyocan among the five *pueblos* under Juan Cano's control: "they serve him and they do not know of Tlacopan as an authority." [48] The Latin letter states that Juan Cano had taken the same three *oppida* which properly belonged to Tlacopan [14]. The *Memorial* was probably compiled at the same time as the letter, or afterwards, since it makes no mention of Doña Isabel.

In the context of this discussion of the appropriations of land from Tlacopan, Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin makes clear that his town had once been a principal power, possessing dominions of its own:

> primo quidem certiorem facimus tuam excel[l]entissimam maiestatem has indias antiquis in temporibus fuisse diuisas in tres partes nimirum mexicum, tlacubam, et tetzcocum atque ex consequenti tres dominos

and examined in Laird 2014b, 200–201, 206; *ocote* was wood from the *Pinus montezumae*. The Nahuatl forms are given in Karttunen 1992, 90, 141, 176.

[46] Helmer 2009 is an account of the semantics and diffusion of *ají* [*axi*] in colonial Spanish America. The predominance of *hanega* in the Spanish colonies (as opposed to *fanega* favoured in the pensinsular) is confirmed by attestations for the 1500s in the *Diccionario de la Real Española* [*DRAE*].

[47] *Codex Osuna* (1565); Anon., *Memorial de los pueblos sugetos al señorio de Tlacupan* (1550s); AGI Patronato 245, Ramo 9 attesting Isabel's dowry is cited in Carrasco, 1999 177 n. 8.

[48] *Memorial de los pueblos*, item 3 [1971, 5]: "Estos cinco que agora se siguen traxo Juan Cano, y le siruen y a Tlacupan no la conoçen por señorio ninguno…"

> seu rectores habuisse qui dominabantur aliorum populorum circumiacentium. [13]
>
> (In the first place then we inform your most excellent majesty that in old times these Indies were divided into three parts, namely Mexico, Tlacopan, and Texcoco, and as a consequence had three masters or rulers who ruled the other surrounding peoples.)

The customary sequence of Mexico, Texcoco and Tlacopan, found in all other accounts has been transposed: Tlacopan is is here put *second* after Mexico City.[49] The usual sequence signalled in descending order, the polities by the size the number of their dominions – Tlacopan had the smallest. The sentence quoted above also echoes the beginning of the *Gallic Wars*: the Indies of New Spain had been divided into three parts like Gaul.[50] The opening of the Roman historian Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* was recalled in this letter too, but the evocation of Julius Caesar here could appeal to the latter-day Caesar to whom this letter was addressed.[51] While recognising that the conquistadors and missionariy friars in New Spain had been aware of Tlacopan's importance, Don Antonio emphasises that his own people were never in servitude in order to lend weight to his plea for Tlacopan to be relieved from tribute as far as possible, and to be allocated one of its former subject peoples [13] and for the *oppida* appropriated by Juan Cano to be returned [14].

Further narratives are then provided in support of the petition [15–17]. Opportunely calling attention to his own Christian name *Antonius Cortés,* the writer explains how his father Totoquihuatzin had rejoiced at the first arrival of the Spaniards: he sent gifts to them and received them in Tlacopan "with open arms" [*obuiis manibus*].[52] The *tlatoani* had even invited Hernán

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[49] Even the *Memorial de los pueblos*, compiled in Tlacopan, uses the sequence "Mexico, y Tezcuco, y Tlacupan" on all six occasions the three *altepetl* are named.

[50] Caesar, *Bellum gallicum* 1.1: "Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres…" (All of Gaul was divided into three parts…). The Paris 1543 Vascosanus edition of Caesar, *C. Iulii Caesaris rerum ab se gestarum commentarii de bello Gallico* was in the library of the convent of Santiago de Tlatelolco: Mathes 1982, 51.

[51] See note 28 above. The echo of Sallust's exhortation that men should not to go through life like cattle, comes earlier [7]: the men of Tlacopan worked so hard for Juan Cano that they had become "unmindful of the salvation of their souls, like cattle" (immemores suae anime salutis veluti pecora).

[52] Erasmus *Adagia* 2.9.54 [1992, 111] noted the proverbial quality of "obuiis manibus" in Jerome, *Epistles* 53.11. The phrase in this letter "et accedentes ad hoc nostrum oppidum obuiis manibus, vt dicitur, recepit", is mistranslated in Pérez-Rocha & Tena 2000, 175: "y cuando se acercaban a nuestro pueblo amenazados por los Manes, como a veces se dice, los acogió." Domínguez Torres 2011 quotes the *Spanish* as the primary source and thus renders in English the fatal substitution of *Manes* (ancient Roman spirits of the dead) for *manus*

Cortés to destroy the temple of his gods, and to take from it anything he liked; he offered him his daughters as wives for the Spaniards; and he also asked for an alliance, in order to make war on the nations in Mexico which were hostile to him [16]. The welcome recalls that eventually given to Hernán Cortés by Xicontecatl, ruler of the Tlaxcaltecs, if not the confused reception provided by Montezuma.[53] None of the genealogies for Totoquihuatzin and his descendants supplied by chroniclers like Alvarado Tezozomoc or Chimalpahin indicate that he ever had any daughters.[54] Montezuma's daughters, on the other hand – the most prominent of whom was Isabel – did end up being married to Spaniards.[55] The claim that the *tlatoani* of Tlacopan was prepared to give up his own daughters to the Spaniards is a strategic fabrication, but it is an understandable choice of fabrication in the context of a letter complaining about the abuses inflicted upon the town by Isabel and her husband.

Don Antonio avers that he is quoting "the very words" [haec sunt quidem verba] which his father spoke to Cortés, although he was an infant when Totoquihuatzin first encountered the Spaniards and his account of that meeting cannot be based on any genuine recollection. The formulae used at the beginning and end of Totoquihuatzin's welcoming speech to the Captain strongly suggest that the whole episode was instead crafted as a fiction to win over the Emperor Charles:

> Prosperrime veneris cum tuo exercitu sciasque nos tibi et ei cuius nomine venis esse paratos ad serviendum: et quem adoras deum eundem colam cum toto meo populo… Ceterum scias me nolle gerere bellum contra te et tuum exercitum, ne meus populus male pereat. [16]
>
> (May your arrival with your army be most auspicious, and may you know that we are prepared to serve you, and the one in whose name you come. Along with my people I will worship the same god you praise… In any case, you should know that I have no wish to wage war against you and your army, lest my people come to a bad end.)

This is far more than a promise of co-operation with the invaders: the language attributed to the *tlatoani* is oddly consonant with the terms in

(hands): "every time they approached our town, threatened by the Manes [Mexicas] as sometimes they are called, he welcomed them."

[53] Compare e.g. Cortés 1522, 66; and Xicontecatl's speech in Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (1648), chapter 90 [1975: II, 236]. Restall, 2003, 77–99 surveys sources for the encounter between Cortés and Montezuma.

[54] Alvarado Tezozomoc 1598, sections 345–354 (1998, 168–170) – a text now attributed to Chimalpahin in Schroeder 2011 – names Totoquihuatzin's male successors.

[55] Chipman 2005, 53–95 provides a detailed account of the strategic marriages of Montezuma's daughters Isabel and Mariana, and of other descendants.

which the Spaniards were accustomed to express their demands to native groups when they first came upon them. Soldiers were obliged to recite a declaration known as the *Requerimiento* to the peoples they encountered in the New World, in order to assert Spain's sovereignty over their territories.[56] The natives were addressed "in the name of" the Pope and the Catholic monarchs; they were informed that they were "subjects or vassals of their Highnesses"; and they were enjoined to accept the Christian faith. Furthermore they were told that, should they fail to comply, they would be killed or enslaved and deprived of their property – and that they would be to blame for these losses. The missionaries also introduced themselves as representatives of the Pope and Holy Roman Emperor, albeit without the threats of violence or coercion.[57] Thus the script of Totoquihuatzin's oration, in which the ruler pledged to serve the Captain and "the one in whose name [he] came" and promised not to wage war against the Spaniards, indicates that its author was familiar with their protocols.

Don Antonio also explains how Totoquihuatzin and his people subsequently lent their support to the Spaniards:

> his addo dictum meum patrem sepe prohibuisse Muntecuhçomam mexici rectorem quo minus bellum gereret contra hispanos, tamen ipse mei patris admonitionem contemnens parauit bellum. Porro hispani fugientes mexicum transiuerunt per hunc populum meum quibus quoniam cum illis inierat amicitiam rursum res necessarias victui largitus est et eos liberauit fame ingenti qua consumebantur… [17]
>
> (To that I add that my father was often said to have prevented Montezuma the ruler of Mexico from campaigning against the Spaniards, but in defiance of my father's warning he nonetheless prepared for war. What is more, the Spaniards fleeing Mexico passed through this community of mine, which, as it had already entered into an alliance with them, again supplied them with all the things they needed to survive, and freed them from the severe hunger which was devastating them…)

There are several narratives of how the Spaniards suffered heavy losses in the summer of 1520 as they escaped Tenochtitlan by night after the death of Montezuma, crossing the lake of Mexico on rope bridges whilst under heavy attack from the Aztecs – an event which became known as the *Noche Triste*.[58] In his letter of April 1522 Hernán Cortés related that he found his

[56] Hanke 1949; Williams 1992, 88–93; Restall 2003, 87–99.

[57] Compare the speech of the first Franciscan missionaries to the Mexica "priests of the idols" in Sahagún, *Coloquios* 1564, chapters 1–5 [1993: 63–69].

[58] The date and fatalities vary in different accounts: Cortés 1522, 139 gives 30th June 1520 and states 150 Spaniards and more than 2,000 indigenous allies were killed. Díaz del

men in Tlacopan after they reached dry land and was keen to lead them out to the countryside before they were attacked by the enemy pursuing them. The chronicles of López de Gómara and Bernal Díaz told the same story, adding that the Mexica were inciting the men of the town to fight the Spaniards. According to Díaz, they were being attacked by soldiers from Tlacopan as well as Azcapotzalco and Teniayocan from under the cover of high maize plants in fields nearby so that they wanted "to leave that town as soon as possible."[59]

Francisco Cervantes de Salazar drew from the accounts by Hernán Cortés and López de Gómara, but as he compiled his *Crónica de la Nueva España* in Mexico City, probably around 1560, he was also able to collect further reports and testimonies. Cervantes' account of the Spaniards' arrival in Tlacopan on the *Noche Triste* at least shows that there had been some debate about what happened there:

> llegaron a Tacuba; los de la retroguarda, creyendo que Cortés, que iba en el avangoardia, reposara en los aposentos y casa del señor de aquella ciudad, se entraron en el aposento de la casa. En esto hay dos opiniones: la una es que llegando allí los nuestros, los mexicanos que venían en su seguimiento se volvieron, o porque estaban ya cansados de pelear, o porque no osaron entrar en términos ajenos, temiendo que los tacubenses les salieran al encuentro, porque rescibieron bien a los cristianos, de lo cual se quexaron mucho después los mexicanos dellos y los riñeron, porque en su pueblo no habían acabado de matar a los españoles. Esto dicen Motolinea y los tacubenses, cuyo guardián, después de convertidos, fue el dicho Motolinea, fraile franciscano y conquistador.
>
> La verdad es, según las Memorias de muchos conquistadores, que los mexicanos los siguieron hasta allí, y mas de una legua adelante, que como era de noche, los tacubenses ni ayudaron ni dañaron. Los de la retroguarda, como vieron que Cortés no reposaba en los aposentos, sino que iba adelante, a toda furia salieron, por no perderle…[60]
>
> (They reached Tacuba: the Spaniards in the rearguard, believing that Cortés (who was in the vanguard) would rest in the lodgings and the house of the lord [Totoquihuatzin] of that city, entered the guest

Castillo 1568–1575, chapter 128, followed López de Gómara 1552, chapter 110, in dating the *Noche Triste* to 10th July 1520: according to López, 450 Spaniards and 4,000 native allies perished. Compare Fernández de Oviedo (1557), Book 33, chapter 14, "Como huyó Cortés de México" (How Cortés fled Mexico") and the dialogue staged with Juan Cano in chapter 54; Sahagún (1545–1590) Book 12, chapter 24 [1975: 67–9]. The chroniclers' varying estimates of the losses are tabulated in Wagner 1944, 300.

[59] Díaz del Castillo 1568–1575, chapter 128.

[60] Cervantes de Salazar 1560, Book 4, chapter 125 [2:60].

> accommodation of that house. About that there are two opinions: [1] One is that once our men arrived there the Mexica who were in pursuit of them turn around, either because they were tired of fighting by then or because they dared not enter foreign boundaries, fearing the Tacubans would come out to confront them because they gave a good welcome to Christians – something the Mexica among them afterwards complained about greatly and reproached them for not finishing off the slaughter of the Spaniards in their town. This is what Motolinía and the people of Tacuba say: their guardian, after they were converted, was that same Motolinía, a Franciscan friar and conqueror of souls.
>
> [2] The truth is, on the testimony of many conquistadors that the Mexica followed the Spaniards as far as Tacuba, and more than a league beyond, and as it was night the Tacubans gave neither help nor hindrance. The Spaniards in the rearguard, once they realised Cortés was not resting in the accommodation but going on ahead, left in a frenzy not to lose him…)

The first opinion reported is consistent with what Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin had maintained and repeated in three of his letters in Spanish. Cervantes, however, contrasts that with the second opinion which he believed to be the truth: the people of Tacuba (Tlacopan) did nothing for the Spaniards on this occasion.

Alonso de Zorita, whose manuscript *Relación de la Nueva España* was completed in 1585, provided another description of the Spaniards' reception in Tlacopan after their flight from Tenochtitlan:

> Y ordenó de parar en Tlacuba, que es la tierra firme fuera de todos los puentes, en el aposento de aquel pueblo, y así los dixo a todos… Mucha gente fue hasta llegar a Tacuba, y se metieron algunos en el aposento que Cortés había dicho y a todos los mataron allí. Y Cortés se había pasado sin parar en él. Y todo era maizales muy altos y muy llenos de gente y de allí salían los indios y mataban los españoles como iban huyendo y desbaratados.[61]
>
> (And [Cortés] gave the order to stop in Tlacopan, the dry land at the end of all the causeways, in the lodgings in the town, and he said this to everyone… Many went on until they reached Tlacopan and some went into the lodging Cortés has spoken of, and there they killed them all. But Cortés went a long way ahead without stopping in the place. The place was full of high maize plantations full of men, who leapt out and killed the Spaniards as they were fleeing and in confusion.)

[61] Zorita 1585, Part 3, chapter 28 [2:582–583]

This presentation of the Tlacopanecs as aggressive opponents of the Spaniards, apparently without any incitement, runs counter to Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's presentation of his people as their firm allies who prevented Cortés' men from dying of starvation.[62]

But one of Zorita's sources was none other than Juan Cano. The chronicler prefaced his *Relación* with a unique "Catalogue of Authors who have written Histories of the Indies or offered treatments of them." There the *encomendero* of Tlacopan was described as follows:

> Juan Cano, natural de Cáçeres, que fue casado con una hija de Moctençuma, escribió una Relación de aquella tierra y de su conquista, y se halló en ella, y así por esto, como por respecto de su muger, le encomendó Hernando Cortés muy buenos repartimientos de pueblos de indios…[63]
>
> (Juan Cano, born in Cáceres, who was married to a daughter of Montezuma, wrote a *Relación* about that land [New Spain] and its conquest, and he took part in it, and so because of that and out of respect for his wife, Hernan Cortés entrusted him with very generous allocations of the Indians' towns…)

No other author mentions Juan Cano's own memoir of the conquest, but Zorita refers to it on several occasions in his work and states he had access to the manuscript.[64] Rodrigo Martínez Baracs has argued that the tenor of Cano's lost *Relación* could be reconstructed from Zorita's own *Relación de la Nueva España*, particularly when elements of his narrative are not apparent in the other sources he used.[65] This could bear on Zorita's characterisation of Tlacopan's role in the *Noche Triste*. So too might the fact that he never cites Cervantes de Salazar's *Crónica de la Nueva España* (even though Cervantes is named in the prefatory Catalogue). Irrespective of when Juan Cano produced his *Relación* and of whether its existence was ever known in New Spain, it is likely that those governing Tlacopan in the mid-1500s had cause to be concerned about how Cano and others were presenting the town's role in the conquest more generally. The historical claims made in the latter part of Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's letter,

[62] An indigenous view of events contemporary with Cortés Totoquihuatzin's letter is in line with Zorita's opposing account: the pictorial narrative of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (note 36 above) usually dated to 1552 shows, at cell 19, the Spaniards being attacked at Tlacopan. Kranz 2001 is a detailed survey of the versions of the *Lienzo*.

[63] Zorita 1585, "Catálogo de los autores" [1:112].

[64] The manuscript is mentioned in Zorita 1585, Part III, *Proemio* [2:413]. The entry for Juan Cano from the *Catálogo* quoted above goes on to reveal Zorita met Cano's grandson when he was on business in Granada for his father, Gonzalo Cano who succeeded Juan Cano as *encomendero* of Tlacopan.

[65] Martínez Baracs 2007.

fanciful as they may be, would have been an expedience to counteract detrimental testimonies from Juan Cano and others.[66]

On the other hand Don Antonio's report of Totoquihuatzin's death the following year – "meus pater fuit mortuus non quidem bello sed infirmitate quadam" (my father had died, by no means in battle but of an illness) [17] – would be endorsed: Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl recorded that the ruler perished in a smallpox epidemic.[67] But the next event related, towards the very end of the letter, is not corroborated anywhere:

> Transeunte vno anno hispani redierunt mexicum contra quos ne bellum inirent mexicani eos obnixe alij filij patris mei qui mihi erant fratres, monuerunt, qui pro bono malum recipientes occissi sunt a mexicanis, quorum vnus vocabatur tepanecatzintli, alter tlacatecalzintli. [17]
>
> (One year went by and the Spaniards returned to Mexico, and the Mexicans were strenuously warned not to enter into a war against them by my father's other sons who were my brothers. Receiving an evil return for their good deed they were killed by the Mexicans: one was called Tepanecatzintli, and the other Tlacatecalzintli.)

There are no other testimonies that Totoquihuatzin had sons with those names. The heir of Totoquihuatzin as king of Tlacopan was widely identified as Tetlepantquetzatzin (or Tetepanquetzal): Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl would describe how Tetlepantquetzatzin had formed an alliance against the Spaniards with Cuauhtemoc, Montezuma's successor as leader of the Mexica, and with Cohuanacoch, *tlatoani* of Texcoco.[68] After the fall of Tenochtitlan, the three *tlatoque* were captured by Hernán Cortés. In a letter of 3 September 1526 to Charles V, the Captain explained that he had taken these leaders "who appeared prone to cause instability or revolt in those regions" with him on his 1524 expedition to Honduras. After receiving intelligence from a native informer that Cuauhtemoc, Cohuanacoch, Tetlepantquetzatzin and "a certain Tacatelz" were plotting to kill him and the other Spaniards on the journey, Cortés had Cuauhtemoc and Tetlepantquetzatzin hanged as the instigators. [69] Cortés' letter of 1526 was

[66] The exploration of the ways different groups in New Spain told stories which competed with the "canonic narratives" in Megged 2010, 184–248 could bear on Cortés Totoquihuatzin's construction of parallel realities, but his fabrications had an evident strategic purpose.

[67] Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1648, ch. 90 [2:236]. Gibson 1964a, 171 on the other hand implies the *tlatoani* met a violent end ("Totoquihuatzin was killed in the conquest") but does not give a source.

[68] Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1648, chapter 91 [1975, 2: 242–243].

[69] Cortes 1526 [1866: 420]: "aquel Guateumucin, é Guanacaxín, señor que fué de Tezcuco, y Tetepanqueçal, señor que fué de Tacuba, y un Tacatelz, que á la sazon era en

not printed until the nineteenth century but several early sources tell a similar story, and confirm that Tetlepantquetzatzin was executed with Cuauhtemoc and Cohuanacoch.[70]

The names Don Antonio gives for his brothers, *Tepanecatzintli* and *Tlacatecalzintli*, have some resemblance to those of the conspirators identified by Hernán Cortés as *Tetepanqueçal*, lord of Tacuba, and *Tacatelz*.[71] Don Antonio's use of different but similar sounding names in the Latin letter enables his revisionist narrative to compete with different accounts without flatly contradicting them. His intention may even have been to bamboozle his reader – the very emperor to whom the conquistador had recounted his version of events twenty five years before. Alternatively, Tepanecatzintli and Tlacatecalzintli could have existed and there is no other record of them: in that case the phrase "*alij filij patris mei qui mihi erant fratres*", (my father's *other* sons who were my brothers), would signal that Totoquihuatzin had had two further sons in addition to Tetlepantquetzatzin. Whatever the truth of the matter may be, it remains the case that Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin had at least one brother who was put to death by the very conquistador from whom he took his own Spanish name.

4. Conclusions

In seeking relief from the abuses of the *encomendero* Juan Cano, the letter surveyed above was not simply promoting the interests of Nahuas or "Indians" *vis à vis* the Spaniards. It was asserting the distinctive prestige and patrimony of the town of Tlacopan. The letter's closing narration laid emphasis on the stature of the *altepetl* before the conquest and, more questionably, on its support of the Spaniards against the Mexica, offering a contrast to details presented in other primary sources for the conquest of Mexico and its aftermath.

esta ciudad de Méjico en la parte de Tatelulco, habían hablado muchas veces y dado cuenta dello á este Mexicalcingo, que… les habia parescido que era buen remedio tener manera como me matasen á mí y á los que conmigo iban…" (This Cuauhtemoc, and Cohuanacoch, who was ruler of Texcoco, and Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan, and a certain Tacatelz, who was at the time in the city of Mexico in the Tlatelolco area, had spoken many times recounting to Mexicalcingo that… it had seemed to them the best solution was to arrange to kill me and and those travelling with me…). My translation here standardises Cortés' versions of the Nahuatl names.

[70] Restall 2003, 147–53 is an overview of some of the different accounts

[71] "Tacatelz" looks more an approximation of *tlācatēuctli* (patron) a Nahuatl title for a noble: see further Piho 1972. Cortés' Nahuatl nomenclature was far from precise as is evident from the quotation in note 69 above.

Independent testimonies of Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's religious zeal, his receipt of a coat of arms and his election as *gobernador* and Rector of his polity all reflect the Nahua ruler's orientation and standing as a Christian and as a loyal Spanish subject. At the same time, the *copilli* or crown and the floral emblem for Tlacopan and other pre-Hispanic signs incorporated into that coat of arms, signalled the distinctive identity of its bearer. The intrusion of aristocratic Nahuatl speaking style into the Latin letter (in conjunction with the potential ironization of Charles V's zeal for war in the name of religion) delicately hinted at this too. The letter itself offered a further revelation of the extensive humanist training its writer had received. Given that Castilian had long been the prevalent language for official documents and communications to the Spanish crown, it remains to explain why this one letter by Don Antonio and a handful of others by other educated Nahuas, were composed in Latin.

Such accomplishment provided powerful proof of an author's humanity in the fullest sense: Latinity, like literacy, had been invoked as evidence of the Indians' capacity to be civilised or to profess the Christian faith.[72] That ideological consideration best explains why some texts by native Mexicans were composed in or even translated into Latin.[73] Latin or *gramática* also had a special status because it was regarded, not as the source of the "natural" and therefore corruptible vernaculars, but as an artificial medium refined from them, which provided the basis for systematising and explaining other languages, including those of the New World.[74] This happens to be illustrated by Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin's use of Latin to explain some Nahuatl, Taíno and even Spanish words not known in peninsular Spain. In addition, the writer was able to take advantage of knowledge of rhetorical techniques which could be acquired only through a humanist education or the reading of manuals of rhetoric or epistolography produced in Latin. It is true that the *dispositio* of the letter, the style of the *salutatio* and the elegant oration ascribed to Totoquihuatzin could all have been deployed in the vernacular, but such features are not found in the Spanish letters written by Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin – and the same

[72] Garcés, *De habilitate et capacitate gentium* (1537) maintained that pre-Hispanic Mexicans were literate and highlighted the native youths' competence in Latin to argue the Indians were not barbarians and could adopt the Christian faith: Laird 2014b, 194–201.

[73] A 1541 suit to Charles V by Pedro de Moteuczoma [Montezuma] and Badiano 1552 (see note 42 above), appears to be a translation from Nahuatl into Latin: Laird 2014a, 152–155.

[74] Caruso and Laird 2009, 14–15 on Latin as an artificial medium; Percival 2004 and Laird 2012 consider the role of Latin grammar in *artes* (manuals) of Amerindian languages.

divergence in practice between Latin and Castilian letters is found in the correspondence of Franciscans in the same period.[75]

Another consideration applies to this case at least. The letter surveyed here recalled a number of pagan and Christian writings, but only the Book of Job was cited by name. The echoes and evocations of other Latin sources were far easier to recognise in a letter which was itself in Latin than they would have been if they had been given in Spanish.[76] Phrases in Latin could have been incorporated into a Spanish text, but the incongruity would have impaired the fluency of the composition. On the other hand, a Nahua writer with a Christian humanist education had little knowledge of *vernacular* literature with which to embellish such an appeal in Spanish. Writing in Latin was the best way for Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin to imbue his words with a deeper significance: he could seamlessly accommodate classical or biblical references, some of which even hinted at parallels between European and Mexican traditions. The purpose was, after all, to reassure, impress, and to win over the emperor to whom his letter was addressed.

5. Transcription

The inconsistent orthography of the original has been retained. In particular it is worth noting that *tlacubam* [13] and *tlacubae* [15] are used for Tlacopan, in addition to the uninflected *tlacoban* in [1] and [20]; likewise *tlacubanenses* [12] is employed as well as *tlacopanenses* [3] and *tlacopanensem* [4]: Nahuatl pronunciation made no distinction between the vowels *o* and *u* or between the unvoiced *p* and the voiced *b* (which did not exist in classical Nahuatl).[77] The text below also reproduces the paragraphing and punctuation of the 1552 manuscript and Roman numerals indicate where the each of the five unnumbered pages of the manuscript begins. When conjectures or corrections have been made, the original letters or *lacunae* in the 1552 manuscript are in footnotes along with the readings of Zimmermann and Pérez-Rocha & Tena. For ease of reference the text is presented in twenty numbered sections.

[75] There is such a contrast between the numerous Spanish letters and the few written in Latin by Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Bishop of Mexico from 1528 until 1548: García Icazbalceta 1947 vols. 2–4.

[76] Erasmus 1522 [1971, 317] remarks (on the *exordium* of a letter): "Quin Maronis ingenium potius imitemur in alienis asciscendis, vt non aliunde corrogata, sed domi nostrae nata videantur" (In borrowing from others we should imitate Virgil's talent, so that things appear to be home-grown rather than gathered from somewhere else.)

[77] Launey, 2011, 3–8.

[I]

1. S[acre] C[atholice], C[esaree] Majestati Antonius cortes Rector populi de tlacoban omnesq[ue] alij conciues humile seruitium impendunt.

Tam alta est tua Celsitudo, atque cesarea majestas, Cesar invictissime, vt vbique gentium non tam imperium longe lateque patens, quam illa tui animi *Xp*ianitas per omnium ora sonet in finesque orbis terrę divulgetur; ac non supremi imperij fidissimum custodem solum, sed & *Xp*ianae fidei, defensorem optimum esse, atque acerrimum propugnatorem contra vel gentilium vel hereticorum incursus omnes affirment.[78] Quo fit, vt in te verissimum illa sancti Job comprobemus: Nimirum Militiam hominis vitam esse super terram:[79] quippe tuum studium eo semper tendere videtur, quo gentes barbaras, ethnicos et demonum cultores, dei denique inimicos oppugnes, ac e tenebris in lucem *Xp*ianorum pellucidam in ipsum scilicet justiciae solem,[80] qui *Xp*us omnium seruator est, educas, hosque victos pacifices, illustres, *Xp*o tandem lucrifacias.

2. Quam Rem in nobis es foelicissime operatus, qui vbi per tuos hispanos, demonum agmen horrendum profligasti, et *Xp*ianismum introduxisti, nostram hanc prouinciam, pace, ac quiete summa collocasti, quae etsi majorum nostrorum stragem, bonorum temporalium jacturam non minimam doleat, tamen tuum immortale beneficium agnoscit quam humillime. Magna que ex parte sum[m]um et illud sane ineffabile gaudium nobis prouenit quod tibi vt pote imperatori inuictissimo, humanissimo, ac denique *Xp*ianissimo subjectos esse sciamus. Id quod consolationi maximae nobis est, nosque bono esse animo iubet, nec certe est, cur timeamus, literis cum tua cesarea majestate agere. Nam etsi abjectissimae conditionis homines censeamur, nulliusque precii apud hispanos videamur, tua tamen illa saepe experta lenitas, et animi candor, amorque vnicus, quem erga indigenas hactenus gessisti et geris, et te gesturum speramus, quo nostras causas atque nostri aflictiones, literis, jam postquam non datur veras audire et reddere voces declaremus cogere videtur. **3.** Age ergo, pientissime imperator, nobis tuas patientissimas aures accommodare dignerjs, cum in dies nos gemamus ob ingentia grauamina quae nobis ex immoderatis tributis, et seruitiis multis prouenire constat, quibus nos jndi atterimur omnes, sed maxime nos tlacopanenses, quibuscum agitur pejus, miserius iniquiusque, quam vt excogitari possit. Quam Rem numquam nobis est

[78] *ōēs affirmēt*: addendum in left margin of ms.

[79] Job 7:1: militia est vita hominis super terram et sicut dies mercennarii dies eius.

[80] *Missa votiva BVM Vultum* tuum: sol justitiae, Christus Deus noster; Malachi 4:2 et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae.

datum declarare tuo sacro isti senatui, tum ob loci intercapedinem tum ob nullam nunciorum potestatem. Porro nacti temporis opportunitatem, fidissimumque quorumdam Religiosorum auxilium non omissimus quo minus literis istis explicaremus nostrarum miseriarum congeriem quam hic plorantes describimus, ea potissimum est de aflictione que e tributis, evenit quam, obsecramus, parumper equo animo accipere ne grauare:

4. ¶Ante omnia asserimus nullum alium populum tributorum multitudine premi vehementer quam nostrum populum tlacopanensem, qui a nostro commendatorio nomine Joanne Cano hactenus est grauatus tributis superfluis quae quotannis tribuimus, ab eo non solum sed etiam a filia moteçoma quam in vxorem habuit, que etsi nostri sanguinis nostrae que patriae fuit, tamen adeo ab humanitate aliena fuit vt pietatis loco et naturalis amoris quo sese vnius terrae et gentis homines amant, tyrannidem exercuerit: et nos qui a preclaris et nobilibus patribus sumus orti, loco seruorum tenuerit. **5.** Vtrique **[II]** horum octogessimo quoque die tribuimus sexcenta argenteorum pondo, viginti vestes, quas nauas, totidem vestes quas vipiles nostri vocant hispani, et sindones viriles totidem, ac etiam totidem indica femoralia que hic apud nos vulgo mastiles appellantur. Preterea, quolibet die damus quinque gallinas indicas, quarum unaqueque stat duobus argenteis, et octo frumentorum onera, quorum vnum quodque duobus valet argenteis, etiam atque etiam nonnulla fructuum genera que a nobis summo sudore queruntur[81], comparanturque[82] sex argenteis. His addimus quatuor coturnices quas etiam duobus argenteis emimus, Necnon et ducentas placentulas nomine apud nos tortillas, onera lignorum etiam sex damus, et pabulorum decem, carbonum duo grandja onera, vnum fasciculum tedarum quas ocote vocant, candelas tres nigras seu huius terrae. Haec quidem omnia singulis diebus tribuimus. Infine autem cuiuslibet anni, mille frumentorum mensuras que hanegas vocantur, et semper quolibet anno, colimus duos agros pregrandes quibus colendis maxima fit populo aflictio.

6. ¶Dictus Ioannes Cano minime Contentus his duos hispanos locavit sibi custodes, vnum in suis hortis, alterum in suis prediis que sunt estanciae, quorum vnicuique vnoquoque die vnam gallinam damus precio duorum argenteorum, vnum lignorum onus, pipera multa que axi dicuntur, dimidiam partem vnius orbis salis, et ducentas placentas, denique his cum Joanne Cano quasi tribus comendatarijs seruimus:

[81] 1552: querutur [sc. quaeruntur]
[82] 1552: comparatur

7. ¶Nec his rebus fit satis illi, verum etiam viginti homines in sua domo seruiunt, qui sunt presto ad ejus jussa capescenda, quindecim etiam seruiunt in suis hortis, totidem occupandis in custodiendis ouibus et capris. Qui quidem homines in tantum labori seu potius seruituti addicuntur vt diebus festis et dominicis nec sacrum nec concionem, nec doctrinam *XP*ianam quam discendam a nobis obnixissime iubes, audire sinantur minime; itaque immemores suae anime salutis veluti pecora in montibus semper agunt atque in hortis.[83] Etsi negotium quod illis est iniunctum non diligenter agunt, suis vestibus spoliantur, et quam pessime tractantur.

8. ¶Preterea, illis que taxata sunt in moderatione tributorum nobis concessa non est contentus, verum alia multa sua propria autoritate exegit atque eflagitauit a nostro populo. De qua re nos fuimus conquesti apud hunc senatum quem habent Jllustrissimus Prorex dns. lodouicus de velasco ac ceteri tui consiliarii, quibus nostris afflictionem audientibus et volentibus nos tributorum aliqua parte relevare, Dictus Joannes[84] Cano minime acquiescit, neque justiciam quam nobis faciunt admittit, sed negotium totum et causam ad tuam cesaream majestatem deferre vult, vt isthic terminetur et finiatur per istum senatum. Quod quidem si facit, erit nobis maximo incommodo atque grauamine. Nam non poterimus isthuc adesse ob penuriam rerum maximam & loci intercapedinem quam maxime longam. Quamobrem supplicibus verbis petimus, vt, si isthic es finienda Causa nostra, fiat nobis tributorum noua moderatio que conformis sit nostrae pauperiej et numero nostri populi qui non attingere potest tria millia hominum etiam pueros numerando, ceterum oramus vt que preter moderationem tribus accepit Joannes tuo jussu restituat.

9. ¶Insuper non tantum excessit tributorum moderationem, sed etiam in tribus locis a nobis accepit, idque contra nostram voluntatem tres agros pregrandes latitudine sed maxima longitudine, vbi hortos fecit. Jn vno quidem atotoc nomine, parietes altos et domus multas easdem quas superbas construximus multo sumptu pecuniarum nostrarum: pro quibus faciendis ne vnum quidem numisma soluit, et genera arborum que in eo plantauimus, nos ipsi quesiuimus, et plantauimus et nutriuimus maximo labore. Hunc quidem hortum possederat prior maritus dominae ysabel filiae moteçoma supra dictae: quo mortuo successit Joannes Cano et factus ejus maritus mordicus tenuit et tenet, et nobis eum petentibus respondet hunc agrum seu hortum

[83] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 1.1: Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est.

[84] 1552: Joanes

sue mulierj deberi a suo patre moteçoma jure hereditario. Quod quidem quam falsum **[III]** sit plurimi testantur. Atque eam ob rem amore quem ad Deum +patrem nostrum[85]+ geris iubeas nobis concedi cum omnibus domibus factis a nobis.[86]

10. ¶In altero vt pote in agro nomine tetlolinca, quem abhinc octodecim annis accepit Joannes Cano, plantauit vites multas: quem quando accepit vtens dolo haec verba nobis proposuit seu potius dedit. Scitis hispanos esse cupidissimos terrarum, atque ideo ne hunc hunc agrum, vbi genera florum multa habetis, a vobis accipiant in eo plantabo vites causa conservandi eum: et quicquid fructus terra produxerit mihi vobiscum commune erit; et ager ipse semper vestri iuris sicut hactenus erit. haec quidem dixit, tamen iam permultos annos dictum agrum possidet et non modo non ipsum agrum restituit, sed nec fructus terrae. Petimus ergo summopere vt hic ager malicia quada[m] acceptus nobis reddatur, cum is iuste nostro dominio debeatur.

11. ¶In vltimo loco nomine tepetlapan manet quidam ager minime sterilis, vbi multas arbores plantauimus et parietes altos circumduximus. Hunc quidem agrum iniustissime acceptum Joannes Cano abhinc iam quatuordecim annis volens ire in hispaniam vendidit cuidam hispano nomine Joanni de Burgos, pro quo millia et ducenta pondo auri recepit. Petimus hunc etiam iussu tuae sacrae maiestatis nobis reddi cum iure ad nos pertineat quam ad Joannem Canum.

12. ¶ Audisti clementissime rex, nos tlacubanenses non modo multitudine tributorum grauari, sed et priuari nostris agris et alijs multis possessionibus. Nec locus esse videtur dicendi impresentiarum quot quantosque agros a nostro populo hispani acceperint et accipiant modo vbi vel hortos vel praedia faciant. Beneficium ergo nobis immortale fuerit idque quam maxime contendimus vt que tributa hactenus dedimus dicto Joanni Cano et suae vxori filiae mutecuçome, posthac sacrae maiestati demus et nos nostraque omnia in numero tuorum seruorum, qui tibi seu officialibus tuis tributa soluunt, habere digneris, et quod a tua pietate obtinere malumus est vt moderata sint omnia tributa et seruitia, que impendimus et vt id rectius fieri possit, oramus tuam clementiam, vt vix certe xrianus et probus nec non et Indorum amans Jacobus Ramirez Visitator tuus mandato tuo ad nos veniat et proprijs oculis et tributa et seuitia videat, vt ipse iuxta nostrum modum post tandem tributa moderetur et populum nostrum seruitijs superfluis releuet,

[85] 1552: ad deum p[ ]um ge[]is iubeas. Zimmermann: ad deum patrem nostrum generis iubeas. Perez-Rocha & Tena 2000: ad deum purum geris iubeas

[86] 1552: domibus deo factis a nobis

qui et videat an praedia omnia, dico estantia et horti omnes in nostro oppido manentes recte possideantur ab hispanis et a nostro Commendatorio Joanne Cano. Demum vt ipse iusticiam rectissimam nobis faciat. Qua in re vnicum nobis beneficium futurum est.

13. ¶ Hic nonnulla adijcere licet quibus nostrum statum pristinum intelligas quibusque suasus facile nobis concedas que efflagitamus. primo quidem certiorem facimus tuam excelentissimam maiestatem has indias antiquis in temporibus fuisse diuisas in tres partes nimirum mexicum, tlacubam, et tetzcocum atque ex consequenti tres dominos seu rectores habuisse qui dominabantur aliorum populorum circumiacentium. Jd quidem cum notum sit hispanis impugnatoribus harum Jndiarum et potissimum religiosis, qui nobis sanctum Catholicam fidem declarauerunt, non est quod pluribus exponamus. Quoniam igitur noster populus nunquam seruiuit quin potius illi seruitus magna impensa est ab alijs: maximo nobis grauamini est quod tam inmoderata soluamus quotannis et (quod peius est) priuemur nostris terris et aliis possessionibus. Eam ob causam genibus flexis oramus vt nos tributis maxime releues et si fieri potest, vnum ex populis qui seruiebant nobis, nostro dominio ascribas, vt vel nos iuuet in dandis tributis, vel nostrae pauperiei succurrat.

14. Hic silentio praetereundum non est dictum Joannem Canum a nobis segregasse[87] tria oppida seu estancias vnam capoloac, aliam ocoyacac, tertiam tepeuexoyocam, que antiquis in temporibus ad nos pertinebant. Eas inquit Joannes Cano a tua inuictissima maiestate obtinuisse vt seorsum **[IV]** seruirent et nobiscum vna minime soluerent tributa tamen cum hinc versus hispaniam est profectus dixit se illas petiturum a tuo senatu vt simul daremus tributa. Digneris mandare Joanni Cano vt illas seorsum non habeat, sed simul annua tributa soluamus, quo mutuo nos releuemus tributis.

15. ¶ Reliquum significo omni subiectione[88] et reuerentia ego tuus cliens humilis Anthonius Cortes meum patrem nomine totoquihuatzin fuisse presentem et rectorem huius tlacubae tempore belli hispanorum qui sciens hispanos tuos cum domino Marchione Del valle iam venisse gauissus est impendio et illis non nulla munera misit et accedentes ad hoc nostrum oppidum obuiis[89] manibus, vt dicitur,[90] recepit et res necessarias eis affatim ministrauit. Et sequentia verba Marchioni proposuit.

[87] 1552: segregase
[88] 1 Tim. 2, 11: in omni subjectione
[89] 1552: obiis
[90] Jerome, *Epistles* 53.11: obuiis manibus

16. Prosperrime veneris cum tuo exercitu sciasque nos tibi et ei cuius nomine venis esse paratos ad serviendum: et quem adoras deum eundem colam cum toto meo populo: Ecce tibi fanum deorum meorum destrue et ingredere illud et quiquid in eo inuentum tibi placuerit accipe et vtere. Praeterea hic sunt filiae meae quas in vxores ducere possunt tui qui tecum veniunt vt e vobis nepotes et neptes nostras habeamus. Caeterum scias me nolle[91] gerere bellum contra te et tuum exercitum, ne meus populus male pereat, sed quod magis volo est quoniam sunt multe gentes mihi inimice nunquam a me expugnatae maximum mihi juuamen fuerit si omnes nos debellemus. Haec sunt quidem verba, inuictissime imperator que meus pater proposuit Marchioni, nec credas hec omnia a veritate abhorrere cum hec cum[92] hispani tum Jndi testentur.

17. his addo dictum meum patrem sepe prohibuisse Muntecuhçomam mexici rectorem quo minus bellum gereret contra hispanos, tamen ipse mei patris admonitionem contemnens parauit bellum. Porro hispani fugientes mexicum transiuerunt per hunc populum meum quibus quoniam cum illis inierat amicitiam rursum res necessarias victui largitus est et eos liberauit fame ingenti qua consumebantur vlteriusque progressi sunt post quorum recessum meus pater fuit mortuus non quidem bello sed infirmitate quadam. Transeunte vno anno hispani redierunt mexicum contra quos ne bellum inirent mexicani eos obnixe alij filij patris mei qui mihi erant fratres, monuerunt, qui pro bono malum recipientes occissi sunt a mexicanis, quorum vnus vocabatur tepanecatzintli, alter tlacatecalzintli. **18.** Ex quibus omnibus colliges meos fratres mortem obijsse propter tuos hispanos et meum p[at]rem te recepisse vt pote dominum nec tibi in aliquo contra dixisse, quinpotius tuis semper seruisse ac perinde tibi. His omnibus fretus audeo implorare tuum auxilium ne ergo patere nos grauari tributis sed iube vt ad tuum imperium pertineat hic noster populus et minime ad Joannem Cano et filiam Muntehcuçcome et horum filios a quibus sit satis nos perpessos fuisse ea que mala nobis intulerunt. Quo mentio facta de hispanis habeatur vera hic subijcio testium nomina que sunt Melchior Vasquez, Joannes Çacancatl, Gaspar tlacateuhtli, Balthasar, Benedictus, Thoribius, et alii multi homines hi omnes sunt Jndi, hispani vero sunt qui sequuntur Bernardinus De tapia.

19. Et vt quae petimus in summa sint dicta, paucis Repitimus. primum et precipuum est, vt que tributa damus Joanni Cano, demus, tuae sacrae majestati. 2[m]. vt Visitator Jacobus Ramirez nostrum visitet populum, et taxet

[91] 1552: nole
[92] tum

omnia tributa 3[m]. vt Agros a Joanne et alijs hispanis acceptos jubeas nobis reddi: & qui in nostro oppido manent pr*a*edia qu*a*e nobis relinquant. Vltimum vt qu*a*e extra tributorum moderationem accepit Joannes nobis restituat et premium laboris nostri quem habuimus in edificandis domibus quas non tenebamur construere, soluat nobis. Dat. Mexici & tlacoban, Kalendis decembris 1552 asj[93]

20.		antonius cortes	
	melchior vasquez		geronymo de suero
[V]			
	joannes çacancatl	benedictus	thoribius
	Petrus de santamaria	Jacobus	Gaspar tla- cateuctli
	martinus	balthasar xolotecatl	michael

6. English Translation

[I] To your Holy, Catholic and Caesarean Majesty, Antonio Cortés, Ruler of the people of Tlacoban and all other fellow citizens render humble service.

1. So lofty is your eminence and Caesarean majesty, most invincible Caesar, that among peoples everywhere the Christian quality of your soul, as well as your empire stretching far and wide, sounds on the lips of all and is proclaimed to the ends of the earth; and all men affirm that you are not only the most faithful guardian of the highest empire, but also the best defender of the Christian religion and the most vigorous champion against the incursions of pagans and heretics; this has led us to commend those words of the holy prophet Job as very true in your case, without any doubt: "The

[93] "así" (thus): hispanism.

life of man upon earth is warfare,"[94] since your exertions seem always to be directed to fighting against barbarous peoples, pagans and worshippers of devils, in the end against God's enemies, then leading them from the darkness to the clear light possessed of Christians, indeed to that very Sun of Righteousness which is Christ, saviour of all, and to pacifying them once conquered, enlightening them, and at last winning them for Christ.[95] **2.** To this end you have laboured very happily among us: by the agency of your own Spaniards you have overthrown the dreadful army of devils, introduced Christianity, and with the utmost peace and tranquility given order to our province which has the humblest recognition of your immortal kindness, even though it grieved at the slaughter of our elders and at the very great loss of our worldly wealth. To a large degree our knowledge that we are subject to the most invincible, the most humane and in fact most Christian of emperors, is the source of a great and clearly inexpressible joy to us. This is a thing which is of very great reassurance to us, it bids us be in good spirits as we certaily have no reason to be afraid of engaging in correspondence with your Caesarean majesty. For though we may be judged to be humans of the lowest condition and may seem to be of no worth in the eyes of Spaniards, your oft-proven gentleness, open-mindedness and the singular affection which you have so far shown and still show to native people, and which we hope you will show again, seems to compel us to declare our pleas and afflictions in writing, now we are no longer granted the opportunity to hear and respond to your actual words in person.

3. So then, most pious of Emperors, deign to lend us your most patient ears, since from one day to another we are groaning because of the huge and weighty burdens which, it is recognised, come upon us from excessive tribute and much servitude by which all we Indians are worn down, but especially we Tlacopanecs, for whom conditions are worse, more wretched and unfair than could be imagined. This was a matter which it was not granted to us to declare to your sacred Council, because of the remoteness of its location and because we had no power to send delegates.[96] Wherefore benefiting from the opportunity of the moment and from the very loyal support of certain friars, we have not failed to set out in this letter the mass of misfortunes which we lament as we describe them here, the most pressing of which is the hardship which has resulted from the tribute. We beg you to hear us briefly on this subject and not be aggrieved:

[94] See note 31 above.
[95] See notes 32, 33 and 36 above.
[96] tuo sacro isti senatui (To your sacred Council). The Council of the Indies established formally in 1524 had been conducted in Valladollid in 1550–1551.

4. Before all else, we affirm that no other people is so fiercely oppressed by such a multitude of tributes as our people of Tlacopan, which up to now has been burdened with excessive annual payments by our *encomendero*, Juan Cano by name – and not only by him but also by Montezuma's daughter whom he took for a wife. Even though she was of our own blood and native land, she was herself so remote from humanity that instead of the duty and natural love which men of the same race and country usually show to each other, she exercised tyranny and kept us in the position of slaves, when we were born from renowned and noble parents. **5.** To each of these two, **[II]** every eighty days, we pay six hundred silver pesos, twenty garments which the Spaniards call *naguas*, the same number of what our people call *huipiles*, the same number of finely woven male garments, and the same number again of Indian loincloths, which among us here are commonly named *mastiles*.[97] In addition, on any day, we give five Indian hens, each one of which costs two silver pesos, and eight weights of grain each worth two silver pesos, and over and above that, very many types of fruit which are sought with the greatest of effort and bought for six silver pesos. To those things we have to add four partridges which we actually buy for two silver pesos, and furthermore two hundred of the little pancakes we name *tortillas*; we also give six loads of wood, ten of fodder, two large loads of charcoal, a bundle of the pitchpine torches which are called *ocote*, three black candles which are of this land. So we pay all these things as tribute each day. And at the end of every year we give a thousand measures of grain which are called *hanegas*, and always in any given year we cultivate two huge fields, the cultivation of which is a very great hardship imposed on the people.

6. The aforementioned Juan Cano, not happy with this, positioned one of his two Spanish guards in his gardens, and the other on the farms which are his estates. To each of them on each day we give one hen worth two silver pesos, one weight of wood, many peppers which are called *axi*, half of a wheel of salt, and two hundred tortillas, so that we provide service to these men along with Juan Cano, as if we had three *encomenderos*.

7. Not even those provisions are enough for him, as twenty men serve in his house ready to take his orders, another fifteen provide service in his gardens, and the same number are employed in guarding his sheep and goats. Those men are bound to so much work – or rather servitude – that on holy days and Sundays they are hardly ever allowed to heed sacred rites, services or

[97] See notes 45–46 above on the terms introduced here.

the Christian doctrine which you very strenuously bid us learn, and so they are unmindful of the salvation of their souls, rather like the cattle they are always tending in the mountains and enclosures. And if they do not diligently go about this work which has nothing to do with them, they are robbed of their clothes and treated in the worst way possible.

8. What is more, he is not happy about what is calculated and granted to us in the rating of our tributes –he has actually used his own authority to exact and demand forcefully many other things from our people. We had complained about that matter before the council held by the most illustrious Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco and your other councillors who heard of our hardship and wanted to relieve us of our tribute to some degree. But the said Juan Cano does not at all assent, nor does he accept the judgments they are making, but wants to refer the whole business and the plea to your Caesarean majesty, to be concluded and settled by your Council.[98] It will cause us great hardship and trouble if he indeed does this, as we will be unable to attend, owing to the great scarcity of our resources and to the distance of the location, which is as far away as it could possibly be. For that reason with our humble words we ask, if our case is to be settled there, that the new rate of our tribute may be made in line with our poverty and the number of our community, which cannot come near three thousand men, even counting the boys. We also plead that Juan may, at your bidding, return what he has received that is above the rate for three thousand people.

9. What is more not only has he gone beyond the rate for our tributes, but he has also received from us in three locations – and this against our will – three fields colossal in breadth and also great in length, which he has made into gardens. In fact, in one of them named Atotoc we built high walls and many lofty houses, spending a lot of our own money: he did not spend a single coin for these things to be done, and the varieties of trees we planted on the site, we ourselves sought out, planted and nurtured with a great deal of work. He had actually taken possession of this garden before marrying Doña Isabel the daughter of Montezuma mentioned above, on whose death, Juan Cano, becoming her husband and his successor, held and holds fast to this property, and when we ask for it he replies that this field or "garden" was legally due to his wife as an inheritance from her father Montezuma. **[III]** Very many attest to how untrue this is. So on that account with the love you bear to God, first may you order the field with all the homes we made to be granted to us.

[98] "istum senatum": note 96 above.

10. Another case is that of a field named Tetlolinca, which Juan Cano received eighteen years ago and planted with many vines. [99] When he took it using his trickery, he put to us, or rather left us with, these words: "You know the Spaniards are very covetous of land, and because of this, so that they do not take from you this field where you grow many kinds of flowers, I will plant vines in order to keep it. Whatever produce the land brings forth will be common to me and to all of you; and the field will always be yours by rights as it has been up to now."

That is what he said, but for many years he has been in possession of the said field and not only has he not given back the field itself, but he has not given us any of the produce from the land either. We therefore earnestly beg that this field, taken by a cunning kind of malice, be returned to us, since it is rightly owed to our dominion.

11. In the last place called Tepetlapan there is still a very fertile field, where we planted many trees and we built high walls around it. Juan Cano took this field fourteen years ago now, and as he wanted to go to Spain, sold it to a certain Spaniard by the name of Juan of Burgos: he received one thousand two hundred gold pesos for it. We ask that this too be returned to us by the order of your sacred majesty, since by rights it belongs to us rather than to Juan Cano.

12. You have heard, most merciful king, that we Tlacopanecs are not only being weighed down with a multitude of tributes, but also being deprived of our fields and many other possessions. It does not seem to be the place to speak at the present time of how many and how large are the lands the Spaniards have taken, and still take, where they make either gardens or farms. It would therefore be an immortal kindness to us, and one which we are striving for to the utmost, from now on to give to your sacred majesty the tributes, which, up to now, we have given to the said Juan Cano and his wife the daughter of Montezuma, and that you may deem us and all our own worthy of being in the number of your servants, who make tribute available to you and your officials, and what we choose to obtain from your piety is that all our tributes and services which we measure out may be kept within due limits; and so that it may be possible for this to be done more rightly, we beg your mercy, that a man who is undoubtedly Christian and upright and very much a lover of the Indians, Jacobo Ramírez, may come to us by

[99] Tetlolinca, now San Lorenzo Totolinga, Naucalpan in Mexico City, was subject to the cabecera of Tlaicopan: Memorial de los pueblos, fol. 1 [1970, 5].

your decree as your Visitor, to see with his own eyes the tributes and services we provide; so that in accordance with our own measure, he may after a while moderate our tribute and relieve our people from excessive service; and so that he may see whether all the farms (I mean the estates and all the gardens left in our town) should be held by the Spaniards, and by our *encomendero* Juan Cano: that he might provide for us the justice which is most correct. In this matter the benefit to us is something that would be unparalleled.

13. Here we may add some things through which you may understand our former state and by which you may be easily persuaded to grant us what we ask. In the first place then, we inform your most excellent majesty that in former times these Indies were divided into three parts, namely Mexico, Tlacuba, and Texcoco, and as a consequence they had three lords or rulers who ruled the other surrounding peoples. Although that is known to the Spanish invaders of these Indies and especially to the religious men who declared the Catholic faith to us, what we are explaining is not known to very many. Our own people was never in servitude, but rather great service was due to it from others: it is the greatest burden to us that we should pay such excessive tribute every year and (what is worse) be deprived of our lands and other possessions. For that reason on bended knee we pray that you relieve us from our tribute to the greatest degree, and, if it can be arranged, that you allocate to our dominion one of the peoples that used to be in our service, either to help us in paying tributes or ease our poverty.

14. At this point the fact should not be passed over in silence that the aforementioned Juan Cano took three towns or estates away from us: one was Capoloac, another Ocoyacac and the third Tepeuexoyocan, which in former times used to belong to us. Juan Cano said that he had obtained these from your most invincible majesty for **[IV]** to separate service, and not to yield tribute jointly with ourselves. But when he went from here and set off for Spain, he said he would seek those estates from your Senate, so that we should pay our tribute jointly. May you deign to command Juan Cano not to possess those estates separately, but ensure that we provide our annual tribute all at once, so that we might accordingly have some relief from making payments.

15. One remaining thing which I, your humble subject Antonio Cortés, should point out in all submissiveness and reverence is that my father, Totoquihuatzin by name, had been chief and ruler of Tlacopan at the time of the war with the Spaniards. Knowing that your Spaniards had already come with their commander the Marquis del Valle, he greatly rejoiced, sent

several gifts to them and, as they approached this town of ours, he welcomed them, as the saying goes, "with open arms," and provided all that they needed in abundance. He then proposed the following to the Marquis:

16. "May your arrival with your army be most auspicious, and may you know that we are prepared to serve you, and him in whose name you come. Along with my people I will worship the same god you praise. Here you have the shrine of my gods: destroy it, go in and take and make use of anything you find there that you like. Furthermore, here are my daughters – the men who have come with you can take them as wives, so that we may share grandsons and granddaughters. In any case, you should know that I have no wish to wage war against you and your army, lest my people come to a bad end. Rather what I want far more is – since there are many nations hostile to me which I have never managed to defeat – it would be a very great help if we could make war on them together."

Those are the very words, invincible emperor, which my father put to the Marquis and you should not think that any of these things which both Spaniards and Indians attest are inconsistent with the truth.

17. To that I add that my father was said often to have prevented Montezuma the ruler of Mexico from campaigning against the Spaniards, but in defiance of my father's warning he nonetheless prepared for war. What is more, the Spaniards fleeing Mexico passed through this community of mine, which, as it had already entered into an alliance with them, again supplied them with all the things they needed to survive, and freed them from the severe hunger which was devastating them, and they made further advances. After their departure, my father had died, by no means in battle but of an illness. One year went by and the Spaniards returned to Mexico, and the Mexicans were strenuously warned not to enter into a war against them by my father's other sons who were my brothers. Receiving an evil return for their good deed they were killed by the Mexicans: one was called Tepanecatzintli, and the other Tlacatecalzintli.

18. From all this, you will gather that my brothers met their end for the sake of your own Spaniards and that my father welcomed you indeed as his lord, and did not contradict you in any respect, but rather always served your own people in the same way as he served you. Counting on all this, I presume to beg your help, so that you do not suffer us to be weighed down by tributes, but bid this district of ours to belong to your empire and not at all to Juan Cano and the daughter of Montezuma and their sons from whom we have suffered enough with the ills they have inflicted on us. In order that the mention made of the Spaniards be deemed true, I append here the names of witnesses: Melchor Vasquez, Juan Xacancatl, Gaspar Tlacateuhtli,

Balthasar, Benedicto, Toríbio, and many other men. These are all Indians, but there are Spaniards too, whose names follow: Bernardino de Tapia.

19. And so that what we ask for may be summed up, we ask for it again in a few words. First and foremost is that we may give to your sacred majesty the tributes we give to Juan Cano. Second, that the Visitor Jacobo Ramírez may come to our people and reckon the value of all our tributes. Third, that you order the lands taken by Juan and the other Spaniards to be given back to us and that those who reside in our town give up the estates which are ours. The last is that Juan restore to us whatever he has received in excess of his tributes, and release to us the pay which we have earned for building houses we were not obliged to construct. Signed in Mexico and Tlacoban, on the Kalends of December 1552, as follows:

Antonio Cortés

Melchior Vásquez Gerónimo de Suero

[V]

Juan Xacancatl Benedicto Toríbio

Pedro de Santamaria Jacobo Gaspar Tlacateuctli

Martin Balthasar Xolotecatl Michael

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The *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* (1659) and the Irish Franciscan community in the Tyrol

By Nienke Tjoelker

This article focuses on Maurice Conry's Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica *(1659) and the Irish Franciscan community in the Tyrol. Conry's work is an example of many Latin works written by Irish exiled clergy on the Continent in the mid-seventeenth century. In this contribution, after outlining the authorial issues, a summary of the contents of the Threnodia is given and then placed in the context of the expatriate clerical Irish of the 1650s. The piece concludes with a section on contemporary reactions to itinerant Irish friars, mainly from within mendicant circles.*

The *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, sive Planctus Universalis Totius Cleri et Populi Regni Hiberniae* was published under the pseudonym of *F. M. Morisonus, ordinis observantiae, S. Theologiae Lector, Praefatae Crudelitatis testis ocularis* in Innsbruck, 1659. Although often mentioned by historians as an important source for our knowledge of the atrocities of Cromwell against the Irish in the 1650s, little research has been done into this work since Brendan Jennings published his edition of the work in 1947 with a short introduction.[1]

In this article, I will address the question of why this book was published in Innsbruck, and not in any of the more famous Irish centres on the continent, such as Prague, Paris, or Louvain. The historical context of the Irish Franciscan community in the Tyrol (modern day Tirol in Austria, and Südtirol and Trentino in Italy) seems to me a gap in the existing research on Irish exile communities on the continent.

In the first part of my article I will clarify the name used by the author, M. *Morisonus*, and provide some biographical details. Secondly, I will

[1] Jennings 1947.

briefly introduce the contents of the work, focusing on how the Irish are presented as exemplary Catholics. Finally, I will place the work in its historical context, by considering the role the Irish Franciscans played in Innsbruck and the Tyrol during this period, arguing that it was greater than usually thought. I also analyse it in the broader context of Irish exiles elsewhere in Europe.

I. The author Mauritius Morisonus

The Latin name *M. Morisonus*, in the approbations written out in full as *Mauritius Morisonus*, caused some confusion about who wrote the work. Some modern scholars simply name the author Maurice Morison, even though there is no Irish Franciscan from this time period known to us.[2] Other scholars assume that the name was a pseudonym for Bonaventure O'Connor, O.F.M.,[3] basing themselves mainly on an eighteenth-century source, the Franciscan *Chronicon Reformatae Provinciae Sancti Leopoldi Tyrolensis* (1777). The author of this work, Vigilius Greiderer, states about the *Threnodia*:[4]

> Ex Biblioth. Conv. Suaz. traho, quod *Morisonus*, qua Lector Theol. Bulsani Libellum in lingua latina elaboraverit sub titulo: *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, sive Planctus universalis totius Cleri et populi Regni Hiberniae*, Oeniponti in 8. an. 1659. impressum. In Monum. nostrae Prov. mihi pro hoc tempore non occurrit alius Lector extraneus, ac Bonaventura Conorus, l. I p.220 expressus: unde hic erit Author istius opusculi, sub hoc nomine vulgati.
>
> From the library of the convent of Schwaz I learn that Morison, at the time lector of Theology at Bolzano, wrote a booklet in Latin: *Hiberno-Catholic Threnody, or universal Lamentation of the whole clergy and people of the Kingdom of Ireland*, published in Innsbruck in *octavo* format in 1659. In the records of our province I do not find any foreign lector other than Bonaventure O'Connor, indicated in book I, page 220. Therefore he must be the author of that little work, published under this name.

Since the author knew of only one Irish lector of theology in the province at the time, namely Bonaventure O'Connor, he concluded this had to be the author of the book. This, however, seems unlikely, since Bonaventure O'Connor was also the author of one of the approbations of the work.

[2] For example, O'Neil 1985, 39; Barnard 2000, 318.
[3] On Bonaventure O'Connor Kerry, cf. Giblin 1984 and also Millett 1964, 482–484.
[4] Greiderer 1781, 671.

There are more reasons to believe that the true author of the work was Father Maurice Conry, as Brendan Jennings concluded in 1947,[5] and as Benignus Millett also argued in his book on the Irish Franciscans.[6] Maurice Conry, or Muiris O Maólchonaire, was born at Ardkellyn in country Roscommon around 1620. His father's name was also Maurice Conry. This is a clue to the name, as *Morisonus* is the Latin patronymic of Maurice (or Muiris in Irish). Mauritius Morisonus could therefore easily be translated and completed as Maurice, son of Maurice, Conry. In March 1639, Conry was admitted to studies at St Isidore's college in Rome and he is, therefore, probably the Mauritius Connius who we know was ordained subdeacon in Rome on 3 March 1640.[7] In the late 1640s, he was in Louvain, writing a now lost Irish-Latin dictionary.[8] After that, we know that he lectured on theology at the Irish Franciscan college in Prague (the College of Immaculate Conception, founded in 1629) from 1650 to 1652, and then that he was active as a missionary in England, and spent some of this time back in Ireland. In August 1655 he was arrested in England and put in jail for 30 months.[9] A letter of recommendation from London, dated 12 February 1658, which Conry procured from the vicegerent of the English Franciscans, Father Giles of St Ambrose, states that he had recently been released after spending thirty months in prison.[10] In the *Threnodia* Conry himself also writes briefly about these thirty months of imprisonment.[11] Part of his imprisonment had been spent in Bristol and there he met James Nayler, the well-known Quaker.[12] After two and a half years in prison he was released early in 1658 and banished from the kingdom.[13]

When he was released from captivity, he immediately travelled to Rome, in fulfilment of a vow he made while in prison.[14] By June, he was in Rome and was deputed by the Inquisition to examine two Quakers who had come to Rome to convert the Pope![15] While in Rome, Conry asked the Pope to be

[5] Jennings 1947, 67.

[6] Millett 1964, 243, n. 4; 493.

[7] Jennings 1947, 67. The report of Conry's examination in the State Papers in the 1650s is very different: according to this, Conry studied about 2 years in the university in Paris, but took no degrees. From there he is said to have gone to seek out his fortune in Germany, where he served as a soldier in the emperor's army for four or five years. Presumably Conry was lying to the English authorities during this examination. Birch 1742, 263–264.

[8] Ua Súilleabháin 2004, 392-405. Cf. also Millett 1964, 493.

[9] Millett 1964, 277.

[10] *Ibidem*.

[11] Conry 1659, 62-63.

[12] Conry 1659, 38.

[13] Millett 1964, 277.

[14] Millett 1964, 278, referring to APF, *Fondo di Vienna* 14, f. 300r (*non vidi*).

[15] Conry 1659, 37; Bruodin 1669, 626.

sent back to the Irish mission, but, because of Conry's "appearance and general manner of behaviour", this request was turned down.[16] Apparently this decision was made because of a secret report, based on comments from fellow-Irish Franciscans from Louvain and Prague, who had painted a very negative picture of his turbulent character.[17] For example, it is said that he had disagreements with his confrères in Louvain, and it recounts an unfortunate series of events, which was said to have taken place in Ireland, where Conry was criticised for bearing arms as a Franciscan friar, and subsequently, possibly accidentally, shot a man dead.[18] After the refusal, Conry was sent back to Prague, and on the way there he seems to have published his work in Innsbruck.

2. The Irish in the *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*

The *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* is a short work of only 72 pages. After a dedication to the Archbishop of Salzburg, Guidobaldus, and four approbations by fellow Franciscans, the author addresses the kind reader and tells them his book will be on the cruelty and tyranny of the Anglo-Atheists against the Catholics of Ireland ("De crudelitate ac tyrannide Anglo-Atheistarum contra Catholicos Hiberniae").[19] The Irish are exemplary Catholics, whereas their English enemies are generally described as atheists. Nevertheless, Conry specifies that he does not see the complete English nation as such, since there are many good English Catholics. He speaks only "de amurca et faece hujus nationis" (about the dregs and scum of this nation): those who support the tyranny of Oliver Cromwell. [20]

The actual book is divided into six chapters. The first, entitled "De oppressione et persecutione Magnatum ac nobilium regni Hiberniae in rebus temporalibus" (On the oppression and persecution of magnates and noblemen of the kingdom of Ireland in worldly matters), discusses some of the atrocities against the Irish nobility by the English, who are here described as heretics, starting from 1651. Conry emphasises that it is not just men who are targeted by this oppression, but also women and children. The second chapter, "De oppressione mercatorum, civium et vulgi catholici regni Hiberniae in rebus temporalibus" (On the oppression of merchants, citizens

[16] Millett 1964, 329.
[17] Millett 1964, 278 and 329–330, basing himself on the document 'Relatione della persona del P. fra Mauritio Conri raccolta da persone ben informate di sua vita', in APF, *Fondo di Vienna* 14, f. 309r (*non vidi*).
[18] Millett 1964, 330.
[19] Conry 1659, 11.
[20] Conry 1659, 12.

and of the common Catholic of the Kingdom of Ireland in worldly matters), discusses a number of laws discriminating against the Irish. The third chapter, "De oppressione Catholicorum Hiberniae in rebus spiritualibus seu de inauditis mediis et modis, quibus nituntur haeretici Angliae Catholicorum fidem extinguere" (On the oppression of the Catholics of Ireland in spiritual matters, or on the unheard-of instruments and ways, by which the heretics of England try to extinguish the faith of the Catholics), explains in what cruel ways the English try to impose their *Satanica doctrina*[21] (Satanic doctrine) upon the good Catholics of Ireland. Chapter 4, "De extremis Anglo-haereticorum conatibus suas haereses propagandas" (On the extreme attempts of the Anglo-heretics to propagate their heresies) discusses the various 'sects' of Protestantism in England. In this chapter Conry emphasises his role as witness of the fact that the English not only practice these sects in England, but also intend to convert the whole world, including the Pope, to whom they sent their apostles in 1658. As stated above, Conry himself was present in June 1658 at the *examinatio* of two Quakers, who had come to Rome to convert the Pope. Further, he discusses the cruelties against Catholics in England which he himself saw during his stay in Bristol. The fifth chapter is entitled "De antiquitate, constantia et immobilitate Hibernorum in fide Catholica" (On the antiquity, constancy and immovableness of the Irish in the Catholic faith). It is a description of the important role the Irish (*sancti Hiberni*) played in spreading the faith all over Europe (England, Scotland, France, Belgium and Germany) from ancient times. Finally, chapter six gives a *Synopsis quorundam magnatum ac Nobilium ab Haereticis suspendio nocatorum* (Synopsis of some magnates and noblemen killed by hanging by the heretics): a list of high-placed victims of the English suppression.

The Catholic identity of the Irish and the oppression of the Irish by the English are, thus, central themes of the work. In contrast to the Irish, the English, and Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) in particular, are heretics. Indeed, Cromwell is described on the title page as *Arco-tyrannus* (Archtyrant). There are many comparisons between the Irish and other good religious peoples who are prosecuted for their faith, such as the Israelites. However, no other Catholic people in history are said to have suffered so much misery and to have been so constant in the faith as the Irish. For Conry's purposes, they were unified by their common enemy, Oliver Cromwell.

In reality, the Irish were not as united as Conry had made it appear. The Irish population was an amalgamation of peoples of various ethnicities, which can be divided roughly into three groups. Among the first group, the

[21] Conry 1659, 26.

Gaelic Irish (also Old Irish), a distinction existed between the more extreme Ulster Irish and the Munster Gaelic Irish. The second group, the Old English, sometimes also called Anglo-Irish (the descendants of Norman settlers who came to Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), was also divided because of regional differences. Finally, the New English were the settlers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: English, Scots and others, who were mostly Protestant. Although ethnic tensions existed between the Gaelic Irish and Old English, by the beginning of the seventeenth century a common interest in religion, land and political power had become more important. By means of the various plantations, the New English confiscated many lands from the Gaelic Irish and the Old English, particularly in Ulster in the early seventeenth century. In 1641, the Old Irish in Ulster went into revolt, driven by a lack of political and economic influence. In 1642, in an attempt to restore order and stability the Catholics in Ireland forged an alliance, which was later known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. Until 1649 they effectively ruled Ireland, while engaging in a bitter conflict with various factions representing British rule, such as Scottish, royal and parliamentarian forces. Through intermediaries (first James Butler, the Protestant first duke of Ormond, later Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin) they were involved in peace negotiations, but internal political divisions within the Confederation complicated these negotiations. Catholic landowners mainly wanted a quick restoration of the existing social and economic order. A second group of Catholic bishops, returned exiles and others in the circle around the Italian papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, demanded major religious concessions. Rinuccini eventually went as far as excommunicating those supporting the peace (the Inchiquin truce) accepted by the confederates, an action that not only caused the failure of the Confederation, but also damaged the reputation of Irish clergy abroad. A third group was more moderate in its religious demands.[22] The internal conflicts eventually resulted in the failure of the Confederation.

In contrast to Conry's work, many other works on the Irish written by itinerant Irish clergy on the continent in the same period, had highlighted these tensions among the different groups of Irish. The Gaelic Irish Capuchin Richard O'Ferrall, for example, submitted a memorandum to *Propaganda Fide* in 1658. [23] In it, he gave practical suggestions about how to reconstruct the Irish church after its destruction by Cromwellian persecution, including a list of names of those recommended by O'Ferrall for the various bishoprics in Ireland. O'Ferrall justified the rebellion of the Gaelic Irish and

[22] This three-party model of the Confederation of Kilkenny was proposed by Ó Siochrú 2008, 17–20.

[23] Cf. Tjoelker and Campbell 2008 for O'Ferrall's memorandum of 1658.

argued for the exclusion of the Old English from patronage and promotion within the church. The Old English exile priest John Lynch reacted angrily to O'Ferrall's memorandum in his *Alithinologia* (published in 1664 in St Malo).[24] He defended the Old English, arguing that Irish Catholicism should be seen as an ethnic and political unity. He presented the Old English as fully Irish and worthy citizens, and accused O'Ferrall of causing discord and sedition among his own people.[25]

Also elsewhere in Europe, Irish exiles were involved in debates over the role of the Old English in the failure of the Confederation and the Rinuccinian censures. In Paris, the leading figures of the debate were the Franciscan Paul King for the Rinuccinian faction, and John Callanan for the supporters of the truce. Internationally, the confederate wars had given the Irish Catholic Church a political importance that resulted in a politicised view of the clerics on the continent and made them more defensive of church rights than clerics of the previous generation.[26] Catholics in Ireland and Rome saw Ireland as a potential springboard for further Catholic advances in England and the rest of northern Europe.[27]

Seen in this context, it should come as no surprise that Conry's work is not only intended for other Irish exiles on the continent. Its precise description of the atrocities, as well as the self-representation of the Irish as the first Catholics, who helped spread the faith over the whole of Europe, rather seems to address other Catholics on the continent, especially those who might be able to support the Irish cause, i.e. it reads as a text that begs any good Catholic to help his fellow Catholics in Ireland. The dedication to the Archbishop of Salzburg, Guidobaldus, supports this propagandistic purpose of the work. In it, the author states that he fled to Salzburg from the English, the same way that the *Threi* (*populi Threiorum*) fled from the Persians to the Thracian city of Abdera, and he asks for the compassion and support of the Archbishop and other members of the Church. He states that he hopes that his book will give an edifying example of Catholicism, which will pay honour to God. He concludes with a final request for a good reception of his book:

> Hunc ego libellum solita in afflictissimam Hibernorum nationem clementia, vostra authoritativa potestate praeservate, protegite et fovete.

[24] Lynch 1664. Cf. Tjoelker 2010.
[25] On Lynch and O'Ferrall, cf. Corish 1953, 217–236; Tjoelker 2012, 167–192.
[26] Cf. O'Connor 2008, 198 and 324–330 and Silke 2009, 614–615.
[27] Ó hAnnracháin 2002, 206–209 and 253-255; Ó hAnnracháin 2015, 31.

> I beg you to favour, protect and cherish this little book with your customary clemency for the most afflicted nation of Irish, and with your authoritative power.

Therefore, from the tone of the work, as well as the statements in the approbations, we can conclude that Conry, through his *Threnodia*, aimed to muster support for the Irish in their war against Cromwellian persecution. The work is clearly no objective historical study, but a work with a propagandistic purpose. The virtue of the Irish Catholics, who are opposed to the English Protestants, who are presented as evil and cruel heretics, plays a central role in this.

3. Innsbruck: Irish Franciscans in Tyrol

The four approbations also represent the religious character of the book, and play a role in the formation of the author's identity. All the authors are Franciscans. The first is by Jesse Perchoffer, vicar general in Brixen. In his general approbation of the Catholic and virtuous character of the work, he notes that the book was written in Bolzano. The second is by Pater Ruffin Laxner of Bludenz (1612-1687), who was the Franciscan provincial (of the *Provincia Tyrolis S. Leopoldi*) in Innsbruck from 1656 until 1659, the time of publication of the *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*. We will return to him later, as a document from his hand is important for our story of the Irish Franciscans in the Tyrol. The third is by the Franciscan Guardian in Bolzano, Wolfgang of Munich, and the final is by fellow-Irishman Bonaventure O'Connor, lector of sacred theology in Bolzano.

The final approbation seems to me to provide a key to understanding why Conry published the work in Innsbruck. I believe there might be more to the matter than simply the opportunity to publish his work in Innsbruck during a stopover (which was common for many who travelled from Rome to other parts of Europe) on his journey from Rome to Prague.

First, Conry's Franciscan background must have been a factor in his choice of publisher. [28] As discussed above, all approbations for his book were written by local Franciscans. The publisher of the book, Michael Wagner, whose company still exists in Innsbruck today, published many other religious works, one of them being a Latin translation of an Italian life of St Philip Benizi, written by fellow-Irishman Cherubin O'Dale, a Servite, in 1644,[29] as well as many works written by Franciscans. Secondly, the inclu-

[28] On the significance of Irish (and English) expatriates to the history of the Franciscan order in central Europe, cf. Worthington 2012, 171; Millett 1964.
[29] O'Dale 1644.

sion of Bonaventure O'Connor should draw our attention to the importance of the Irish community in the Tyrol. Contrary to what Greiderer said (quoted above), I believe O'Connor was but one of many Irish Franciscans in the Tyrol. The Irish community in the Tyrol should be considered in the field of Irish studies as a relevant community for the Irish exiles in Central Europe.

A document from another author of an approbation of the book, Pater Ruffin Laxner, seems to point to this as well. In a manuscript text entitled "Relatio Fratris Ruffini de Bludento Prouinciali Ministerio defuncti" (Account by brother Ruffin de Bludenz, having fulfilled his duties as provincial minister), held in the Franciscan archives in Schwaz, Tyrol, the author gives an elaborate report on the events during the period 1654–1659, when he was Provincial in Innsbruck.[30] In his introduction he states that this was a turbulent time for the Franciscans in Innsbruck. He is particularly critical about the high number of foreign Franciscans, and in particular Irish and Italian brothers, who take away precious time from the Commissary because of their frequent requests:

> Nam cum Pater Commissarius omne tempus cum extraneis Fratribus, quibus illa tempestate Provincia nostra scatebat, Italis et Hybernis tereret, eosque ipse conueniens, dies noctesque auscultaret traducentes mordentesque eos, quorum oderant disciplinam, spreuerant auctoritatem, inuidebant aemulabanturque gratiam Principum beneuolentiamque, adeo tum in praecipuos duos Prouinciae Patres, natione Bavaros, professione Tyrolenses, clauum Ministerii Provincialis diutius, sed bene, sed legitime, sed necessarie tenentes, tum in alios quosdam Conuentus Oenipontani alumnos Serenissimis Archiducibus familiares ac gratos, ab eis concitatus est (...)
>
> Because the Father Commissary was wasting all his time with the foreign brothers, the Italians and Irish, with whom our province abounded during that commotion, and listened to them, while meeting them personally, for days and nights, as they disgraced and attacked those, whose discipline they hated, whose authority they despised, and whose favour and benevolence among the princes they envied and jealously strove after, he was stirred up by them not only against the principal two Fathers of the Province, of Bavarian nationality, but Tyrolian by declaration, who held the rudder for too long, but well, legitimately, and necessarily, but also against some other *alumni* of the Innsbruck assembly, familiar and welcome to the most serene archdukes (...).[31]

[30] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini de Bludento Provinciali Ministerio defuncti*.
[31] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 1.

That there was some friction between German and Italian Franciscans in the region is very well known, as is how the Italian Franciscans came to be there. Although the majority of the Franciscans in Innsbruck was German or Austrian, a lack of friars required for the court in Innsbruck forced the General to agree on the 30th of December 1584 to invite a number of Italians to Innsbruck.[32] In spring 1585 ten Italian brothers arrived in Innsbruck. They worked together with their German-speaking colleagues for a number of years, despite language issues, as most of the Italians did not know a word of German. But the two groups came into conflict. A young Italian, Bonaventura ab Aquila, who came to Innsbruck as Commissarius Generalis for Oberdeutschland on the 28th of January 1586, was the victim of so much slander that he regularly saw himself forced to make arrangements for his accommodation with the Poor Clare Sisters in Brixen. In 1603, at the urging of Archduke Maximilian, the Italians were let go and the cloister was given back to the Tyrolean province. Nevertheless, if we read Laxner's account, it seems that some Italians remained in Innsbruck.

So too did a group of Irishmen, though the events which led to the Irish Franciscans being in Innsbruck in the first place is less well known. It is clear that there was a significant enough community there, however, for Laxner to compain about. For example, in addition to the passage above while describing events for the year 1657, Laxner again complains about the Italians and the Irish:

> Infestabatur grauiter hoc tempore provincia nostra ab extraneis fratribus Italis et Hybernis (ut supra paucis tetigi) ab istis quidem clam, ab illis autem maxime Terrae Sanctae Vice Commissariis palam.[33]
>
> At this time, our province was gravely troubled by foreign brothers, Italian and Irish (as I said in a few words above), by the latter secretly, by the former very openly as vice-commissaries of the holy land.

Thus, while the Italians openly 'infested' his province, the Irish did so in a secretive manner.

Later in the chapter, he complains about one Irish father in particular, Eugene O'Callanan, an Irishman who was lecturing on Sacred Theology with the Cistercians in Stams:

> Interea Pater Eugenius Occallanan Hybernus apud Cistertienses in Stambs Sacrae Theologiae Lector, suae gentis more vagus et instabilis Bulsano, quo nuper mentita ad S. Antonium Paduanum peregrinatione etsi praeclusi causa pestis Italiae aditus non ignarus, imo Oeniponti

[32] Cf. Schöpf 1860, 50; Pecher 2007 49–52; Grass 1961, 137.
[33] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 7.

expresse de eo admonitur, pergere tamen, sed alio fine (ut dicetur suo loco) uoluit, vix redux, ostensa, sed (sicut Oeniponti confessus est) procurata, Superiorum suorum, non tam auocatione, sed et obiurgatione, quasi ab eorum se se obedientia et iurisdictione eximere uellet, medium illius studii et stadii iter abrumpens, licentiam abeundi a Reuerendissimo Domino Abbate [13] petiit et obtinuit, sed amplius indignato et Superiorum eorundem indiscretionem carpente, quam si ad pluries instantias, plures fuisset passus repulsas. Inde (cum insigni quidem probitatis et doctrinae testimonio, nobis derelicto) dimissus, suam Oeniponti expeditionem adeo accelerauit et ursit, ut meum ex Conuentu Reuttensi citiorem aduentum neque ad triduum aut biduum tam expectare, sed inde ad formandas obedientiales chartam albam sibi mitti voluerit, cuius causam adhuc latentem, suo loco referam. Praedictum eius testimonium habetur.

Ex eius Lectura id tam commodi hausimus, quod neque Stambsenses, neque alii Coenobitae facile quemquam nostrum amplius ad suas lecturas inuitaturi, nel conducturi sint.[34]

Meanwhile, Father Eugene O'Callanan, an Irish Lector of Sacred Theology in Stams, was in Bolzano, vagrant and instable in the manner of his people, where he recently insisted to go, under the pretence of a pilgrimage to Saint Anthony of Padua, even though he was not ignorant of the fact that access to Italy was closed due to the plague, about which he was explicitly warned in Innsbruck, but with another purpose (as should be said in this place). He returned not after having been shown, but after having procured from his superiors not just a recall, but even a reproof from them (as he confessed in Innsbruck), as if he wanted to release himself from obedience to them and their jurisdiction, interrupting the course of his study and career halfway. He asked for and obtained from the most reverend Lord Abbot the permission to leave, although the abbot was very angry and was carping at the indiscretion of the same superiors. Sent away from there (with the mark of uprightness and proof of doctrine left behind for us) he accelerated and rushed his expedition from Innsbruck so much, that he did not want to wait two or three days for my earlier arrival from the convent of Reutte, but that he wanted a *carte blanche*[35] to compose his obedientiel letters[36] to be sent to him from there. His proof that has been discussed before is considered.

From his lesson we drew the great advantage, that neither the cloister-brothers at Stams, nor other brothers elsewhere, even though

34 Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 12–13.
35 Presumably a blank sheet of paper with the signature of Laxner is meant here.
36 I.e. a letter in which he was authorised to travel by his superior, in this case Laxner.

> they belong to our order, should be amply invited, nor brought, to his lectures.

From this example, the stereotype of the vagrant and unstable Irishman in Brother Laxner's views becomes clear.[37] In Laxner's account, father O'Callanan lied in order to be dismissed from Stams, motivated by disobedience and, presumably, laziness. In his account, the Irish are always traveling, neglect their students, and are constantly lobbying important people. Other Irish Franciscans mentioned in the report are a lector named Franciscus Kennedy (specified as *Hybernus*) and father James White (Jacobus Vitus), lector:

> Porro ad notitiam et cautelam posteriorum occasionaliter hic adnotandum venit: provinciam nostram non eam, quem ex receptione ad nostras, promotioneque seu commodatione ad aliorum monasteriorum lecturas patrum Hybernorum expectaverat, Studiosae juventutis profectum, honorem, aut retributionis fructum assecutam fuisse. Nam quemadmodum Pater Eugenius Occallanan Stambsensem et Pater Jacobus Vitus Stamgadensem, ille abrupto, iste, neque incepto SS. Theologiae cursu deseruerint, morosus autem Pater Franciscus Kinedius Oenipontanam, lacerato discipulorum suorum examine, alteri cedere debuerit lecturam, suis iam locis proditum est.[38]
>
> Furthermore, it should here be brought to the attention and caution of posterity, as the occasion arises, that our province did not gain the success of the studious youth, the honour or the enjoyment of recompense, which it had expected to gain through the receiving of Irish Fathers to our lectureships and to those of other monasteries through promotion or rendering them a favour. Because, for instance, Father Eugene O'Callanan deserted the monastery at Stams and Father James White that of Stamgaden, the former interrupting his course of Sacred Theology, the latter not even having started it. It is already well-known to his time that the peevish Father Franciscus Kennedy had to cede his lectureship in Innsbruck to another man, after he had torn to pieces the exam of his students.

Bonaventure O'Conor, who wrote the final approbation of our work, is seen by Laxner as the most prominent and worst of the Irish brothers:

> Sed neque primus ac principalis illorum pater Bonaventura Conorus Bulsanensem tenuit sine querela, quamuis polleret ingenio, scientia et

[37] On the tendency to attribute specific characteristics or even characters to different nations, sometimes called imagology, cf. Leerssen 2007, 17–32. The insult of vagrancy and instability is commonly used in the early modern period, and can be traced back to the bible passage of *Gen*. 4:12.

[38] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 36.

> Doctrina, docendique explicandi facilitate et claritate excelleret; quippe qui ad captandos animos aucupandosque favores et gratias Nobilium et Magnatum, quorum amantissimus pariter ac studiosissimus erat, variis illorum causis et negotiis sese ingerebat, agebat Theologum eorum, consilia componebat, resoluebat dubia, scribebat litteras, recipiebatque plures quam Pater Guardianus, vel ipse etiamsi Minister Provincialis taliumque ac similium aetuum occasione, occupabatur in cella, conueniebatur ceu oraculum in claustro. Discurrebat per domos quotidie, vagebatur per Castella et refrigeria nimis frequenter, vix redux ab uno, invitabatur ab alio, longius etiam excurrens in vallem venustam etque Tridentum pluries, aliquando Paduam, alia vice Assisium, denique etiam Romam, multis non tam septimanis, sed mensibus a discipulis suis aberat, non sine notabili neglectu eorum, damnoque provinciae. Nec erat, qui licentiam illi negarent, eumue cohiberet, quia et scientia inflatus, ac de meritis plurimum praesumens, vel modicum tactum, ut mons fumigabat, terrebatque cunctos.[39]
>
> But not even the first and most prominent of them, Father Bonaventure O'Connor held his lectureship at Bolzano without complaint, although he was esteemed for his talent, scholarship and doctrine and excelled in the facility and clarity of his teaching and explaining, because he applied himself to various matters and business of noblemen and magnates, whom he loved and was devoted to very much, with the purpose of capturing their kindness and chasing their favours and congratulations. He acted as their theologian, prepared counsels, resolved doubts, wrote letters and received more of them than the Father Guardian. Even if he himself as Father Minister Provincial, at the occasion of such and similar business, was occupied in his cell, or he was convened to an prophecy in the cloister, he hurried away to houses daily, wandered too frequently to castles and countryside houses. Hardly returning from one, he was already invited by another, also taking long excursions, more than once to the Val Venosta and Trento, sometimes to Padova, another time Assisi, then also Rome. He was away from his students not just many weeks, but months, not without notable neglect of them and damage to the province. Nor was there anyone, who denied him permission or restricted him, since, as he was as full of his scholarship as he was presuming much about his merits, he smoked his modest influence like a mountain and terrified all.

The elaborate account mentions his talents as scholar and teacher. He was clearly well appreciated as a teacher and scholar. However, in what

[39] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 31.

continues Laxner focuses on his deficiencies: O'Conor was constantly traveling around, deserting his students for months on end, once to the Val Venosta, then to Trento, Padua, Assisi or Rome. His pride and arrogance are also criticised. Like other Irishmen, his complaints and petitions were listened to by the superiors in Rome, something that Laxner clearly did not appreciate.

Throughout the text, the Irish, therefore, are referred to in a very negative manner. In the final paragraph of the text, they are described as *querelarum motores* that bring unrest where there was first peace and quiet:

> Id quod non improbabili argumento nobis deinceps fuit, Patres Hybernos omnium retro querelarum motores, omnium scripturarum famosarum auctores fuisse, propter identitatem illarum, vel maximam affinitatem, perpensis praesertim aliis etiam circumstantiis et coniecturis valde notis, proindeque suspicionem non adeo temerariam pluribus ingessit, eos iniquum quid moliri, ac forte Conuentum Oenipontanum pro Collegio Hybernico, multis respectibus conuenientissimum appetere, et propterea obstantes sibi Patres sensatos a Diffinitorio, Serenissimis familiares ab eodem Conuentu arcere voluisse. Litteras videre est cum aliis eiusdem Reuerendissimi Patris Commissarii querelis repositas litt. in Cista.[40]
>
> We conclude from this probable argument, that the Irish Fathers, on the one hand the engines of all complaints, were the authors of writings, that were all famous, because of their identity or great connection, considering especially the other circumstances while conjectures are soon known. And therefore, it brings to many the suspicion, which is not so overhasty, that they are up to something hurtful and that perhaps they eagerly desire the convent of Innsbruck as an Irish College, most convenient in many respects, and that for that reason they wanted to keep the intelligent fathers, who are not favourable to their side, away from the Diffinitory, and those close to the most Serene [princes] away from the same convent. It is possible to see the correspondence of the same most reverend Father Commissary with other complaints, stored up in his letter box.

Laxner concludes that perhaps they wanted the Franciscan convent in Innsbruck, which is most convenient for them in many respects, to become an Irish college. This is a rather serious suspicion to express in a document of this type! Needless to say, Laxner does not agree with this plan.

Laxner's fear might have had grounds, as the Irish Franciscans had already founded many colleges on the continent, the first being St. Anthony's College in Louvain (founded 1607), later followed by St.

[40] Laxner, *Relatio Fratris Ruffini*, 38.

Isidore's in Rome (1625), the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (1629) in Prague, the Friary of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Wielun in Poland (1645), a smaller residence in Paris (1653) and the Friary of Our Lady of the Plain in Capranica (Italy, 1656).[41] Initially the purpose of these colleges was to educate future missionaries and friars for the Irish province, but later they also supplied other Franciscan centres with lectors in theology and philosophy.[42] They also acted as a refuge for friars who had escaped English oppression in Ireland. There was structured contact between these centres. In all of these colleges, however, the relationship between the Irish Brothers and the locals was not without difficulty, as the local religious often felt threatened by their presence.

The negative perception of the Irish in Laxner's account should also be seen in the context of the calamitous developments in Confederate Ireland at that time, which I referred to above. A negative stereotype of the lazy, drunk and uncivilised Irishman was widespread in Europe in various forms. The English Protestants were convinced of the inferiority of the Irish, to the point of viewing them in a way similar to the racist portrayal of Native Americans and Africans: as savages. It was their justification for the massacres committed by the Cromwellian forces and the enslavement of Irish people on the English sugar plantations in the West Indies. Catholics on the European mainland were influenced in their views of the Irish by the arrival of Irish exiles and refugees.[43] Apart from clergy, a considerable number of political and economic refugees fled to Flanders, Lisbon and France at various points in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these joined existing colonies of poor Irish, for example in Paris on the Ile de la Cité, or in Nantes, Angers or Bordeaux. The large numbers of these people, living without means of support and in squalor, brought the threat of plague and presented problems to the authorities. Rouen sent the Irish away; the Bretons dispersed them throughout western France; the French government in 1606 sent two boatloads of Irish settlers in Paris back to Ireland. Surely, this must have been detrimental to the reputation of the Irish abroad and contributed to the stereotype of the unreliable, vagrant Irishman in Brother Laxner's account.

Like Laxner, Rinuccini had also been critical of the Irish religious throughout his office. Already in his first report on Ireland in March 1646, he complained that the Irish regulars resisted the imposition of stricter standards of conventual life and even wearing the habits of their orders, which behaviour he ascribed to their experience of too much liberty prior to

41 Cf. Lyons 2009, 77–84 and Ó Muraíle 2008.
42 Parez & Kucharova 2015, 27.
43 Silke 2009, 592–593.

the rule of the Confederation of Kilkenny.[44] Rinuccini's criticism may have also been influenced by the stereotype of the vagrant and instable Irishman.

It had been Rinuccini's bold ambition to confirm Catholicism as the established religion in Ireland, in the hope of future advances elsewhere in Europe. After the failure of the Confederation, a further request for support and money from Rome on the part of the Irish was turned down without pity: the Nuncio's attempts in Ireland had failed and he used the ultimate instrument of excommunication against Irish Catholics who supported the peace treaty agreed upon by the Confederation. The Irish envoys were told that Rome could support no peace treaty between Catholics and Protestants.[45] This lack of support from Rome may have had a further impact upon the reputation of Irish Catholic exiles on the continent.

Conclusion

It is clear from this discussion that there must have been a strong Irish community in the Tyrol, which was not very appreciated by the local Provincial. The fact that Conry published his *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* in Innsbruck is one of the signs of their influence in this Franciscan province. The strong Catholic identity and fame of the Irish Franciscans, as well as their connections within the wider Franciscan order, were essential in their attempts to strenghten their position. The disastrous situation for Catholics in Ireland meant that many young Irishmen traveled to the continent for their education, and that there was an influx of religious exiles, many of whom relied on Irish colleges and communities abroad. Innsbruck, positioned at the crossroads of Southern, Central and Western Europe, would have been a strategic place for an Irish college, were it not for the bad relationship with local Franciscans in the Tyrol. More archival research is needed to elucidate the role of the Irish Franciscans in the spiritual life in the Tyrol further.[46]

As the account of Laxner reveals, the Irish lectors were criticised for spending too much time away from their teaching duties, and seem to have

[44] Ó hAnnracháin 2015, 94.

[45] Ó hAnnracháin 2015, 227.

[46] It will be interesting to see what John McCafferty will find on this community, if it is at all under scrutiny, in his publications resulting from the project *Making Ireland European, Making Europe Irish: the Irish Franciscan project 1600-1690*, which involved intensive study of early modern libraries in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Ireland and Italy. The website of UCD mentions this project, for which McCafferty has been awarded a research fellowship for 2010–2011.
(http://www.ucd.ie/historyarchives/staff/johnmccafferty/home/)

been involved in strengthening their position. Likely, they were also, like Conry in his propagandistic *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, trying to muster support for their country in the war against Cromwellian oppression. Their attempts were in vain, as the failure of the Catholic Confederation had resulted in a loss of support in Rome for the Irish Catholics. This lack of support in Rome certainly was not helping the already frail reputation of exiled Irish clergy elsewhere in Europe.

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National, religious and cultural identity in Latin poetry from the Great Northern War (1700–1721)[1]

By Elena Dahlberg

This paper analyses the construction of national, religious and cultural identity in Latin poetry from the time of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). Neo-Latin poets from the remote regions of Scandinavia and Peter the Great's Russia considered poetry a powerful propaganda medium and composed verses in Latin to construct a number of identities. The two authors chosen for this analysis, Magnus Rönnow (1665?–1735), a Swedish poet, and Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736), a Ukrainian poet in the service of the Russian court, imitated ancient poetry in a most creative way to serve both their own needs as individual writers and the ideologies of the fledgling nation-states of Sweden and Russia respectively. Four case studies will demonstrate how Latin verses promulgated nationalist propaganda, and how their authors at the same time manifested their own humanist training and claimed a place in the prestigious respublica litterarum. These texts also reveal the authors' transparent awareness that their decision to write in Latin was one of the best ways to demonstrate that their country was truly European, and thus belonging to the civilised world. Lastly, the paper discusses the apparent literary interaction between these poets.

It is a well-accepted fact that composition of poetry was an essential part of the humanist movement.[2] When writing in Latin and imitating the ancient prototypes, Neo-Latin poets wished to be associated with established

[1] The following is based upon my doctoral thesis, Dahlberg 2014, *The Voice of a Waning Empire: Selected Latin Poetry of Magnus Rönnow from the Great Northern War*.

[2] New studies on the works of individual Neo-Latin poets, books on Neo-Latin poetry of specific regions and countries, anthologies, and general overviews of early modern Latin poetry appear yearly. For the most up-to-date analyses of the various genres of Neo-Latin poetry along with detailed bibliographies, consult the following handbooks of Neo-Latin literature: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, Knight & Tilg 2015, and Moul forthcoming.

literary traditions and to fashion themselves as true humanists.[3] Scholars of Neo-Latin poetry are now discovering that a close study of these early modern poems can detect how Latin verse could be used to shape and strengthen different kinds of identities.[4] Thus, many of the poems can be understood as manifestations of the agendas that are usually seen as characteristic of early modern historiography:[5] they mirror the endeavours of both various individuals and ethnic and cultural groups to prove their glorious past and noble origin, and in doing so they exhibit a clear awareness of the concepts of national identity and the nation-state.[6] At the same time the Latin language was an important medium for the expression of religious experiences and it was used by both theologians and writers of propaganda who wished to defend their faiths against other religious practices.[7] In just the last three years, several volumes, including the 2012 issue of the present journal, have illustrated how Neo-Latin writers composed fictional literature in the service of such needs.[8] As will be shown in this article, poets from eighteenth-century Sweden and Russia, at the cultural "peripheries" of Europe, wrote poetry in Latin for exactly the same purposes as their Neo-Latin peers on the continent, viz. to form different kinds of identities, among which are national, religious, and cultural.

The poems chosen for the present analysis were written during the Great Northern War (1700–1721). This war involved nearly all of the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. By the turn of the century, the Swedish realm was a superpower. It encompassed Finland, Ingria, Estonia, Livonia, parts of Pomerania and certain other territories in northern Germany.[9] In 1700, Sweden was

[3] Here the concept of humanism is taken quite broadly. In its original context, it is confined to the Renaissance movement on the Italian peninsula. On the origins of Renaissance humanism, see Burke 1998 and 1987. Cf. IJsewijn 1977, 6.

[4] For example, several chapters in Kallendorf 2007 and Haskell & Feros Ruys 2010 elucidate the important role that Latin played in early modern societies and demonstrate how poetry in Latin was used for the construction of political and cultural identities.

[5] About national historiographies in the early modern period see Kelley 1998 and Grafton 1993, which studies are still highly valuable. The latest bibliography will be found in Baker 2015.

[6] On the historical and cultural sociology of nations and nationalism in the early modern period, see, for example, Smith 2013, Kidd 1999, and Hastings 1997. For language as a maker of ethnic and national identity see, for instance, Burke 2004.

[7] See, for example, Helander 2004, 319–344.

[8] Enenkel, Laureys & Pieper 2012, Coroleu, Caruso & Laird 2012, and Laureys & Simons 2013. The analysis in Sidwell's article in the 2012 issue of the *Renæssanceforum* is especially close to the approach applied in the case-studies offered in my article. In Dermot O'Meara's epic poem *Ormonius* (1615) Sidwell discerns a concern for personal, political and cultural identity. On the application of modern theories on the construction about national cultural identities to the study of humanist texts, see Pade 2012.

[9] For a thorough survey of the period, see Roberts 1979.

suddenly attacked on three different fronts by Saxony-Poland, Denmark, and Russia. This three-party alliance aimed to put an end to the Swedish dominance in the Baltic region, a goal that was eventually achieved since the end of the war was also the end of Sweden's imperial experience. The balance of power in Europe was changed, and Russia was now on its way to becoming the major force in the North, with Peter I as his nation's leader, dynamic innovator and reformer. In the course of the war, the question of *bellum justum* was raised over and over again, as is indicated in the many official documents issued by the Swedish authorities.[10] It was also a period of fierce propaganda writing. The language used for this polemical literature was generally Latin, especially in the case of propaganda in poetic form. The present paper examines a number of these propagandistic poems, pieces that treat both the victorious moments of the Great Northern War and the shifting *fortuna* of the participants, and that are used to construct different sorts of identities.

Neo-Latin literature in Sweden and Russia: Quantitative and qualitative discrepancies

The quantity and quality of the Neo-Latin literature from the Great Northern War vary dramatically depending on place of origin. The literary output of the Swedish Neo-Latin authors from the period under discussion strikes one with its richness and variety. Humanist ideas and ideals reached Sweden relatively late, but once brought there they were immediately embraced by Swedish scholars, artists and poets, and they reached their heyday in the middle of the seventeenth century.[11] In contrast, Orthodox Muscovy was for a very long time isolated from the Western humanist practices. Its writers were dependent on the Greek monastic culture and unfamiliar with the classical traditions,[12] even though Russian officials were often forced to use Latin when conducting diplomatic affairs with other countries.[13] Besides some smaller schools in south-western Russia, the only institution that offered a profound grounding in Latin and Greek at the end of the seventeenth century was the Kievan Theological Academy.[14] A more pragmatic attitude to Latin was adopted with Peter I on the throne

[10] For an account of official propaganda from the Great Northern War, see Dahlberg 2014, 45–48.

[11] Surveys of Swedish Neo-Latin culture will be found in Ström & Zeeberg 2015, Dahlberg 2014, Helander 2004, and Aili 1995. Though focusing on the most productive period of Swedish Neo-Latin literature, the years 1620–1720, Helander's work provides many glimpses into the previous phases of its history.

[12] On the alienage of Latin humanism in early modern Russia, see Okenfuss 1995.

[13] IJsewijn 1977, 173.

[14] Liburkin 2000, 23.

(1682–1721 as Tsar of All Russia, and 1721–25 as its Emperor). Several schools then included the Latin language on their curriculum and thus became transmitters of classical ideas. By 1750 there were twenty-six colleges in the Russian empire based on a Latin curriculum. In 1871, the classical subjects taught at the so-called classical gymnasiums, which prepared young boys for civil offices, constituted 41 per cent of their curricula.[15] It was also during Peter's reign that Russian propaganda writers began to appropriate the classics for their needs. The third case-study offered below, *"eandem hanc orationem meam … Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi": Feofan Prokopovich's sermon on the Russian victory at Poltava (1709)*, serves to illustrate this phenomenon.

The Great Northern War (1700–1721): historical background

Tsar Peter was the main instigator of the Great Northern War, and he launched the idea of an anti-Swedish coalition explicitly at a meeting with Augustus, the Elector of Saxony (from 197 also King of Poland) in 1698.[16] Augustus was the first to start the offensive by invading Livonia in February 1700, but this operation failed when the Swedish forces met and defeated him at Riga. In March of the same year, the Danish army marched into Holstein-Gottorp, which was a Swedish ally. Some months later the Russians, led by Tsar Peter, laid siege to Swedish Narva (in modern Estonia). Charles XII first addressed the Danish threat. After a successful descent into Zealand, he forced Denmark to sign a peace treaty, known today as the peace treaty of Traventhal. In November of the same year, the Russians suffered a devastating defeat at Narva.

The triumphs of Swedish weapons and military might were celebrated on a grand scale. Numerous medals were struck, with both Swedish and Latin inscriptions.[17] Pamphlets were printed and flyers distributed. And occasional poetry inevitably followed. These poems were then countered by propaganda writers from countries hostile to Sweden. As will be demonstrated below, the Latin poems written during the Great Northern War had several clear purposes. In the first place, they comprised political propaganda of the fledgling nation-states and contributed to the creation of a

[15] On the so-called "Latin schools" in Petrine Russia, see Hughes 1998, 300 and 305. The statistics regarding the use of Latin in Tsarist Russia are taken from Waquet 2002, 22 and 28.

[16] For an account of the outbreak of the Great Northern War, see Hatton 1968, book 3. On Peter's plan of creating an anti-Swedish alliance, see Svensson 1931.

[17] The Swedish medals from the Great Northern War are listed in Hildebrand 1874, 495–602.

sense of national identity. At the same time, the writers were eager to fashion themselves as *poetae docti* and skilful imitators of the ancient prototypes, and thus to claim membership in the humanist literary community.

"Pro Carolo pugnante coelo": Magnus Rönnow's poem on the Swedish victory at Narva (1701)

The victory at Narva was the Swedish army's most spectacular achievement during the first year of the war.[18] Several factors contributed to that victory: (1) the Russian troops were still poorly trained; (2) Tsar Peter, one of the Russian army's two leading commanders, had left Narva just days before the battle to attend a meeting in Russia, which must have had a demoralising effect on the Russian soldiers and their generals; (3) in addition, the very day of the planned siege was marked by a blizzard. The heavy snow storm that blew directly into the eyes of the Russians hindered them from seeing the advancing Swedes and helped the Swedish army to break the Russian lines and penetrate their entrenchments. Swedish poets interpreted this good fortune as God's protection of the Swedes, and they contended that they were "God's chosen people".[19]

One of the most extraordinary poetic texts celebrating the victory at Narva is a poem, 496 lines long and in Alcaic stanzas, written by the Swedish poet Magnus Rönnow (1665?–1735). This author, a clever emulator of Horace, was often compared to George Buchanan and Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski.[20] The poem, entitled *In Victoriam Narvensem*, is both epic and lyric in character. The epic character is provided by the very theme: a grandiose pageant of a fatal struggle with metaphysical dimensions, a theme which called for mythological and biblical parallels. Meanwhile, the lyric mode is supplied by the Horatian metre and the many

[18] A thorough analysis of the battle at Narva and its prelude is to be found in Laidre 1996 (Swedish transl. from Estonian).

[19] The typology of this kind was a popular hermeneutic technique used by Swedish priests and ministers in the so-called state sermons, which was their medium to address both the more prominent strata of society and the commoners. Constituting part of the Swedish state propaganda, Israelite parallels were employed to convey certain political and theocratic dogmas and to stimulate the emotional engagement of the audience. See Ihalainen 2005 and Ekedahl 1999.

[20] The first scholarly treatise that offers such a comparison of Magnus Rönnow to Buchanan and Sarbiewski is the dissertation by J. Ihre & J. Wåhlberg, *Dissertatio Historico-Literaria de Poëtis in Svio-Gothia Latinis, Pars posterior* 1740, 43 f. On Rönnow's imitation of Horace, see Dahlberg 2014, 101–111.

reflective passages found throughout the poem. An allusion to Horace is found already in the first stanza of the *In Victoriam Narvensem*:

Vos, o profani, quos sapientiae
Excelsa vanae gloria fascinat,
Ridete, dum vultis, supremum
Numinis imperium verendi.

(O impious people, whom the lofty glory of empty wisdom enchants, laugh, as long as you want, at the supreme power of venerable God.)

It is clear that Magnus Rönnow has modelled this first stanza on Hor. *carm*. 3,1,1 ff.: *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*. By *profanum vulgus* Horace designates the people who are not allowed to enter the shrine or to participate in the rite of poetry.[21] Rönnow's stanza can be interpreted as a warning against human arrogance and impiety quite generally, but it has the Russians as its primary target, since they broke the peace treaty with Sweden. *Profani* may also refer to the fact that the Russians were of another confession than the Swedes.[22] Later, Rönnow expresses his wish that those who disrespect treaties learn from the Russian example. The fate of the Russian army is compared to the fate of Sisera's charioteers (*Judges* 4). The poet contends that Charles XII, a "Gothic servant", received help from God in the same way as Moses had received God's assistance when leading his people from Egypt (*In Victoriam Narvensem*, vv. 437 ff.):

Qui pacta spernunt, temporius, velim,
Exempla spectent MOSCA. Manus valet,
Ductu JEHOVAE CAROLIque,
Sternere parva valentiorem.
Spectent diebus prodigium, velim,
Nostris coortum, dum Siseraicae,
Pro CAROLO pugnante coelo,
RUSSICA par cecidit caterva.
Qui nube Mosen igneque per statas
Protexit horas, ille stetit, nive
Sudoque missis, tuta fido
Pro GOTHICO FAMULO columna.

(I would like those who disrespect treaties to watch the Russian example in time. The force under Jehovah's and Charles's command,

[21] Nisbet & Rudd 2004, 6 f.

[22] When attacking the Danes, the Swedish authors preferred to use anagrammatic word-plays and chronostic messages. Because both nations were of the same Lutheran faith, religious propaganda would have not applied. For examples of anti-Danish poetry based on linguistic puns, see Dahlberg 2014, 59.

> albeit small, is strong enough to strike down a stronger force. I would like them to watch the omen that was brought forward in our days, when the Russian army fell like the army of Sisera while Heaven was fighting for Charles. He [God], who during the appointed hours protected Moses with a cloud and with fire, stood [now] as a secure column in front of his faithful Gothic servant by sending a storm and bright weather.)

By calling Charles God's *Gothicus famulus*, Rönnow makes an explicit reference to the glorious past of the Swedes, which was actually a product of a fanciful historiography. According to this nationalist presentation of Swedish history, the Swedes were seen as the same people as the ancient Goths, descended from Japheth and representing the oldest realm in the world. The very first text that elaborates the Gothic history is Ericus Olai's *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque*, also known as *Chronica regni Gothorum* (written in the 15th century, but not printed until 1615).[23] It states that Gothia is the same region as present-day Sweden, and that directly after the Great Flood a beautiful place almost in the middle of Sweden was made its capital.

> Extat enim in lateribus aquilonis regio quedam amplissima Gochia quidem famosius sed Suecia nunc vulgarius nominata, in cuius quasi medio locus quidam amenus et eminens tamquam insignior ob sui decenciam in caput regni a primo mox regionis incolatu post diluuium exstiterat constitutus.[24]
>
> (There is a very vast region in the Northern part of the world that certainly is more famous as Gothia, but is now more commonly called Suecia. Almost in the middle of it there is a place, which is as beautiful and prominent as it is remarkable through its fairness, and which had been made the realm's capital almost from the very beginning when it was occupied by settlers after the Deluge.)

Ericus maintains that this country was "vere dextera Domini plantata variisque donorum Dei muneribus insignita" (indeed planted by the Lord's hand and was gifted by God in many different ways).[25]

Later, Johannes Magnus would explain the Gothic origin of the Swedish people in even more detail in his impressive *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (1554).[26] In this chronicle, Magnus traced the lineage

[23] For a modern critical edition of Ericus Olai's *History*, see Olai 1993.
[24] Olai 1993, II, 1.
[25] Olai 1993, IV, 32.
[26] A Swedish translation by Eric Schroderus was issued in 1620. A new modern translation by Kurt Johannesson with an extensive commentary by Hans Helander is currently at an advanced stage of preparation. On the ideological purposes of Johannes Magnus's work and the rhetorical techniques applied there, see Johannesson 1991, 73–138.

of all the Swedish kings from Magog, the son of Japheth and the grandson of Noah, up to his own time, filling the gaps with fabricated figures. These legends and myths were readily picked up by subsequent generations of Swedish historians, who modified and offered variations of the same Gothic theme. The culmination of such patriotic writings was reached in Olof Rudbeck the Elder's *Atlantica* (1679–1702). Written in Swedish, it was later translated into Latin.[27] Rudbeck writes that Sweden was the Atlantis described in Plato's dialogues and that it was the native country of Japheth's offspring. The idea is expressed in the title itself: *Atlantica sive Manheim vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria* (*Atlantis or Manheim, the original home and fatherland of Japheth's descendants*).

Many contemporary scholars were strongly opposed to these creative methods of historical writing. Among these critical voices we find such prominent scholars as Johannes Schefferus, Johan Hadorph, and Clas Örnhielm.[28] Despite these objections, Gothic ideas were still present in both fictional literature and academic writings during the time under consideration.[29] Many historians had to budge from their standpoint in order to please the authorities.[30] Rönnow's Gothic references should be seen in this light, namely as a constituent part of the early modern patriotic writing and as a tool used to construct the national identity of the Swedish nation.

In addition to the nationalist aspect of the poem, the reader must also consider Rönnow's imitation of Horace and his famous Roman ode. By alluding to the Augustan poet, Rönnow invites his reader to see him as the *Musarum sacerdos* of Caroline Sweden.

A poetic pursuit or a political intention? Magnus Rönnow's poem "Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator" (1706/7?)[31]

In 1707 (and perhaps also earlier in 1706), Rönnow printed a poem with the following title: Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandina-

[27] On different editions of the *Atlantica* and its Latin translation, see Nelson's postscript in *Olaus Rudbecks Atlantica* (Rudbeck 1937, 565 f.).

[28] Cf. Dahlberg 2014, 100.

[29] For Rudbeck's presence in early modern dissertations from the Baltic area see Bernhard Schirg's forthcoming monograph *Rowing for Rudbeck: The Nordic Transformation of Classical Mythology around the Baltic Sea (1670–1800)*.

[30] Clas Örhielm had to follow the Gothic tradition to conform with the official ideology of his country. See Helander 2012, 169 f.

[31] The present case-study is based upon my article *Poetisk invention eller politisk intention? Magnus Rönnow's dikt Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator (1706/7) som causa belli*, Dahlberg 2015.

viae Imperator (The real Hercules, Charles the Twelfth, Emperor of Great Scandinavia). The content is a programmatic comparison of the Swedish king to the ancient hero:

Semper in Orbe nefas, vi concomitante, vagatur:
Et vitii crescit multiplicata seges.[32]
Raraque, siqua fuit, virtus Heroica terras
Purgavit: monstris omnia plena feris.
Saevit adhuc hydrae numerosum virus, aprugni
Fulmen dentis, hians terna per ora Gigas.
Diffundit rabiem furiatam Cerberus. Urit
Stymphalidum quassas durior ala genas.
Omnibus expetitur vindex coelestis, at illum
Nemo nisi Vatum sedula turba stitit.
[...]
Nae! labor Herculeus nihil est nisi fabula Vatum:
Herculis antiqui splendida larva fuit.
Sed tamen Alciden si verum quaeritis, eccum
CAROLIDEN! Vindex CAROLUS Orbis adest.

(1) Godlessness, accompanied by violence, always roams the world and a harvest of crime grows and multiplies. Seldom has heroic courage, if it ever existed, cleaned up the world; every place is full of wild monsters. (5) They are still raging: the abundant venom of the Hydra, the flashing tooth of the boar, and the Giant with his three jaws wide open. Cerberus pours out his outburst of fury. The heavy wings of the Stymphalian birds make beaten cheeks burn. Everyone was eagerly praying for a liberator from heaven, (10) but only a sedulous flock of poets was able to create him. [...] Indeed, Hercules's feat is nothing but a fairy tale of the poets. The image of ancient Hercules was nothing but a glittering ghost. However, if you are looking for a real Alcides, behold here Carolides [viz. Charles, himself descendant of Charleses]! Charles, the liberator of the world, is here.

The Swedish Neo-Latin poet had several ancient models to follow, Martial's epigrams on Domitian outdoing Hercules's deeds being among them.[33] Early modern epigrams could be quite long and Rönnow's poem is not exceptional in this context.[34] This type of poetry is often characterised by its concern with

[32] Cf. Ovid's description of the Iron Age in *met*. 1, 128 ff.: *Protinus inrupit venae peioris in aevum/ omne nefas fugitque pudor verumque fidesque;/ in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque/ insidiaeque et vis et amor sceleratus habendi*.

[33] Martial's use of the Hercules *topos* is discussed in Henriksén 2012, xxviii–xxx.

[34] Comprehensive analyses of the epigram as a genre of Neo-Latin literature will be found in de Beer, Enenkel, & Rijser 2009. On the length of Neo-Latin epigrams, see Enenkel 2009, 14 and 19.

moral issues. Indeed, Gerardus Johannes Vossius was one of the Renaissance theoreticians who advocated moral aims for epigrammatic poetry.[35] Another important component of the epigram was its *argutia*, its wit. This often consisted of a cleverly formulated last line of the poem.[36] This wit is found in the final distich of the *Hercules Genuinus*, where Rönnow announces Charles XII as the new liberator of the world who will be sent from heaven, and where he coins a new word, *Carolides*. The coinage is an imitation of the classical *Alcides* and designates the Swedish King's noble descent from Charles XI and Charles X Gustavus. Rönnow also satisfies the genre's interest in moral concerns when he gives his poem a certain Christian pathos and sees Charles as the rescuer of the human race. One more feature of the poem contributes to this interpretation, namely the lay-out of its title-page. Printed in lapidary style, with the lines centralised and all the letters given in capitals, it looks like an ancient epigram incised on stone. Adopted by humanist epigrammatists in the sixteenth century, the style gained an even greater popularity in Rönnow's age.[37] As Karl A. E. Enenkel notes, "[f]rom the end of the fifteenth century, we find hardly any humanist who did not write epigrams, and almost every writer who regarded himself a true 'poeta' had composed a respectable amount of epigrams or even had them published in attractive manuscripts or printed editions."[38] By composing this kind of poetry, therefore, Rönnow presents himself as a true humanist.

Rönnow's poem portraying the Swedish king as a new Hercules met with an angry Danish response. In October 1709, the Danes issued a new declaration of war, where they listed Rönnow's poem as one of their grievances against Sweden. The document was composed by Frederik Rostgaard, himself a qualified Neo-Latin poet. Rostgaard announced that the Danish king was acting according to the international rules of war:

> Manifestum, in quo summatim exponuntur justae illae, eaedemque gravissimae Causae, quas habet, quibusque coacta velut est REGIA MAJESTAS Daniae et Norvegiae etc. etc. Regna sua et Provincias a Regis Sveciae multifariis jam nimis diu adversus ipsa foedera exercitis et in posterum magis adhuc extimescendis violentiis injuriisque tueri, plenamque iis, adhibitis, quae Jure Gentium concessa sunt, mediis, et auxiliante Deo, afferere securitatem.

[35] Bloemendal 2009, 74.

[36] Cf., e.g. Susanna de Beer's analysis of Giannantonio Campano's epigrams as studied along with the poet's own theoretical remarks. de Beer's examination reveals that the pointedness of Neo-Latin epigrams is not always humorous. de Beer 2009, esp. 144 and 161f.

[37] On lapidary style in early modern literature see Kajanto 1994, 150–158. For an in-depth study of the lapidary style in early modern prints from Sweden, see Ridderstad 1975.

[38] Enenkel 2009, 1.

> (A manifesto, in which the Causes considered by His Royal Majesty of Denmark and Norway, etc. etc., are briefly set forth, Causes which are just and likewise very serious, and due to which he is compelled to defend his Realm and Provinces against the King of Sweden's manifold acts of violence and wrongs, already engaged in for too long a time, contrary to the treaties themselves, and about to become an even greater fear in the future. And due to them he is compelled to guarantee his Realm and provinces full security, using all the means permissible under to the Law of Nations and with the help of the Almighty.)

The rules for peace and war were elaborated by Hugo Grotius in his *De jure belli et pacis* (1625). According to Grotius, there are three justifiable causes for war: self-defence, restitution (or reparation of injury), and punishment. As a state official, the Danish author behind the declaration of war had to show his knowledge of these important principles. Denmark's concise manifesto, the Latin version of which comprises ten and a half quarto-pages, has as its main motives reparation and punishment, and takes as its main theme the insulting behaviour of the Swedes towards the Danes and their king. It also presents four causes of war.

The first *causa belli* is the loss of Danish power in the duchy of Lübeck-Eutin, attributed by Danish authorities to Swedish aggression in the region. The second *causa* is Rönnow's poem on Charles XII as the true Hercules. The third provocation is Sweden's cheating at the Customs in Öresund. Lastly, the fourth cause is the poor treatment of the Danish residents living in southern Sweden. When referring to Rönnow's poem, Frederik Rostgaard contends that it is arrogant by its very title. He maintains that the words *Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator*, Emperor of Great Scandinavia, imply that the Swedish King possesses power over the whole of Scandinavia, not only over Sweden alone but also over Denmark and Norway. According to Rostgaard, history shows that Denmark and Norway have ruled over Sweden, but there is no evidence whatsoever that Sweden has subjugated the other two countries:

> Videre licet arrogans non minus, quam impudens, Nobisque maxime injuriosum, die 20 (10) Decembris 1706 publico e prelo in lucem editum scriptum, cujus auctor, qui ibidem se appellat Magnum Ronnau, intolerabili quadam temeritate coecaque superbia Regi Sveciae, et huic minime conveniens, et Nostri praecipue in fraudem spectans arrogare audet nomen, quod quidem, ut reliqua insolentissimi istius scripti praetereamus, tale est:
>
> Hercules genuinus
> Carolus Duodecimus
> Magnae Scandinaviae
> Imperator.

Holmiae die 10 (20) Decembris 1706.
Magnus Ronnau.[39]

Cum tamen noverint omnes, Scandinaviae appellatione tria illa Septentrionalia Regna, Daniam nempe, Norvegiam et Sveciam comprehendi; pateatque ita simul, quod arrogans istud Imperatoris nomen Nostri unice in despectum contumeliamque sit inventum, publicaque usurpatum auctoritate. Quin ex historiis, iisque etiam, quae non admodum sunt vetustae, satis, ut credimus, liquet, priores duos populos tertio imperitasse, at hunc illos sua unquam in ditione habuisse, valido nullo probari poterit testimonio. [...] Manifestumque ita est, Svecos directo non minus, quam oblique fecisse omnia et molitos esse, ut orbi venturisque seculis contemptos Nos redderet, eumque in finem absque ulla verecundia falsissima quaeque et finxisse et divulgasse.

(Let us look at a publication, as arrogant as it is shameless, and highly injurious to us, that was officially published on the 20th (10th) of December in 1706.[40] Its author, who in the same publication calls himself Magnus Ronnau, has, in intolerable foolhardiness and blind hubris, the boldness to claim for the King of Sweden a title that is by no means appropriate for him and that, above all, is an attempt to cause us harm. Omitting the rest of that greatly insolent writing, it [the title] is indeed as follows:

The real Hercules
Charles the Twelfth
Emperor of Great Scandinavia.
Stockholm, December 10th (20th) of 1706.
Magnus Ronnau.

But as everyone knows, the designation of 'Scandinavia' comprises three Nordic kingdoms: Denmark, of course, Norway, and Sweden, and thus it is at once evident that this arrogant imperial title is applied and taken into use by official authorities only with the aim of causing us disrespect and insult. In fact, it is – as we believe – clear enough from the historical accounts, also from those that are not that old, that the former two peoples have had the third one under their rule, but it would not be possible to prove with any evidence that the latter one has had the other two under its sway. [...] It is thus demonstrated that

[39] The printed item consulted by me is from 1707.

[40] Sweden changed to the Gregorian calendar as late as 1753, when it dropped eleven days by switching from February 17 to March 1. During the period treated here, Sweden used a transitional calendar. When recording contemporary events, Swedish officials and writers usually referred to both systems. This is the case in Rönnow's publication. On the Swedish transitional calendar, see Blackburn & Holford-Strevens 1999, 687.

> the Swedes both directly and indirectly have done everything possible to slight us before the eyes of the world and before future generations, and that in order to achieve this aim they have, without shame, fabricated and published the most severe falsehoods.)

Sweden reacted with a swift and lengthy counter-document and considered Denmark's declaration of war, and in particular its accusations with respect to Rönnow's poem, as ridiculous and groundless. The answer, composed in Swedish (*sic*!), was penned by the State Secretary Samuel Bark. Its title is as follows: *Thet Danska Manifestets orimlighet och ofog efter Höga Wederbörandes Befallning framwist* (*The Danish Manifesto's absurdity and groundlessness clearly demonstrated by the order of Swedish authorities*).[41] When discussing the second *causa* of the manifesto, i.e. Rönnow's poem, Bark stresses the importance of poetic license and adds that the Danes could ask the poet himself for an explanation, which he could give them in "suitable *iambi*". After this rather dismissive remark, Bark points out that Rönnow's poem should be seen in its literary and cultural context, and he makes it quite clear that Rönnow is applying the technique that poets have always used for the composition of encomia. According to Bark, when a poet aimed too high, and thus was acting against literary conventions, such a violation would have been criticised only by the learned. He also states that it is not unusual that this kind of poetry would not reach the very dedicatees of the verses. Written in Latin, they are usually understood only by a small number of readers:

> One should not condescend to treat this matter with anything but ridicule, and what would be needed is that Rönnow himself as a poet would explain himself regarding this in suitable *iambi*. Learned men in all places around the world have [always] enjoyed the freedom of speaking and writing in someone's honour and praise, without being blamed for using their best inventions, and especially when this has been done in order to express their reverence and affection towards rulers, whether they have done this in panegyric orations, dedications, or in some other way. More importantly, in these matters poets are seldom reproached for the fact that their writings would never be read with any pleasure and desire, if they did not try harder than others. This, however, has not yet incited angry feelings of some consequence in anybody outside the borders of the learned republic. This is why, in every nation (as well in former days as now), this is seen as some kind of competition concerning who can sing his rulers' praise in the best way, and tout his nation's achievements and his benevolence towards both, regardless of the fact that the rulers seldom read or are aware of

[41] More on the Swedish counter-document in Dahlberg 2014, 270 and Dahlberg 2015.

> the writings. Moreover, such things, especially when they are written in the learned languages, end up being read, in the first place, only by those who understand them, after which they fall into oblivion, and they are preserved by a limited number of admirers.[42]

Bark makes it clear that the *Hercules Genuinus* is a piece of occasional poetry.

The Hercules motif was frequently associated with Charles XII, not only in literature but also in visual arts, including medals.

Fig. 1: Charles as Hercules fighting Cerberus. (Photo: Hendrik Mäkeler, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.) Cerberus stands here for the three enemies, Russia, Saxony-Poland and Denmark. Obverse: Bust of armoured Charles wearing a wig. Legend: "CAROLVS. XII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. REX. SVECIAE. MD CC." ("Charles XII, by Grace of God, King of Sweden. 1700.").
The reverse depicts the Swedish king as Hercules fighting the three-headed Cerberus. On his shoulders, he wears the skin of the Nemean lion. The monster symbolises here

[42] "Man borde ei bewärdiga thetta med annat än åtlöje och behöfdes wäl at Rönnow sielf, såsom Poët, med några tientliga Iambis sig här på förklarade. The Lärde på alle Orter i werden hafwa här til haft then friheten, at när the til någons heder och beröm welat tala eller skrifwa, har ingen förtyckt, om the ther til anwändt sina bästa inventioner, och i synnerhet när thet skett til at betyga theras wördna och kärlek emot Öfwerheten, antingen uti Panegyriske Orationer, Dedicationer, eller eljest. Men serdeles plägar man sådant hoos Poëter i thet slags materier så aldeles intet tadla, at theras Skrifter ei en gång med någon lust och nöje läsas, om the ei högre sig theruti swängia än andre, hwilket alt doch ännu ingom är någon tid i sinnet kommit at draga til någon Consequence utom then lärda Republiquens Gränsor. Man seer ock therföre, at hoos alla Nationer, så wäl förr, som nu, är lika som ett täflande, hwem högst skal kunna i så måtto uphöja sin Öfwerhets låf, sin Nations förmåner, och sitt egit hiertelag för bägge, oaktat thet mästedels händer, at Öfwerheten hwarken sådant läser, eller weet theraf; och thesutan hafwa sådana saker the ödet, särdeles när the på lärde Språken skrifwas, at the alenast af them, som them förstå, i förstone läsas, sedan förswinna i glömsko, och af ganska fåå som älskare äro, förwaras." Bark 1710, 30 f.

Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus II of Saxony-Poland and the Russian Tsar Peter. The legend is a slightly altered verse from Ovid (*met*. 9,184): "NEC. LEO. ME. NEC. FORMA. TRIPLEX. TUA. CERBERE. MOVIT." ("Neither the lion nor your triple form alarmed me, o Cerberus.")

The numeral 'XII' in Charles's name afforded the obvious parallel to Hercules and his twelve labours.

Fig. 2: Swedish military achievements in 1700–1706. (Photo: Hendrik Mäkeler, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.) Obverse: Bust of Charles wearing his armour with an image of lion on his arm. Legend: "CAROLVS XII D[EI] G[RATIA] REX SVEC[IAE]." ("Charles XII, by Grace of God, King of Sweden.")
Reverse: Hercules wearing a lion skin as his only outfit and holding a club in his left hand. Legend: "NON HÆC ULTIMA META LABORUM." ("This is not the final limit of the labours.") Beneath Hercules's feet we read: "XII. LABORES HERCUL[IS]." ("Hercules's twelve feats".) Small shields along the rim representing twelve military achievements performed by Charles and his generals in 1700–1706:

(1) DESC[ENSUS] IN SEEL[ANDIAM] (Descent of Swedish troops in Danish Zealand, 1700)
(2) PAX TRAVENTH[ALENSIS] (Peace of Traventhal, 1700)
(3) NARVA (Victory at Narva, 1700)
(4) RIGA (Liberation of Riga, 1700)
(5) TRAI[ECTUS] DUNÆ (Crossing of the Düna, 1701)
(6) CLISSOW (Victory at Kliszow, 1702)
(7) PULTOFS (Victory at Pultusk, 1703)
(8) THORUN (Capture of Thorn, 1703)
(9) LEMBERG (Capture of Lemberg, 1704)
(10) GRODNO (Victory at Grodno, 1706)
(11) FRAUSTAD (Victory at Fraustadt, 1706)
(12) PAX ALTRANST[EDTENSIS] (Peace of Altranstädt, 1706)

"eandem hanc orationem meam … Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi": Feofan Prokopovich's sermon on the Russian victory at Poltava (1709)

Charles's spectacular victories made him believe that he could take Moscow. After a successful campaign in Poland, he started planning his Russian campaign. This ended in a fiasco: in July 1709, Charles and his army suffered a devastating defeat at the battle of Poltava in the Ukraine. The losses were tremendous, and almost all surviving Swedish officers and rank and file soldiers were taken prisoners. Charles and the remainder of his troops fled to Bender in Moldavia, at the time controlled by the Ottoman Empire. They stayed there for almost six years, which produced an absurd situation with the king of Sweden residing abroad for such an extended period of time. The Russian victory at Poltava in 1709 gave birth to a number of occasional texts both in Latin and in Slavonic languages. The longest of these encomia is a sermon by Peter's propaganda minister Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736). Ethnically Ukrainian, Prokopovich was one of very few men in the country who had a good command of several foreign languages and who was schooled in the classical tradition.[43] Before working in Peter's service, Prokopovich had studied in Poland and in Rome. While completing his education in Poland, he converted to the Uniate confession. When in Rome he attended the prestigious *Collegium Romanum* run by the Jesuits. Thus, he had acquired a profound knowledge of ancient Latin literature. When back in Russia, he rejoined the Orthodox Church.

Prokopovich's sermon was delivered in Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev directly after Peter's victory in 1709, and the Tsar was present at the ceremony. The speech was printed in the same year together with a poem of 174 lines. Subsequently, a Latin translation of the booklet appeared. Entitled *Panegyricus de devictis Svecis*, the Latin version contains a *praefatio*. In that preface, Prokopovich explains that it was the tsar himself who commissioned the translation into this *lingua franca*:

> Et quia haec tanta gloria tua non unius lingua Populi, verum omnigena praedicatione digna est, idcirco eandem hanc orationem meam, nutibus tuis obsequens, Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi, …
>
> (And because this great glory of yours is truly worthy of praise of every kind not [solely] in the language of one single people, I have

[43] For Prokopovich's life and education, see Wes 1992, 27–35. For a survey of his Latin poetry, see Liburkin 2000, 49–120.

therefore, on your commission, rendered this very speech of mine also into the Latin tongue, because it is in fact shared by all of Europe.)[44]

The themes exploited in the speech and the techniques employed are similar to those found in the Neo-Latin propaganda of the Swedish writers. The *topos* of perfidy, which Swedish authors attached to Charles XII's enemies, is used by Prokopovich to describe the Cossacks, who had switched sides during the conflict. Just as Rönnow gives Charles the epithet "true Hercules", Prokopovich compares Peter's bravery to that of the ancient hero. The motif of the divine protection of Charles XII that we find in Rönnow's grandiose *In Victoriam Narvensem* is countered by Prokopovich's passage on the celestial protection of the Russians during the battle of Poltava. A poem printed together with Prokopovich's speech exploits these motifs too. Entitled *Epinicium, sive Carmen Triumphale de eadem victoria nobilissima* and written in hexameter, it runs 169 lines.[45] The narrative part starts with God's words on the impiety of the Swedes and his promise to assist the Russians (vv. 17–30):

> Jam bellum decimas messes immane terebat,
> (Trojani excidii spatium) quo saevior anno
> Non fuit. Infestos etenim per viscera regni
> Vidimus ire hostes, auctosque rebellibus armis.
> Cum Pater omnipotens caelo despexit ab alto
> Et fidi populi sortem miseratus iniquam
> Indignans piis hostem insultare superbum:
> "Frustra" – inquit, – "Stygii conamina tanta Tyranni,
> Usque licet satagat populos me rite colentes
> Perdere, et haeriticis evertere viribus aras,
> Nam si subsidio tibi Svecia saeva nefando
> Accessit perjura manus, mea clara Triumphis,
> Et Victrix Erebi bellabit dextera PETRO.
> Et videamus utri faveat Victoria parti?"

(The fierce war has by now been raging for ten years (the period for Troy's destruction), and this year has not been surpassed in cruelty by any other. For we saw how the ferocious enemies got into the country's heart, multiplied by rebellious troops [read *the Cossacks*]. When the Almighty Father looked down from the high vault of heaven, commiserating with the unjust fate of the faithful people and unable to tolerate that the haughty enemy tormented the pious, "In vain" − he said, − "are such great efforts made by the Stygian tyrant.

[44] Prokopovich 1743, 88.
[45] Prokopovich 1743, 123–128.

> Let him constantly try to destroy the people who worship me in a truly Orthodox way, and to overthrow the Christian Church with his heretic forces. For even if a perjured hand has come to assist you, o savage Sweden, with its impious help, my right hand, famous for its victories and being the subduer of Hell, will fight for Peter. And let us then see which side Victory will favour?")

By portraying Peter as God's protégé, the pro-Russian writer conveys a patriotic viewpoint. When asserting that the Russians represent the only true faith, he promotes his religious agenda. Prokopovich's verses are thus in line with contemporary poetical practices.

"Vidit Terpsichore tuum libellum": The Russian fiasco at the Prut and Rönnow's invective against Prokopovich (1712)

By 1712 it was becoming increasingly obvious that Sweden's situation was indeed precarious. The king was in exile in Turkey. Augustus, Elector of Saxony, had regained the Polish crown. Bremen and Verden had come into Frederick IV's hands, and Russia was now besetting Finland. Poets in the enemy countries now saw their ultimate chance to mock Sweden.

Magnus Rönnow attacked one of these versifiers in a poetic pamphlet, *In imagines politicas Iconodori de pictoribus Lojolitae Placentini*, which is written in hendecasyllables and consists of 139 lines. The title refers to the political images of a certain Iconodorus, a person who is addicted to pictures and who apparently has written about paintings of a Jesuit from Piacenza. Rönnow is not explicitly mentioned as the poem's author. The title page informs the reader that the poem is by an unknown author (*incerti auctoris*), and that it is printed by a certain Andreas Gelasinus in Cologne in the year 1712 (*typis publicavit Andreas Gelasinus Coloniae Agrippinae Anno MDCCXII*). The copy kept at the Diocesan Library of Linköping has the following note: "Magnii Rönnovii", and the place of publication is changed to Amsterdam.[46] The publisher's last name seems to be invented and should be seen as an open allusion to the author's intention, as *gelasinus* (of Greek origin) means 'a dimple in the cheek, produced by smiling'.[47]

After a close study of this poem, I propose to conclude that it is actually an attack on the above-mentioned Feofan Prokopovich. We know that during his stay in Italy Prokopovich had composed several epigrams on paintings with religious motifs. Later, he included them in his handbook *De arte poetica* (1705), in the chapter on epigrams.[48] The titles of some of the poems start

[46] Samuel Älf's collection at the Diocesan Library of Linköping, vol. W25:XV, fol. 305.
[47] For an analysis of the poem see Dahlberg 2014, 313–320.
[48] The first printed edition of Prokopovich's *De arte poetica* is from 1786.

with the programmatic *In imaginem*, e.g. *In imaginem beatissimae Virginis Mariae gladio transfixae*. It is therefore tempting to regard the *In imagines politicas* as an assault on Prokopovich and his handbook on poetics.

The major theme in Rönnow's pamphlet is the Russian army's surrender to the Ottomans on the banks of the river Prut in Moldavia and the shameful treaty that Russia was forced to sign in July 1711.[49] During his reign Peter had launched two campaigns that were aimed at gaining access to the Sea of Azov and thereby, also, closer access to the Black Sea. In the so-called second Azov campaign in 1695–1696, Peter captured the Turkish fortress of Azov and established a naval base at Taganrog on the northeast corner of the sea. While staying in Bender, Charles managed to persuade the Sultan to declare war on Russia in November 1710. In the middle of July 1711, the Russian army found itself surrounded by the Ottoman troops in the principality of Moldavia. The Turkish army outnumbered Peter's forces two to one. Cornered on the banks of Prut with Peter and his wife Catherine in the camp, the Russians did not have much choice but to surrender. Peter had to return Azov to the Turks, to demolish Taganrog and several other Russian fortresses in the Azov area, and to promise not to hinder Charles's return to Sweden. The Turkish conditions seemed surprisingly cheap and easily won. Many observers, among them Charles, had expected Russia to be forced to cede also the newly conquered Baltic provinces. As contemporary letters and other documentation show, the Grand Vizier had accepted a very generous gift from the Russians. Among other things the gifts included Catherine's jewellery.[50] The news about the peace treaty spread rapidly. And the story about the bribed Vizier became a popular theme in Swedish propaganda.[51] Moreover, we know that Feofan Pokopovich had assisted Peter in his Prut campaign, which is another reason to believe that it is he whom Rönnow ridicules in his verses. Composed in hendecasyllables, the *In imagines politicas* is strongly influenced by Horace and Catullus. In his initial lines, Rönnow assumes the role of a Zoilus who is criticising a bad poet (vv. 1−5):

> Vidit Terpsichore tuum libellum,[52]
> O infamis Iconodore, spurcis
> Plenum lemmatibus chronosticisque
> Insulsis, anagrammatisque fartum
> Stultis, carminibusque faeculentis:

[49] Hatton 1968, 334–336.

[50] Troyat 1979, 178–181.

[51] Emanuel Swedenborg exploited this theme in his allegorical work *Camena Borea* from 1715. See Swedenborg 1988, *fabula V*.

[52] Cf. Cat. 14,12–14: *di magni, horribilem et sacrum libellum!/ quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum/ misti,…*

(Terpsichore saw your little book, o inglorious Iconodorus, which is full of nasty epigrams and tasteless chronostics and stuffed with silly anagrams and impure poems:)

In the passage on the corrupt Vizier, Rönnow applies one of the most cherished techniques of Neo-Latin poets, viz. the usage of linguistic puns (vv. 98−106):

> Quam pulcris tua Najades Prutenses, –
> Subjecit Jove nata Musa, – lauris
> Cingunt tempora, PETRE, tam decentes,
> Fortunae optime pulle, semper aufer.
> Auro, non gladio salus redemta
> Gratatur solidos tibi triumphos,
> Recte Azovia restituta Turcae
> Taganroccaque diruta ominantur
> Successus tibi mox amoeniores.

(As beautiful as the laurels are that the Naiads of Prut crowned your temples with, – added the Muse, daughter of Jove, – may you always carry home such fitting laurels, Peter, Fortune's little darling! Your safety regained through money and not by the sword congratulates you on solid triumphs! With good reason the Turks foresaw restoration of Azov to them and the demolition of the fortress of Taganrog as more joyful victories for you.)

Solidos … triumphos in line 106 is supposed to allude to Peter's bribery, as the adjective *solidos* can be taken as a noun and thus meaning "gold coins".

Rönnow's satire works on several levels. As argued above, it is an invective against Prokopovich and his manual on poetics. In its ridicule of Prokopovich as a poet the pamphlet reminds us of the many literary quarrels that were so popular during the Renaissance era and constituted part of the so-called "humanistische Streitkultur", the early modern culture of dispute.[53] Once again, Rönnow is eager to express both his adherence to the humanist movement and his self-perception as a humanist *persona*.

One more identity can be discerned in the *In imagines politicas*. The poem's title negotiates the author's religious standpoint: the Jesuit, whose paintings Prokopovich described in his *De arte poetica*, is scornfully called *Lojolita*. This was a word commonly used by Lutheran writers to denote the members of the Society of Jesus.[54] Here it can also be interpreted as an implicit reference to, and condemnation of, Prokopovich's training, which

[53] For *Streitkultur* as the term for literary brawls, see Laureys, Simons & Becker 2013, 8.
[54] Cf. Helander 2004, 332–334.

was obtained at a Jesuit institution. On the whole, Rönnow's pamphlet is an illustrative example of what the humanistic art of arguing was about.

Conclusion: Latin poetry and the construction of identities

In this article, I have demonstrated how Neo-Latin poets from early eighteenth-century Sweden and Russia were prolific in many different genres and that they composed their poetry in accordance with the Western reception of antiquity. As everywhere else they wrote poetry in Latin for a number of ideological and professional reasons, among which we find the construction of national, religious and cultural identities. As shown in my examination of Magnus Rönnow's *In Victoriam Narvensem*, myths about the extraordinary origins of the Swedish nation were promoted in poetry in the same way as in historiographical works: through special hermeneutic techniques the poet furthered the idea of the Swedes as the new chosen people. Neo-Latin verse was also used to prove the superiority of a nation's religious dogmas. Criticism of other confessions appears in Rönnow's poems *In Victoriam Narvensem* and *In imagines politicas*, as well as in Feofan Prokopovich's *Epinicium*. At the same time, poetry was used as a tool for self-fashioning: Rönnow presents himself as a new Horace and the lyrical voice of Charles XII's Sweden. As we have seen in the case of Rönnow's verses on Charles as a new Hercules, poetry could create resonances of an impressive magnitude: the poem was named as one of the four *causae belli* in the Danish declaration of war of 1709. More interesting still is the Swedish counter-document that provides a thorough description of the panegyric genre and thus explains encomiastic poetry as part of every humanist's work. Awareness of the Latin language as the best medium to propagate the state agenda is found in the preface of Feofan Prokopovich's sermon on the victory at Poltava. By commissioning a Latin translation of the Slavonic original, Tsar Peter made it clear that he wished to reach a European audience and to be seen as a "civilised European" himself. Even the *certamen verborum* in Rönnow's *In imagines politicas*, a harsh pamphlet against the pro-Russian writer, has a unifying effect: though polemical and propagandistic, it solicits a direct dialogue with a Neo-Latin peer who belongs to the same community of the republic of letters.[55]

[55] I am very grateful to Sofia Guthrie, Johan Heldt, David Medlar, and Kjell M. Wangensteen for valuable comments on earlier drafts on this article and for proofreading my English. I also wish to extend a special thanks to the anonymous referee for astute observations.

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Anti-mirrors of Princes in Neo-Latin Habsburg Novels

By Florian Schaffenrath

This paper deals with the literary feature of 'negative mirrors of princes' in Neo-Latin novels from the Habsburg Empire. After a general clarification of the term 'anti-mirror of princes', we discuss these passages in detail: an essential, significant feature of the Habsburg novels is their propagation of a supranational identity capable of uniting different peoples for the ruling dynasty. They succeeded in this not only by using Latin, but with a series of different literary techniques, e.g. anti-mirrors of princes, as often the exact opposite of a good ruler of an entire empire is depicted in these antitheses.

I

In the third chapter of the famous Spanish novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (earliest surviving edition Burgos 1554, among others), the protagonist and first-person narrator Lazarillo is in the service of an impoverished member of the lower nobility, who one day reveals to him how he might preserve the favour of a member of the higher nobility, if only he could manage to be employed by such a nobleman:[1]

> Ya cuando asienta un hombre con un señor de título, todavía pasa su lacería. ¿Pues por ventura no hay en mi habilidad para servir y contestar a estos? Por Dios, si con él topase, muy gran su privado pienso que fuese y que mil servicios le hiciese, porque yo sabría mentille tan bien como otro, y agradalle a las mil maravillas: reille ya mucho sus donaires y costumbres, aunque no fuesen las mejores del mundo; nunca decirle cosa con que le pesase, aunque mucho le cumpliese; ser muy diligente en su persona en dicho y hecho; no me matar por no hacer bien las cosas que el no había de ver, y ponerme a reñir, donde lo oyese, con la gente de servicio, porque pareciese tener gran cuidado de lo que a él tocaba; si riñese con algún su criado, dar unos puntillos agudos

[1] The following passage is based on Rico 1998, 104–106, who also provides explanatory notes (above all textual criticism) and recommendations of more in-depth secondary literature.

> para la encender la ira y que pareciesen en favor del culpado; decirle bien de lo que bien le estuviese y, por el contrario, ser malicioso, mofador, malsinar a los de casa y a los de fuera; pesquisar y procurar de saber vidas ajenas para contárselas; y otras muchas galas de esta calidad que hoy día se usan en palacio. Y a los señores del parecen bien, y no quieren ver en sus casas hombres virtuosos, antes los aborrecen y tienen en poco y llaman necios y que no son personas de negocios ni con quien el señor se puede descuidar. Y con estos los astutos usan, como digo, el día de hoy, de lo que yo usaría. Mas no quiere mi ventura que le halle.
>
> (Even if a man becomes a member of a nobleman's household, he needn't think his troubles are over. Do you think I am not clever enough to serve one of them, by any chance, and to his complete satisfaction? By God, if I were to encounter one of them I'm sure I could become a great favorite with him, and have a thousand services to do for him, because I could lie to him as well as the next man, and afford him prodigies of delight. I'd laugh uproariously at all his witticisms and antics, even though they weren't the best in the world. I'd never tell him anything unpleasant, however much it might be to his advantage. I would be extremely solicitous of his person, both in word and deed, but I wouldn't kill myself being over-meticulous about things which he wasn't going to see. And I'd scold his servants where he was sure to hear me, so that he'd think I took endless pains over everything that had to do with him. But if he scolded one of them I'd slip in a few little barbs to make him angry, while appearing to take the servant's part. I'd say nice things about everything that he liked, but on the other hand I'd be malicious, and a mocker, and a trouble-maker, both among members of the household and among outsiders. And I'd find ways of picking up bits of gossip to tell him, and develop a whole array of other talents of that sort, which are all the rage nowadays in palaces and are highly esteemed by the lords and masters there. Who have no wish to see men of virtue in their houses: they have an aversion to them, they look down on them, they call them fools and say that they're hopeless at practical affairs and are not men whom their masters can rely on.)[2]

The passage cited above is a template for an array of texts to be discussed in this essay: it addresses a nobleman, instructing him as to how he should behave in public life. In regard to such texts we generally speak of mirrors of princes (see below for details). The instructions given here are, of course, not meant seriously. From the many ironic hints (for instance, the morally questionable speaker), it is clear that what should be taken as correct is in

[2] Translation by Mervin 1962, 117–118.

fact the opposite of what the speaker describes. In this case, we might speak of an 'anti-'mirror of princes, or a 'negative' mirror of princes. Finally, the location of the passage is also of significance: it is inserted into an Early Modern novel. *Lazarillo* stands at the beginning of a long prose fiction tradition which would later encompass Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), Charles Sorel's *Francion* (1622–1633) and Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Der Abentheuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668) under the umbrella term 'picaresque novel'.[3] As *Lazarillo* remained popular long after its composition (as is made evident in translations and continuations) it is no surprise that the anti-mirror of princes cited above was frequently taken up creatively by others and developed further.

Such passages can also be found in the Neo-Latin Habsburg novels – that is, an array of novels which emerged from the Habsburg Empire and which address its political landscape with remarkable intensity. The aim of this essay, following a general clarification of the terms 'mirror of princes' and 'anti-mirror of princes', will be to present the function of these passages in detail. An essential, significant feature of the Habsburg novels is their propagation of a supranational identity capable of uniting different peoples for the ruling dynasty. They succeeded in this (besides the fact that they were composed in the nation-embracing tongue Latin) with a series of different literary techniques. I will show that one of these was an anti-mirror of princes, as often the exact opposite of a good ruler of an entire empire is depicted in these antitheses.

II

At the mention of 'mirror of princes', those in the field of classical philology think first of classical texts such as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* or Seneca's *De clementia*, the work in which the mirror metaphor in the context of educating princes was first shaped ("ut quodam modo speculi vice fungerer," clem. 1.1).[4] A reader more interested in Renaissance Studies would surely admit into this undeniable canon Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*[5] of 1516 as well, which aspires to forge a synthesis of ancient pagan and medieval Christian mirrors of princes.[6]

[3] Cf. Moore 2010, 313–315.

[4] For a general account of mirrors of princes in ancient literature, cf. Hadot 1972; Philipp & Stammen 1996; Schulte 2001.

[5] For Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* as a mirror of princes, cf. Born 1928.

[6] For a general account of mirrors of princes in the medieval period cf. Berges 1938; for the Early Modern Period cf. Heim 1919; Singer 1981.

Apart from these texts, whose inclusion in the canon is beyond question,[7] a wide range of other text types and characteristics typical of mirrors of princes exist, insofar as they direct themselves towards a reader who is a ruler and present him with an ideal image of a regime, upon which he should base his conduct. Dramatists present ideal kings in their plays (Shakespeare's Henry V comes to mind), epic poets create their heroes – following in the footsteps of Virgil – as typological models of current rulers, and novels package their didactic intentions in appealing narratives.[8] The list goes on. There is a consensus that mirrors of princes can appear in the most varied of literary forms.[9]

In most cases, mirrors of princes construct an ideal ruler figure and have him embody a range of virtues, so that a *princeps optimus* emerges.[10] To some extent the authors realise that the ideal they portray is unattainable for a real prince—in Petrus Antonius Finariensis' mirror of princes (*De dignitate principum*, 1464), one dialogue partner expresses a certain amount of disappointment: "unicum, qui ea omnia teneat, quae in principe necessaria esse statuisti, vix posse inveniri iudico," (I believe you will not find one single person who possesses all these features which are, according to you, necessary for a prince, fol. 4[r]).[11]

Mirrors of princes function not only in a positive and affirmative fashion, but also, in a different way, do the opposite in order to fulfil their intention of commending a given form of socio-political conduct. In such cases one can speak of negative mirrors of princes or anti-mirrors of princes. Here we do not include works such as Niccolò Macchiavelli's *Il principe* (1532), which has also been called an anti-mirror of princes in scholarship;[12] Macchiavelli composed the instructions for his princes in all sincerity.

In this essay, we will understand the term 'anti-mirror of princes' as advice describing the exact opposite of what, for a ruler, is considered exemplary and worth aspiring to in contemporary ethical discourse. On the one hand, we can deduce this from the fact that in many texts which sketch a

[7] Defining the genre of mirror of princes is not easy. Mühleisen & Stammen 1997, 13 see it as its own "literary form and genre" and consider it didactic literature. Cf. Eberhardt 1977; Singer 1981, 15–24 uses a narrower mirrors of princes concept, but considers it nevertheless a *Bildungsroman*; Blum 1981, 1–5.

[8] For novelist Christoph Martin Wieland as an author of a mirror of a prince cf. Jacobs 2001, 5–9.

[9] Cf. Mühleisen & Stammen 1997, 13–15; Jacobs 2001, 7.

[10] Cf. Singer 1981, 31–32.

[11] Cited from Singer 1981, 32.

[12] Schorn-Schütte, for example, designates *Il principe* as "Anti-Fürstenspiegel"; Schorn-Schütte 2009, 163. This designation is also found in scholarly literature on *Principe* in English, cf. Blythe 1997, 19 (anti mirror of princes).

positive image of a prince, these positive characteristics of the ruler are brought to light more effectively by a contrasting, negative figure.[13] However, we also find sophisticated literary games which use certain ironic indicators to make it clear to the reader that any explicit recommendation of the character of an anti-mirror of princes figure is in no way intended to be taken seriously. On another level, such passages fulfil a didactic or guiding function: precisely because they seem so absurd and comical in light of established behavioural norms, the reader is subtly invited to accept the exact opposite of the recommended behaviour as what is actually exemplary and worth striving for.

In the passage cited at the beginning of this essay from *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the reader must be sceptical just from the fact that the tips for success are coming from a man who has not only experienced no success in life but is also so poor that hunger threatens him daily. Moreover, this speech is part of a series of speeches by the *escudero* to Lazarillo, during which the stark contrast between the knight's perception of himself as an important nobleman and the inner fictional reality of this poor fellow becomes more and more visible. Thus, when the impoverished knight suggests lying to his liege lord, refraining from telling him anything unpleasant and only working when his lord can see it, the reverse, positive advice is recognisable: always tell the truth, inform one's lord of unpleasant truths when necessary and work on his behalf even when he will not hear of it directly. Such passages function, therefore, in the same way as normal mirrors of princes, but make use of an ironic inverse, which the reader must recognise and decipher. (All examples of this literary technique in Neo-Latin novels known to me at this point, incidentally, target not princes but the leading figures in the prince's inner circle, courtiers and attendants.)

The use of anti-mirrors of princes is an old literary technique: in the second song of *Iliad* (2.211–69), the poet conjures, in the form of Thersites, a character who shows in uncommonly impressive fashion how a noble leader should not behave in an assembly: he is ugly to look at, rants improperly to himself and offends the most important men. With Thersites as a backdrop, Ulysses—who puts him in his place—looks all the more splendid. Later authors use the same technique: they depict ugly figures behaving inappropriately which the reader can absolutely enjoy imagining (in terms of the aesthetic of ugliness). They then employ these figures as points of contrast with the ruler figure whom they wish to portray positively and affirmatively.

[13] Borzsák researches this, above all in regard to the portrayal of Tacitus as a leader; Borzsák 1994.

I would now like to concentrate on one of these literary forms, the novel, and specifically Neo-Latin novels. Much of what is generally applied to mirrors of princes can also be applied to these novels in particular: the huge popularity and appreciation of these texts were not, in the first instance, the result of the descriptions of ideal rulers but rather, among other things, a result of the fact that these novels often contained critical material which satisfied readers' curiosity about the misconduct of the rich and powerful.[14] Neo-Latin novels are often about historical figures but use (perhaps also due to censorship) allegorical codification so that solving these allegories offers an additional attraction for the reader. Claude Morisot, for example, sets his novel *Peruviana* (Dijon 1645) in a fictional South American tribal world, but hides behind it the French history of the years 1610 to 1643, with the dispute between King Louis XIII and his younger brother Gaston d'Orléans.

The technique of anti-mirrors of princes can be found at the beginning of the tradition of the Neo-Latin novel. One of the earliest texts which must be mentioned here is Leon Battista Alberti's *Momus* (ca. 1443–1455).[15] In its four books, this novel depicts an "image of poor rulership" and thus delivers the "anti-image of the behaviour"[16] of Alberti himself. It is therefore correctly classed as an "anti-mirror of princes."[17]

In the Neo-Latin novel *par excellence*, John Barclay's *Argenis,* this does not constitute a central aspect. The closest comparison is the criticism directed in *Argenis* 1.2 towards the reign of King Meleander.[18] This criticism, put forward here by Poliarchus, advances some points which would also count as valid criticism of a king according to the common imagination of the 17th century. However, there is no passage which portrays, in an ironic refraction, certain patterns of behaviour as negative.

Who were the intended readers of these mirrors of princes which have been integrated into Neo-Latin novels? There is no straightforward answer: besides the rulers themselves, we might also include the court and the extended educated circle who were capable of reading an extensive Latin prose text. By the 18th century, we must take into account also that these works sought to appeal to broader sections of the bourgeoisie, presenting them with criticism of the transgressions of absolutism and its instruments of power. This difficult question concerning the intended audience justifies limiting the study below to Neo-Latin Habsburg novels, as we can observe

[14] Mühleisen & Stammen 1997, 16 speaks of a "chronique scandaleuse".
[15] Cf. Consolo 1986.
[16] Both citations Boenke 1993, XX.
[17] Cf. Wulfram 2013, 19.
[18] Cf. Riley & Pritchard Huber 2004, 108–115.

how a series of texts apply to a longstanding ruling dynasty and its institutions, both church and state.

III

Before we turn to specific texts, an overarching, important aspect essential for understanding these works must be stressed: all Habsburg novels have a similar political aim. They develop an image of the ruling house which justifies its rule over a supranational entity in the heart of Europe.

After the Habsburgs had worked their way up from very humble beginnings, they ruled in the Early Modern Period over an empire encompassing numerous peoples speaking different languages.[19] Finding and constructing a common identity for this Empire was one of the greatest challenges for the ruling family.[20]

For the Habsburgs, one method of creating a sense of identity in the Empire was the nationwide use of certain symbols which stood for the unity of the Empire. The black double-eagle against a yellow background had been the symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor from the 15th century on. As this office had been held almost exclusively by the Habsburg family since the 16th century, they furnished the double-eagle with the coats of arms of the lands they ruled in a heart shield.

Besides the many forms of culture diffusion which could be mentioned here, such as typical Habsburg architecture,[21] literature also fulfilled a central function in creating an identity in the Empire. In this instance, literature composed in Latin holds a particular importance, as Latin was not the first language spoken in any of the lands ruled by the Habsburgs but formed an essential part of the education in all of them.[22] As a result, Latin offered a means of communicating with all subjects of the ruler in Vienna, near or far, and was therefore ideally suited to enabling the creation of a supranational identity.

The largest research project into Habsburg literature in Latin to date is the project on Habsburg panegyrics, established by Franz Römer at the University of Vienna, which has spawned an array of books and essays on the relevant texts.[23] This was complemented by a project at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies in Innsbruck addressing the

[19] Cf. Vacha 1992; Erbe 2000; Heimann 2006.
[20] Cf. Leiße 2012, 43–49.
[21] In regard to typical Habsburg architecture cf. Moravanszky 1988; Haslinger 2007.
[22] Cf. Engelbrecht 1982–1988; on the question of language, above all in Hungary cf. Almási & Šubarić 2015.
[23] For a general presentation of the project cf. Klecker & Römer 1994.

question of the role played by a small group of texts, Neo-Latin novels, in constructing a 'Reichsidentität' in the Empire.[24] The following reflections on the Neo-Latin novel in the Habsburg Empire are also the product of this area of study.

In their *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Jozef IJsewijn and Dirk Sacré identify a series of texts as "romans à clef of Habsburg affairs",[25] namely, Anton Wilhelm Ertl's *Austriana regina Arabiae* (Augsburg 1687),[26] *Aeneas Habspurgus* (Tyrnau 1695)[27] of anonymous authorship, and András Dugonics' *Argonauticorum sive de vellere aureo libri XXIV* (1778).[28] Also mentioned in IJsewijn and Sacré's list is Christoph Friedrich Sangershausen's *Minos*, which does not belong in this category since the author concerns himself with events of Prussian history.[29] For this essay I have also excluded three other novels which were not on their list: *Josephus II. in campis Elysiis. Somnium Eleutherii Pannonii*, s.l. 1790; *Leopoldus II. in campo Rákos. Visio Eleutherii Pannonii*, s.l. 1790; *Eleutherii Pannonii mirabilia fata, dum in metropoli Austriae famosi duo libelli Babel et Ninive in lucem venissent*, s.l. 1791. A range of features differentiate these three works by Joseph Keresztury (1739–1794) from the novels discussed below and demand a separate investigation which would unfortunately require more space than is available here.[30]

All three works I wish to discuss here use a specific strategy to incorporate themselves into the political discourse of their time. Whilst Ertl produces a classical *roman à clef*, hiding the different European powers of the late-17th century behind the characters. The novel *Aeneas Habspurgus* presents the contemporary potentates of the House of Habsburg behind the figure of Aeneas/Rudolf, who is intended to serve as a typological model. Dugonics proceeds differently again, allowing a number of 18th century political references to shine through his retelling of the myth of Jason and the Argonauts.

While the general political implications of these texts are broadly outlined elsewhere,[31] here a specific phenomenon will be singled out, which has not yet been discussed *in extenso* but which, in terms of the ideas

[24] Cf. Schaffenrath & Tilg 2011.
[25] IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 255.
[26] Isabella Walser's work is fundamental: Walser 2013; Walser 2014a; Walser 2014b.
[27] Cf. Schaffenrath 2013.
[28] Cf. Tilg 2013.
[29] Cf. Walser 2014, 349 Anm. 8.
[30] A comprehensive study of these novels is currently being undertaken by Jonathan Meyer at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.
[31] For the political implications of Ertl's *Austriana* cf. Walser 2013, for Dugonics' *Argonautica* cf. Tilg 2013, 166–170.

concerning anti-mirrors of princes outlined at the beginning of this essay, clearly displays the political impetus of the novels: the portrayal of enemies. Generally, it can be shown that the protagonists of the novels (Austriana, Aeneas, Jason respectively) are designed as ideal figures with whom rulers are supposed to identify. The addressee is always a Habsburg and there is an emphasis in the advice to the princes on uniting the peoples of differing nations.[32] The protagonists of the novels are not merely described with great vibrancy, rather the authors use a technique which they may have learnt from their predecessors in Antiquity. For example, just as Caesar clearly portrays himself in his *Commentarii de bello civili* as starkly contrasted with the character of Pompey,[33] so too do the heroes of the Habsburg novels benefit from sharp contrast with their adversaries. The deeds and the underlying behavioural norms are presented to the intended readers as a model which should encourage them to emulate the qualities of the positive, leading characters.

IV

In 1687 the Bavarian jurist Anton Wilhelm Ertl[34] (1654–ca. 1715) published his novel *Austriana regina Arabiae*[35] in Augsburg. Split into four books and set in the exotic world of Arabia, easily recognised as an allegorical codification of the European reality of the late 17th century, the plot revolves around the young Queen Austriana, who together with her husband Aurindus fights Altomira, the Queen of Babylon, for power in the Arabian peninsula.[36] Altomira initially succeeds in invading Arabia and sending the royal couple into exile. After all kinds of adventures they regain power. Altomira is caught and commits suicide, whereupon her niece Tigrania swears revenge, allies herself with the Indian King Torvan and lays siege to Manambis, the capital of Arabia. The town is saved only with the help of the Ethiopian King Sorbiastus who rushes to their aid. Austriana and Aurindus rule once more in peace.

[32] In no other Neo-Latin novel that I have researched thus far is this aspect of the main hero given so much weight; it would appear to be specific to the Habsburg novels.

[33] Cf. Batstone & Damon 2006, 89–116.

[34] For his biography cf. Deckart 1977, 9–20; additional bibliographical sources are listed by Walser 2014a, 354, note 30.

[35] A critical text with a German translation of the novel is presented by Isabella Walser as part of her thesis submitted in Freiburg in 2014. Until this edition is released the first (Augsburg 1687) and second (Salzburg 1717) editions are available. I would like to thank Ms. Walser for kindly allowing me to use her unpublished manuscript.

[36] Plot summaries can be found in Walser 2014a, 355–362 and Walser 2014b, 273–274.

In deciphering the numerous allegories of this plot—Austriana stands for Austria and Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), Aurindus for the Holy Roman Empire, Altomira for France and King Louis XIII (1601–1643) etc.—17th century European history is recognisable as the foundation of the novel's plot: the constant conflict between France and Austria and in particular the Siege of Vienna of 1683. When Ertl published his book, Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705) ruled in Vienna. Under his rule, shaped by conflict with France and the Turks, Austria advanced to become a major European power,[37] presenting the ruling house with the difficult problem of how they might unify the many new lands and peoples in the Empire. With his novel, Ertl made a small contribution to the literary support of this project with the fundamental message of his novel, namely that a wide-reaching peace in Europe was only attainable and sustainable if the Habsburg family ruled over the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Fittingly, the last sentence of the work reads "Ego applaudente orbe universo id unum prolixe voveo, ut Austria esset in orbe ultima" (With the applause of the whole world I solemnly swear that Austria is the last thing in the world) – a skilful adaptation of the regime motto of emperor Frederick III (1415–1493), *AEIOU*, for which "Austria erit in orbe ultima" (Austria will be the last thing in the world) was one of many suggestions.[38]

Besides several other political aspects, which for the sake of brevity cannot be addressed here, the element of the mirror of princes also plays an important role in Ertl's novel. Austriana and Aurindus embody the ideal princely virtues and explicit instructions regarding their conduct are given at the beginning of the fourth book in the form of a speech by the character Themistocles (representing Charles V, Duke of Lorraine, who played an important role in the second Turkish Siege of Vienna), explaining to the ruler how one organises a military campaign wisely.

With respect to our investigation into negative mirrors of princes, in many regards we strike gold with *Austriana*: there is an explicit anti-mirror of princes, meant ironically, which encourages scheming behaviour at court, and there are powerful ruler figures, adversaries of the protagonists, who act as examples of how not to rule.[39] Let us first consider these figures.

Besides the Indian King Torvan, representing the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pascha, Austriana and Aurindus have in Altomira and Tigrania their greatest enemies. Behind Altomira, the Queen of Babylon, is King Louis XIII of France and behind her niece Tigrania, King Louis XIV (1638–1715). These figures are not simply adversaries who fulfil the role of

[37] Heimann 2001, 70 speaks of a "Baroque world power".
[38] Cf. Lhotsky 1952.
[39] For general character design in *Austriana regina Arabiae* cf. Walser 2014a, 373–378.

antagonists by virtue of being the queens of foreign lands. Rather, Ertl's intention is to intensify the hostility between these figures by acquainting the reader with it from the start: in the story told by Austriana's maid Floresina at the beginning of the first book, she is able to report that Altomira is a declared enemy of Austriana ("Altomiram *[...]* Austrianae juratam hostem," p. 24). It is precisely this, the positive and negative figures of the plot set directly against each other, which makes the contrast between the two all the more stark and allows the characters of Altomira and Tigrania to fulfil their function as anti-mirrors of princes all the more effectively. This is also the reason for Ertl repeatedly setting the enemies in direct confrontation with each other throughout the novel. In the second and third books Austriana finds herself at Tigrania's court, where she heroically bears torture and torment. In the third book Aurindus and Altomira are together in the Arabian capital Manambis, where he is preparing for their mock wedding, whilst she attempts to corrupt him by any means necessary. When it comes to the siege of Manambis in the fourth book, Tigrania shoots the ominous first arrow at Austriana in the town. Eventually, at the end of the novel, Austriana challenges Tigrania to a duel, which is refused. An official duel takes place between Torvan and Aurindus, but with Austriana secretly fighting in her husband's armour. Through these examples we can see that Ertl arranged a series of central scenes so that the main characters of his novel would come up against each other and it would be easy for the reader to compare both their story and their general description.

That the hostility between Austriana and Altomira represents the real-world hostility between Austria and France is made clear to the reader in a scene at the beginning of the first book. The subject is Altomira's birthday celebration:

> Agebatur fors aliquando natalis Altomirae dies, quo in hortis suis pensilibus sublimem thronum erigi jusserat regina. Duodecim gradus, quibus solium innitebatur, variorum florum et cumprimis liliorum exuviae obtexerant. [...] Jacebat praeterea in supremo throni accessu et ignobili limo confecta aquila, quam Altomira petulanti pede identidem conculcans ejus vires videbatur vilipendere.[40]
>
> (It was the day of Altomira's birthday, when the queen had given the order to set up a lofty throne in her hanging gardens. The 12 steps, on which the throne was placed, were covered with different flowers, especially lilies. [...] An eagle, made of unworthy mud, lay on the highest step to the throne; Altomira kicked it repeatedly (*identidem*) with her bold foot and seemed to despise its power.)

[40] Ibid., 25.

The lilies which adorn the steps up to the throne help the reader to decode the political allegory: Altomira stands for France, the heraldic flower (Fleur-de-Lys) of which is well known to be a yellow lily. The eagle which Altomira tramples (*petulanti pede*) is the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman Empire. A series of details—such as the fact that the eagle is made of mud or that she degrades it—show that her dealings with other rulers and kingdoms are not conducted in a friendly manner but that she would like to rule as a tyrant.

The next scene, which describes Altomira and her way of ruling, is not proffered by the narrator directly but is inserted into a speech by the Indian King Torvan. He welcomes onto his ship the pirate Agrames (under whose control the disguised Austriana currently finds herself). Torvan reports how Altomira's rule has developed since Austriana and Aurindus were sent into exile. For him, Altomira is the only true queen (p. 43):

> Scilicet Altomiram solam orbis universi haeredem esse, caeteros omnes solum vi, clam aut precario dominari. Austrianam contrahendis potius nuptiis quam expugnandis urbibus aptam esse.
>
> (He thought that Altomira was the only true heir of the whole world, while all the others would reign only by force, secretly or precariously. Austriana was better fitted for marriages than for the conquest of towns.)

The implication that Austriana came to power through skilfully arranged marriages rather than through military success plays on the well-known dictum about the Habsburg marriage policy: "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube!" (Let others wage war; you, happy Austria, marry!) However, continues Torvan, the kingdom lacks unity and cohesion: "Nunc Arabiae regnum in diversas factiones devium et vix sibi simile exspectare tandem dominum vel dominam, quisquis ille sit." (Now the kingdom of Arabia is split up into different parties and, scarcely resembling itself, waits for a king or a queen, whoever it might be. p. 44). Even if Torvan, because of his diplomatic position, is working on the assumption that Altomira should be this ruler over all Arabia, his position also implicitly shows that there is no unity in the kingdom without Austriana: she alone (or the royal couple) can bring about this sense of unity.

The first direct description of Altomira's rule can be found at the beginning of the third book. Initially, she tries to sweeten the new regime for the people by granting a range of privileges and concessions (*privilegiorum largitione*, p. 108). Then she makes use of the rhetorical abilities of astrologers, poets and orators (*fluida verborum inanitate*, p. 109) in order to make herself popular among the people. A poetological reference can be found in this detail, suggesting that Ertl considered poets and writers

to play a role in legitimising a certain type of regime before a large audience.

However, Altomira's regime soon shows its true colours ("post breve tempus latentis tyrannidis alveo viam praebuere", p. 109): out of fear of attack she spies on her people and prohibits travel abroad, she fuels conflict amongst her subjects so that they do not unite and turn against her, she exiles powerful nobles who pose a threat to her rule. Behind the pretence of lawfulness, brutal crimes rage. Both science and merrymaking are only encouraged with the aim of deterring the people from mounting any possible protests (cf. pp. 109–111).

We see here an anti-mirror of princes, which does not need to be inferred from the characters but which explicitly demonstrates and decries misconduct from a ruler. Every small detail shows the reader what an intelligent leader, concerned for the well-being of their people should not do. The regime of Austriana and Aurindus appears to be a deliberate contrast on the inner fictional level. The reader would, however, also compare the description with their own reality and Leopold I's regime, brought to light indirectly in the text.

In fact, events of the Viennese court are discernible in the critical description of Altomira's regime. She exiles powerful, potentially dangerous nobles; Leopold I repeatedly overthrew his leading advisors—Johann Weikhard, Prince of Auersperg (1615–1677) in 1669 and the President of the Privy Council, Wenzel Eusebius, Prince of Lobkowitz (1609–1677) in 1674—because they were reportedly in league with France.[41] The mirror of princes of Austriana is therefore effective on two levels. Firstly, it is clear that the regime of Austria's enemies, above all that of France, is supposed to be portrayed as evil and tyrannical, whilst Habsburg rule is set aside as positive. Secondly, a subversive reading of the text is possible: Ertl seeks to show how an ideal ruler should not behave, and also slips in elements of the Viennese court. In this way he can mount criticism at no risk to himself, as his words credibly assure us again and again that these scenes refer to France (Altomira) and not Austria (Austriana).

The final encounter with Altomira plays out in her prison cell after Aurindus uses force to bring her regime to an end. There she regrets having put too much faith in fortune ("Vah flagitiosa sidera, quae tam perfricta fronte insultastis fortunae meae!" P. 140). She is angry with the gods ("ad decipiendam plebem excogitatos Deos *[...]* Nullus est Deus, qui me non oderit, nullus, quem non oderim prius", p. 141) and considers herself

[41] Cf. Press 1985.

abandoned by all her allies. She turns away from any piety (*abscede pietas*, p. 141). Finally, she commits suicide with a silver hairpin. In this scene Altomira appears once more as the clear antithesis to Austriana: she put her trust in the unpredictable forces of fortune, is in conflict with the gods and wants nothing to do with piety. In the Baroque Era in particular, piety was a guiding virtue of the Habsburgs and the *pietas Austriaca* was proverbial.[42]

Altomira's niece Tigrania succeeds her as Queen of Babylon, making her first appearance in the second book. There she acts as Altomira's deputy whilst the Queen remains in Arabia ("regno Babyloniae vicario nomine praeerat", p. 90). Her first act as ruler is to have her subjects pay homage to her and have them swear allegiance to her (p. 91). Apart from this, the description of her general practice as a ruler is somewhat colourless in comparison to that of Altomira. She plays an important role in the siege of the Arabian capital in the fourth book and imitates her predecessor not only with a series of schemes against Aurindus and Austriana, but also with her suicide following her defeat (p. 213).

Another explicit anti-mirror of princes in *Austriana regina Arabiae* comes with Veritas, the personification of truth, whom Austriana comes across on an exotic island in the first book.[43] Veritas recounts (pp. 55–63) how she once served in the court of the evil King Proteus. She was driven from there, unable to bear seeing a royal court devoid of virtue. A nobleman takes her into his household, where during the evening meal he schools his son in how best to introduce himself to the court:

> "Opus modo est, ut te praesente et auscultante ea monita a me hauriat, quae ad sustinendos aulicae versutiae fucos suffecerint." Inde ad filium conversus "Ut probe aulicum agas, fili mi, egregie adulaberis, fide parcus, verborum prodigus; Amicitiam nullam nisi privati lucri causa coles. Neminem nisi artificiose laudans et omnibus cum tuo impendio detrahens. Qui lucrum non afferunt, hos tu velut steriles arbores despice. Tam diu tibi quis cordi sit, quamdiu usui. Nullius fidei crede, nullius amicitiae fide. Solum observa principis genium, cui per vitia quaevis blandiri non tergiversaberis. Honestum enim in aulis, nisi nomine tenus, nullum est. Stupra, venena, mendacia et periuria tuto adhibe, ubi tuis prosunt commodis aut expiscandis arcanis aliorum [...]"[44]
>
> ("While you are there and listen, I will give him my advice, which will be helpful in bearing the falsehood of trickery at court." Then he turned to his son and said: "To become a good courtier, my son, you

[42] Cf. Coreth 1959.
[43] Cf. Walser 2013, 225.
[44] Ertl (unpublished), 58–59.

> must be an outstanding flatterer, trust almost nobody, and be generous with words. You will not cultivate anyone's friendship if not for personal benefit. If you praise someone, do it in an artificial way and disparage him by your extravagance. Scorn like fruitless trees those who bring you no profit. A man should lie at your heart as long as he is useful to you. Don't trust any promises, don't trust friendship. Only consider the king and don't shy away from flattering him by all kinds of vices. At court there is nothing honorable, except in name. Use shame, poison, lies and perjury, if it helps you and lets you find out other people's secrets.")

The advice to his son continues in this style for several pages (pp. 58–62). This enrages Veritas to the extent that she lunges at the father and attempts to claw his face. He has advised his son to be a flatterer, to trust no-one and to only form friendships which will benefit him personally. He should flatter the Prince, committing misdeeds if necessary—there is no honour at court after all. Adultery, poison and lies are tried and tested methods to advance his interests. If he must give counsel, he should be vague so that he can always later claim that he has been misunderstood. He should not take offence when friends turn into enemies. He should pretend to desire not what he really wants but only that which reassures the people, towards whom he is, incidentally, indifferent. The Prince cannot know of his schemes, but should indeed fear him as he knows the Prince's secrets. He should pay individuals to spread rumours amongst the people or to report back to him what is said about him. He should work out the best time to ask the Prince for things. He should never ask for something for someone else. He should never do what he says, or say what he does. He need not worry about the minutiae of justice and righteousness. He should attend church often, so that he can prepare his schemes there in peace and quiet. He should not, however, doggedly adhere to religion.

This catalogue of instructions forms, stylistically and linguistically, the showpiece of the novel. Facetiae and punch lines, parallelism, chiasmus and antitheses heighten the hyperbole of the image of the degenerate courtier. The charm of the passage does not only lie in its stylistic artistry: Ertl indirectly criticises the behaviour at court of certain ruthless careerists. In the course of his legal career he may have met with such characters himself and his criticism would have appealed to others who had already had unpleasant dealings with them. Through literary embedding—the anti-mirror of princes is part of Veritas' speech, which in turn cites the nobleman father—Ertl again shields himself against the potential criticism of those who might feel attacked: he could always maintain that he is not for the father but for Veritas, who is categorically against the opinions voiced.

In conclusion, it is clear that Ertl presents Austriana (and to a certain extent Aurindus) as the ideal ruler of a large, diverse kingdom. This portrayal is all the more convincing as she stands out as fundamentally different to a range of negative figures, her enemies. Nevertheless, stylistically speaking, the presentations of her enemies—as we have seen—form the most accomplished passages of the text and contributed to its popularity at the time.

V

The novel *Aeneas Habspurgus* recounts the story of Rudolf I of Habsburg who is recognised without difficulty behind the figure of Aeneas. From the start this masquerade is made clear to the reader, as the text's anonymous author reveals in the *argumentum* at the beginning of the work that the Habsburg Prince is concealed behind the disguise (*schema*) of Aeneas.[45] The three sections (*partes*) of the novel retell the chapter of Rudolf's life from the death of Emperor Frederick II (1250) until Rudolf's election as King of the Romans (1273), covering, historically speaking, the so-called *Interregnum*.[46]

King Ottokar II of Bohemia (ruled 1253–1278) appears as Rudolf's most significant adversary. In fact, the historical Ottokar mounted a fierce resistance against Rudolf's endeavours to build up his own power base, but ultimately failed and fell in battle. The hostility between the two quickly became a theme in literature.[47] Dante mocked it in his *Divina Commedia*, bringing the two rulers together and having them console each other whilst climbing the Mountain of Purgatory (*Purg*. 7.91–102).

In *Aeneas Habspurgus*, Ottokar makes two big appearances, in the first and third sections. His allegorical name is of interest: the anonymous author initially christens him *Urocottas*, an anagram of *Ottocarus*. In the third book, however, he is given a new name, *Turnus*. This change of name is due to the fact that *Aeneas Habspurgus* seeks to imitate Virgil's *Aeneid* both structurally and with its characters, and is composed as a 'palimpest', to use

[45] Cf. Aeneas Habspurgus, argumentum: "Sub hujus [sc. Aeneae] schemate Rudolphum Habspurgum adducimus." (Under the figure of Aeneas we introduce Rudolf of Habsburg).

[46] Cf. Kaufhold 2002.

[47] Cf. Dorer 1886 (above all the relevant poems by Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Friedrich Schiller); Frenzel 1976, 571–573.

Genette's terminology.[48] For this reason he places a decisive duel between the two protagonists Aeneas and Turnus at the end of his novel.[49]

In the first part of the novel Aeneas is in the service of Urocottas, who rules as King of Drymosemia (Bohemia) (fol. [B1]^{r}). In the first sentence of this section of the story the author is preparing the reader for the fact that their relationship will meet an unhappy end, should destiny dictate that Aeneas finds his Turnus in Urocottas ("quem deinde Turnum fuisse iidem casus ostendent"). However, from Aeneas' point of view, he has approached the King with his inbred humility (*nativa humanitate*). From the start, therefore, he is depicted as Urocottas' antithesis. He holds a high office at court (*supremus aulae moderator*) and develops forthwith into the model of a leading official.

Today, no reliable historical evidence exists to suggest that Rudolf actually served under King Ottokar of Bohemia. Nevertheless, this story can be found in Early Modern historiography: in his 1540 work *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis*, printed posthumously in Strasbourg, Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529) mentions Rudolf's services as *magister curiae* for King Ottokar (p. 532):

> Fuit *[sc. Rudolphus]* insuper magister curiae Ottocari regis Boemiae, qui hanc electionem summis viribus impedire nitebatur, quandoquidem et ipse ad Imperium aspirabat et Brandenburgensem Marchionem muneribus corruperat.
>
> (Rudolf was the major-domo of Ottocar, king of Bohemia, who tried with all his power to prevent his election, as he himself aspired to the empire and had already bribed the Margrave of Brandenburg.)

It is striking that in the first scene of the *Aeneas Habspurgus,* which involves Aeneas and Urocottas, the latter is upstaged somewhat. After the introductory remarks discussed above, the King all but falls silent. The anonymous author chooses passive structures (e.g. *quaerebatur dux*, fol. [B1]^{v}) or only includes Urocottas in specific contexts which are important for Aeneas ("delatum ab Urocotta labarum [*viz*. Aeneas] Imperator suscipit"; the field commander Aeneas received the standard sent by Urocottas). As soon as Aeneas, then, has taken control of the Bohemian campaign against the Hulmigeri (Prussia), the developments at Urocottas' royal court no longer play a part.

[48] Under 'pastiche' as a special form of textual transformation, Genette generally understands an imitation undertaken with no satire intended. Cf. Genette 1982, 130–138.

[49] The anonymous author carries out the change of name from *Urocottas* to *Turnus* explicitly: "Urocottam, quem Turnum imposterum audies, excipias," fol. [D1]^{v}.

Urocottas is only portrayed as active after this section: when Aeneas returns to the Bohemian court from his successful military campaign, Urocottas toys with the idea of granting him further military powers, this time in the conflict against King Belagar (Bela of Hungary), who has crossed the kingdoms' shared border ("Ad eum repellendum animo suo designarat Urocottas Aenean", fol. B2^{r}). Scheming court sycophants try to dissuade the King with a series of arguments against his plan, but Urocottas, undeterred, sends Aeneas out against Belagar. At the battlefield, Aeneas receives a letter informing him that the King has been swayed by his inner circle after all and is no longer well-disposed towards him. Thereupon Aeneas decides to end the war as quickly as possible, which he promptly does, but rather than returning to Urocottas, he quits his service to travel to Latium (Holy Roman Empire). This concludes the first section of the novel.

The essential characteristics attributed to Urocottas stand in stark contrast to Aeneas': the King is incapable of putting his ideas into practice, does not stand by his decisions, allows himself to be influenced by insinuations and is deceived by schemers. The jealous individuals at court ("invidi aulicorum sermones", fol. B2^{r}) succeed in alienating Aeneas from the King. By way of contrast, Aeneas' behaviour is characterised by great *constantia*: he remains loyal to his King and liege lord, even when he knows that Ottokar has turned against him.

For one possible allegorical interpretation of the novel, Urocottas' engagement with conquered peoples is especially worth noting. Following Aeneas' victory over King Belagar, several peoples and lands come under Urocottas' rule:

> Germanocordiae etenim arces Triumphatoris leges praesidiumque hosti trucidato receperant, atque exemplum secutae Aemonia, Sytrocilia, ac Trileonina victoriae appendices in Urocottae lupata sacramentum dixerant, eae videlicet provinciae, quas familiaribus inter peritura vicibus eidem coelum subijciet, qui alienis auspiciis, suo Marte, eas subjugavit.[50]
>
> (The castles of Germanocordia accepted the laws and the protection of the winner, when the enemy was killed; Aemonia, Sytrocilia and Trileonina followed its example in company of this victory and swore an oath of allegiance to Urocottas. These were certainly lands which, after internal struggles in family, Heaven will subject to the man who conquered them for someone else, but with his own power.)

A *clavis*, which follows the *argumentum* at the beginning of the novel, reveals that *Germanocordia* stands for Austria, *Aemonia* for Carniola,

[50] Fol. B3^{r}.

Sytrocilia for Styria and *Trileonina* for Carinthia. The historical King Ottokar actually did secure a series of military victories, above all over Bela IV of Hungary, Duke of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Only after Ottokar's death did Rudolf, through clever marriages, succeed in bringing under his control these lands which would later be almost synonymous with the House of Habsburg.

In this dense passage both figures, Rudolf and Ottokar, are described dealing with foreign, conquered peoples. Urocottas appears as the tyrant who forces the people to submit to his will (*in Urocottae lupata*). Aeneas, on the other hand, brings them law and order (*Triumphatoris leges*) and is preordained by the authority of the gods (*eidem coelum subijciet*) to rule over them.

Urocottas' second big appearance comes at the end of the novel: after Aeneas has been chosen as King of the Romans, Urocottas is the only prince unable to come to terms with the election ("unum si Urocottam [...] excipias", fol. [D1]^{v}). Having become Turnus (see above), he takes up arms against Aeneas, loses and must cede the territories Aeneas had conquered for him a short time before: Germanocordia, Aemonia, Trileonina und Sitrocylia. That Aeneas would one day rule these lands is indicated through the use of the future tense (*subijciet*) in the passage from the first section of the work cited above.

After the arch-enemies make peace, Turnus' wife urges her husband in a fierce speech to wage war against Aeneas once more, despite bad omens. War breaks out and Turnus finally succumbs in a duel with Aeneas.

Once again, some of Urocottas' character traits already evident in the first section of the novel come to light: he does not keep his promises, but ruptures his truce with Aeneas. If he was incited to such behaviour in the first section by the schemes of his courtiers, it is now his power-hungry wife who causes him to break his oath.

Aeneas is able to rely on divine help, whereas Urocottas invokes dark forces, securing the support of Hell for his fight ("excita in opem Styge", fol. [D1]^{v}) shortly after Aeneas' election as King. Before the final battle against Aeneas, Urocottas disregards an omen which could have forewarned him of the outcome (fol. [D1]^{v}–[D2]^{r}). Whilst piety is one of Aeneas' key virtues, his enemy is characterised by its opposite.

Dominion over foreign lands also plays a role in this passage. When Urocottas loses the first battle against Aeneas, he must cede the territories Aeneas once won for him:

> Iamque aperto Marte a Caesare victus et ad pacis leges coactus Germanocordiam cum Aemonia, Trileonina et Sitrocylia victori cesserat. (fol. [D1]^{v}).

(He was defeated in the battle by the emperor and had to accept the conditions of peace. He surrendered Germanocordia together with Aemonia, Trileonina and Sitrocylia to the winner.)

Aeneas is not portrayed as a cruel victor who imposes his will upon those he has defeated; instead he enforces laws of peace (*pacis leges*) which Urocottas must comply with when he gives up the lands. It is precisely these lands which are then invoked in Urocottas' wife's diatribe (*convitia*): she asks him how the loss of these lands fits in with his plans for a grand empire confined only by the Baltic and Adriatic seas. From his wife's words Urocottas appears as an excessive conqueror, interested only in expanding his territory and driven not by a higher calling but by base motives (on fol. [D2]^{r} his *regnandi libido* is mentioned explicitly).

Aeneas Habspurgus presents the reader with an adversary of the protagonist who, as ruler, allows himself to be swayed by a lust for power, bad advisors, scheming court sycophants and the insinuations of his wrathful and domineering wife. He uses violent measures to rule lands conquered as part of his plans for a grand empire. By way of contrast, the Habsburg Rudolf appears as a ruler of various lands, chosen by God, ensuring law and order with no little personal commitment. The more his enemy Ottokar is shown as sinister and degenerate, the brighter he shines.

VI

The final novel of interest to us in this context bears the title *Argonauticorum sive de vellere aureo libri XXIV*, published by András Dugonics (1740–1818) in 1778 with Johannes Michael Landerer in Bratislava and Kosice. Dugonics, who later reputedly established the Hungarian novel with his *Etelka* (1788),[51] describes in the *Argonautica*'s 754 pages Jason and the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis, where with Medea's help they succeed in acquiring the Golden Fleece.[52]

As with *Aeneas Habspurgus* and Ertl's *Austriana regina Arabiae*, there are elements in this novel which can be interpreted as mirrors of princes. In the 19th book, the deceased Hypsipyle appears to Jason in a dream and gives him concrete instructions as to how he should conduct himself later as a ruler in Greece (pp. 549–550).[53] One of them reads: "Omnium communis sis pater" (O, might you be the common father of all, p. 550). This fits with one reading of the novel, interpreting it as a work which seeks to legitimise the

[51] Cf. Penke 2002.
[52] The fundamental research on *Argonautica* is Tilg 2013. Cf. Szörényi 2006.
[53] Cf. Tilg 2013, 167.

Habsburgs' supranational rule over a multinational empire. Even if the characters of this novel are not as easily and clearly linked to 18th-century Austro-Hungarian figures as those in *Austriana*, there are nevertheless convincing reasons to read this work as a political allegory.[54]

What of anti-mirrors of princes in this work? Whilst no figure is depicted as Jason's main enemy—it emerges that a close family network unites all the figures, like the Colchisian King Aeaetas or Almus, King of Scythia—a series of passages criticise the false and reprehensible conduct of ruler figures. In the seventh book the Argonauts reach Delos, where Jason speaks with a priest. The priest tells him of the carelessness of the youthful King Anius (pp. 189–190):

> Regem habemus Anium, Apollinis filium, admodum iuvenem, puerorum perpetuo gregibus, quos in deliciis habet, stipatum. Amicitias illorum non secundum generis dignitatem, aut virtutis excellentiam, sed iocandi et colludendi dexteritatem init. In crucem agendi sufficiens illi caussa: praesentem ex pueris non adfuisse, cum magna eum ludendi libido incesserat. Varius ad haec supra aetatem: irascitur ponitque iram temere. [...] Vitiis potius quam virtutibus suorum, servili adhoc quam liberali ingenio delectatur [...]
>
> (Our king is Anius, the son of Apollo; he is still a boy, always surrounded by a band of boys whom he likes. He chooses them as friends not because of the nobility of their descent or because of their virtue, but because of their skills in joking and playing. The following reason is enough for him to crucify someone: if one of the boys is not there, when he wants to play. He is inconstant, more than normal for his age: He flies into a rage and calms himself down just barely. [...] He likes the vices of his friends more than their virtues, their servile more than their liberal character.)

The reproaches continue in this vein: Anius reserves all important positions in his kingdom, even the appointments of priests, for servile characters who benefit from his favour. He hates bald men and mocks them, as he does elderly people. This negative mirror of princes is characterised by a mix of realistic problems (awarding offices according to whim) and comic elements (the King's hatred of bald men) which renders the passage particularly entertaining for the reader.

In the eleventh book, Dugonics tells the story of the brave and beautiful Amazonian warrior Carambis (pp. 300–311). She earns such good reputation in battle that the Amazonian Queen Poppaea makes her commander of her entire army. She fulfils this task to the utmost satisfaction of the Queen,

[54] Cf. Tilg 2013, 166–170.

who showers her with precious gifts and glory. Eventually, though, Carambis can no longer stand having someone rule over her and decides to slay the Queen. In a devilish plot she plans to leave all suspicion resting on the Queen's sister, Tape. Although the attempt on Poppaea's life fails, Tape is the suspect and is sentenced to death: Carambis is to throw her from a cliff. However, unable to bear her guilty conscience, Carambis confesses her crime to the Queen in a letter and instead throws herself from the cliff, which bears her name from that day forth. In this etiological tale, Dugonics again mixes fantastical elements (such as the thrilling showdown on the precipitous cliff) with genuine criticism – namely, of the everyday scheming practiced at many courts. In the same way, he criticises a priest who has become too entangled in the worldly concerns of his King (pp. 359–360), and the King who is a poor role model for his soldiers during battle preparations (pp. 616–617).

In the *Argonautica* there is also a passage which provides us with an anti-mirror of princes in explicitly ironic terms: in the fourth book the Argonauts help King Lycus in the Mariandinian Islands to kill a dangerous wild boar who has settled in a temple in the woods dedicated to Diana and rendered temple service impossible. Now a new priest for the temple is sought, and different individuals entertain hopes of being awarded the office by virtue of various qualities. One stands out (pp. 106–107):

> Unus aliquis erat inter ceteros, cuius nomen, transmisso facinore, ereptum est posteritati, qui ad id Antistitium magnis quidem animis, sed infelici exitu adspirabat. Quo de homine si quidpiam breviter retulero, operae pretium me facturum existimo. Is, inde a prima pueritia in animum induxerat omnia illa agere, quibus mortales ad summa niti consueverunt. Pauca inter aequales, gravia apud summos, et meditata proloqui; fugere vulgum sollicite; raro ad Regiam, nec, nisi vocatus, accedere: artibus tamen occultis, uti et saepe, et palam vocaretur, facere; Apud Regis ministros inprimis gratiam aucupari, eosque officiis colere; Loqui de Sacrificiis saepe magnifice; saepe Deos, praesertim iratos, ostendere, sicque homines futuris potius, quam praesentibus terrere; corpus inedia, vigiliis, et multo, gravique labore adfligere; probitatis specie contentus, eam in exsanguem vultum induere; Vestem, nec, ut, sordidus adpareret, modicam; nec, ut ambitiosum dicerent, copiosam gerere. Mediocri contentus vivere; denique videri potius bonus, quam esse. His ille artibus nitebatur, fueratque in Delubro certa spe nitens: se unum in id fastigium evehendum. Tanta vero id temeritate speraverat, ut rogare Regem pro Antistitio noluerit, et, quos rogaturos existimaverat, amicos impedierit: Scilicet, ut, si adsequi dignitatem liceret, non humana ope, et consiliis evectus, sed divina destinatione sacratus videatur. [...] Sed speravit simulator ille tam diuturno tempore Pontificium, adsequi certe non potuit.

> (One man stands out amongst the others, whose name is no more known to posterity, while his misdeed is still remembered. He longed for that priesthood, and tried hard, but had no luck in the end. I think it will be a good idea to tell you about this man in a few words. From his early boyhood on he wanted to do everything, by which men normally aspire towards the highest things. He only spoke a few words among the boys of the same age, but in front of important people he spoke severely and deliberately. He avoided the normal people, and came rarely to the king's court, and only when called for. With secret skills he could manage to be called often and publicly. He was in special favour with the king's ministers and rendered them services. Often, he spoke about holy services in a magnificent way. Often he could show that the gods were angry, and so he scared people not with current, but with future things. He exercised his body by abstinence, keeping vigil and much hard work. He was happy with the semblance of honesty, which he showed on his bloodless face. His clothes were modest, so that he did not look dirty, and not abundant, so that he did not look ambitious. He was happy to live with mediocrity. He wanted more to seem good, than to be good. These were his skills, and in the temple service he had this one hope, that he would be the only one to get this position. But he had this hope with such rashness, that he did not want to ask the king for the priesthood and hindered those friends who he thought would ask for him. He did this with the view that if he could get the position, it should seem that he got it not with the help or advice of a man, but out of divine design. [...] But even if this trickster was hoping for the priesthood for such a long time, he did not get it.)

It is not too great a step to see in the description of the scheming candidates of the Mariandinian Islands a criticism of the way in which some priests were working their way up in the church hierarchy in Hungary and in the entire Catholic world of the 18th century. Dugonics was well acquainted with the situation, as he himself was a priest: he was born in Szeged, and ordained in the Piarist order there in 1756. He taught at various schools of the order until he eventually became Professor of Mathematics at the University of Nagyszombat from 1774.[55] With great attention to detail, he describes the career-obsessed candidates for the priesthood, who from early childhood work to achieve a high position, above all by dubious means. With a certain joy, Dugonics concludes the passage with the terse hint that the man who long had designs on the position did not, in the end, receive it.

[55] For Dugonics' Biography cf. Szörényi 1996, 108–140; Tilg 2013, 162.

VII

As has been shown, these three Habsburg novels, Wilhelm Ertl's *Austriana regina Arabiae*, the anonymous *Aeneas Habspurgus*, and András Dugonics' *Argonautica* definitely use the literary technique of the incorporated mirror of princes, which supports their common political direction and aim – that is, legitimising the multinational regime of the Habsburgs. They succeed especially with the convincing and captivating passages in which they present the inverse face of a mirror of a prince, either in the depiction of the positive hero's antagonist or with explicitly morally reprehensible recommendations as to how a ruler should conduct himself, which the reader must be able to decode correctly through certain ironic hints. By virtue of their stylistic sophistication and their graphic clarity, these passages have helped to contribute to the popularity of the genre.

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