Edited by Vladislav Rjéoutski and Willem Frijhoff

Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe

Education, Sociability, and Governance

Amsterdam University

Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe

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Introduction

Vladislav Rjéoutski and Willem Frijhoff

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Keywords: education, sociability, Enlightenment, foreign language teaching, multilingualism

The eighteenth century was a period of intense economic and cultural exchange and a time during which new forms of sociability and corporate culture were emerging everywhere in Europe. The rampant nationalism of the past three centuries has made the nations of Europe to our minds much more monolingual than they used to be in real life. In fact, the linguistic situation in many countries was characterized by multilingualism, various languages being used in different contexts and having different functions. The same holds more specifically for many social and professional *milieux*. The linguistic needs of social, religious, and professional groups also had an impact on education, and on its provisions and institutions. Language learning underwent serious changes throughout the century, and different didactic traditions often clashed. In northern Europe, the need to speak the vernacular language(s), particularly for trade purposes, often contrasted with the tradition of studying Latin in the field of learning and scholarship. While in the course of the eighteenth century French had become a lingua franca in social life for most of the European elites, German, English, Italian, and a few other languages were also used extensively by non-native speakers in different parts of Europe and in various contexts. In some cases, the choice of a language was the sign of an emerging economic interest, or of a changing political preference; in others it could be explained by the circulation of knowledge, by a desire for innovation, or by existing networks. Multilingual states such as the Habsburg Monarchy and the Russian Empire, or the short-lived Napoleonic Empire, or countries without a strong unitary policy in matters of language and culture, such as the Netherlands, are particularly interesting from the point of view of language choice.

This broad, multinational collection of essays challenges the traditional image of the monolingual character of the world of the Ancien Régime by showing the unexpected riches of multi- and plurilingualism, the competition between languages and the impact of languages on national consciousness and vice versa. It insists on the important role played by selective language use in the social life of the prenationalist world; it also considers the educational provisions made during the preparation and early constitution of modern society in the Enlightenment. It presents a broad range of case studies showing how language was viewed and used, in social practice as well as on a symbolic level, by ethnic, political, and social groups in order to develop, express, and mark their identity in the rising national communities of northern Europe (east and west). The period concerned is the early modern era, more specifically the age of the Enlightenment. The social strata covered range from the nobility, the patriciate, and the royal servants to the urban population, the clergy, and the peasantry.

Andrea Bruschi (Verona) insists on the importance of learning vernaculars and learning in vernaculars, for the French nobility from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Modern languages were by and large considered as tools of cultural transmission. They served the acquisition of disciplines that were not found in the colleges and universities. Contrary to the still Latin-based universities, noble academies, such as the short-lived one founded by Nicolas Le Gras in 1640, were the hotbeds of such forms of innovation, adaptation, and social prestige. Both Willem Frijhoff (Rotterdam) and Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau (Leiden) argue that multilingualism was a distinguishing mark of the Republic of the United Provinces. Though Dutch was the rising national language, French imposed itself as the language of international commerce, and of the Republic of Letters, as well as the cultural means of expression of the political and intellectual elites, in rivalry with academic Latin and, of course, Dutch itself. Next to the Latin (grammar) schools, a broad network of French schools developed in the Dutch Republic. During the eighteenth century, the so-called 'francization' of the elites was denounced by liberal intellectuals as detrimental to the development of national culture and consciousness and a major cause of national decline. Simultaneously, a profound innovation of linguistic education was proposed, both in method and in the choice of foreign languages, such as German or English. As Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau shows, the rich archives of the patrician family Van Hogendorp give us a more precise view of the position of French in the multilingual spectrum of the northern Netherlands. She notes the gradual transition from bilingualism to plurilingualism, but insists also on the

political dimension and the gendered role of language choice among the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch elites.

While French became the language of culture and politics of large social sectors in western Europe, German confirmed its political preeminence in central Europe. Focusing on the multilingual Austrian Empire with its polyglot elites, Olga Khavanova (Moscow) analyses the language proficiency of royal servants in the Kingdom of Hungary in the late eighteenth century. She discusses the attempts of the court of Vienna, as early as in the 1760s and 1770s, to introduce German as the only language of correspondence of the administrative elites and as that used for the circulation of documents all over the Austrian Monarchy; she also examines the reactions this measure provoked among different branches of the executive power in the polyglot Kingdom of Hungary. She notes the varying degrees of proficiency in the same language for different purposes, and examines some early results of this policy at the end of Joseph II's reign. Michel Rocher (Halle) insists also on the linguistic diversification in late eighteenth-century central Europe, comparing the introduction of the teaching of foreign languages in grammar schools of the Holy Roman Empire and the Governorate of Estland (Estonia). By then, Latin schools in Germany had started to recruit from a broader social base, attracting pupils from noble and rich bourgeois families. Hence, they began to absorb elements of noble education and to include 'modern' foreign languages such as French, Italian, and English, at the same time weakening the formerly dominant position of Latin. In the Governorate of Estonia, however, Latin continued to dominate the curricula beyond the turn of the eighteenth century, with the exception of some modern language courses in French and Russian.

Ivana Horbec and Maja Matasović (Zagreb) examine the complex situation in eighteenth-century Croatia, a country divided between several separate political entities: the Kingdom of Hungary pertaining to the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire, and the borderlands in between, governed directly by the Imperial Court of Vienna. Moreover, Dubrovnik was an autonomous republic and Dalmatia and Istria remained under the rule of Venice. In spite of these political divisions, and the repartition of the Croatian language into three rather distinct dialects, Croatians managed to preserve their national identity and created a standard language at the time of national revival in the nineteenth century. The authors scrutinize in particular the role of multilingualism with respect to Croatian: Latin, as the language of education, literature, and communication, helping to unify the divided nation, but also German, Italian, and French. Latin is also central to the interrogations of Vladislav Rjéoutski and Ekaterina Kislova

(Moscow). Rjéoutski explores the interest shown in Latin in the education of the Russian elites. Not being part of a long-lasting, secular cultural tradition in Russia, Latin offered the nobility a possibility to enhance their cultural capital. However, the status of Latin in Europe was changing rapidly at the end of the seventeenth century, when Russia started to open up to Europe and the Russian nobility were able to see what Latin could bring them, compared with other languages such as German and French. The result was what the author calls 'a defeat'. The Russian nobility remained reluctant to learn Latin. They opted for modern languages and particularly for French, also as a means to access classical literature. Beyond economic reasons, this reflected the choice of a new model of education in which French figured as the language of public and intimate sociability of the nobility.

As Ekaterina Kislova makes clear, this choice contrasts with the status of Latin among the members of the orthodox clergy in eighteenth-century Russia. They were the main focus of the most radical measures of the top-down Europeanization in post-Petrine Russia. Each of the languages in use – Church Slavonic, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and a little later French and German – was symbolic of a certain sociocultural type or lifestyle, a marker of the education received (or not), a sign of the family, career, and personal aspirations of the individual clergyman. Confronted with the underdevelopment of theological and philosophical styles in Russian literary language, and a lack of adequate terminology to express essential ideas and thoughts, Latin gradually became a language of theory and a model; it reflected the influence of Western theology and developed during the eighteenth century into the 'professional' and 'corporate' language of the educated clergy.

In spite of abundant linguistic differences, several common traits characterized the European space, either across the continent or at least in the major multi-ethnic states such as the Habsburg Monarchy and the Russian Empire. As is well known, French enjoyed a high cultural and social status in the eighteenth century. It was able to serve as a unifying language among the elites of several countries of western Europe, for instance in the Netherlands, but also among the higher social classes of France itself. Yet the attitude towards Latin, much less known, is another interesting case in point. In Croatia, Latin was used as a means to achieve ethnic unity. This use of Latin clashed, however, with its role in the Habsburg Monarchy. While Latin was originally one of the two official languages of the Holy Roman Empire, together with German, the Habsburgs finally chose German as their main language for bureaucratic correspondence. German was considered the most suitable means of establishing communication with the various

peoples within the Empire. In Russia, Latin could obviously not play the same unifying role, not least because it was rejected by the Russian nobility. Therefore, the Russian language was given important status and raised to the same level as the two languages that were culturally important in the eyes of the Russian elites: French and German. Interestingly, German, while losing its prominence compared with French during the reign of Catherine II, was proposed by the Russian monarchy as a means of cohesion within the Russian Empire. Indeed, it was the mother tongue of the Baltic elites who had successfully integrated the Russian bureaucracy from the time of the annexation of the Baltic lands into the Russian Empire during the reign of Peter the Great.

Another common trait, which is discussed in several of the articles published in this volume, is a search for cultural legitimacy through language choice. Latin was clearly a tool used by the Croats for this purpose throughout their early modern history. In Russia, Latin was used in the same way by the orthodox clergy. It helped them to destroy their image of being ignorant priests, widespread among the Russian elites. However, the Russian nobles themselves symbolically denigraded Latin and raised another language, French, to be their instrument of cultural supremacy. This was probably one of the reasons why, in turn, French was introduced into the curriculum of the Russian ecclesiastical schools towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In fact, a critical attitude towards Latin was a pan-European trend, of which traces can be found throughout Europe, from France to the Holy Roman Empire and Russia. Such criticism was not only triggered by the nobility's resistance to the study of Latin, but also by ideas of the didactic role of one's native language. It seems that these ideas spread almost at the same time in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Russia (and this is hardly a coincidence). They helped to favour the study of various subjects in the native language of the students which was – and this is not a coincidence either – the national language of the country. This process laid the foundation of a modern educational system in which subjects other than languages themselves would henceforth be studied and discussed in the language of the country where the education occurred. In some regions of Europe, this feature of European education is now giving way to English, as a new 'universal' language of training and scholarship.

The 'fall' of Latin in eighteenth-century Europe was accompanied by the rise of French. This rise concerned not only the field of sociability, but some professional fields as well, diplomacy being a case in point. However, although this also was a European trend, it was not a simultaneous

process in all European countries, as the examples of the Dutch, Russian, and Croatian elites clearly show. While Dutch elites eagerly used French even before the eighteenth century, it was only towards the middle of the eighteenth century that Russian elite francophonie really started. Although the knowledge of modern languages progressed among the Croats over the period, the Croatian elites do not seem to have been very interested in using French, including in the second half of the century when French was at its peak as the main language of the elites elsewhere in Europe. This seems to be a common feature for several countries on the European periphery. In those regions where French obtained a real success as a kind of 'universal' language, it quickly gave rise to a nationalistic reaction often referred to as Gallophobia. Although this question is discussed in more detail only in the articles dealing with the Dutch case, it can easily be compared to what happened, for example, from the second half of the eighteenth century in Russia.

About the authors

Vladislav Rjéoutski graduated from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and defended his PhD at the Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences (2003). He taught Russian history and translation in various French universities and worked on a research project on the social history of the French language in Russia at Bristol University. He is currently a research fellow at the German Historical Institute in Moscow (DHI Moskau). His research deals with the history of education, social history of languages, emigration and the press in Russia in the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. He has recently edited/co-edited: *European Francophonie* (with D. Offord and G. Argent, Oxford, 2014); *French and Russian in Imperial Russia* (with D. Offord, L. Ryazanova-Clarke, and G. Argent, Edinburgh, 2015, 2 vols.) and *Quand le français gouvernait la Russie: l'éducation de la noblesse russe, 1750-1880* (Paris, 2016). He is currently working on a book on the social, political, and literary history of French in Russia, co-authored with Derek Offord and Gesine Argent (to be published by AUP).
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Willem Frijhoff studied philosophy and theology in the Netherlands, and history and social sciences in Paris (Sorbonne and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales). He obtained his PhD (social sciences) at Tilburg University (1981), and received an honorary doctorate (history of education)

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Learning Vernaculars, Learning in Vernaculars

The Role of Modern Languages in Nicolas Le Gras's noble academy and in teaching practices for the nobility (France, 1640-c.1750)[1]

Andrea Bruschi (*Università di Verona*)

Rjéoutski, Vladislav and Willem Frijhoff, *Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe. Education, Sociability, and Governance*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018

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Abstract

This article relates to the learning of vernaculars and in vernaculars for the French nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: modern languages were often considered simultaneously an object of study and a tool for cultural transmission and acquisition. My analysis focuses in particular on:

– the use of the French vernacular for 'sciences' and the teaching of foreign languages in some proposals for the foundation of noble academies, in particular the short-lived school founded and run between 1640 and 1644 by Nicolas Le Gras in the town of Richelieu;
– the methods generally used to teach and learn modern languages (especially the widespread reading/translating technique), as well as the progressive definition of a group of multi-subject writers and teachers, who taught French and foreign noblemen in vernaculars. Through those vernaculars, the nobility was acquainted with all the disciplines that could not be found in traditional institutions, such as *collèges* and universities.

Keywords: nobility, language learning, France, Latin, modern languages, Nicolas Le Gras

1 I would like to thank Ilaria Carlini for proof-reading.

The nobility and modern language learning

Between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the light of significant social, political, and military changes – such as the rise of the *noblesse de robe* (a non-military nobility at the service of the state), the increasing complexity of the state system, the crisis of civil wars, and the evolution of the techniques of warfare – the old French nobility was confronted with a deep questioning of its identity, its functions, and the basis of its power. A process of redefinition of this kind was most clearly expressed through the emergence of new ideas – often arising from among the nobility itself – on how to educate the young representatives of illustrious families traditionally identified with military activity alone and perceived as hostile to any form of instruction. The nobility now needed to found its power and inherited privileges on the mastery of specific skills: young nobles required instruction that would enable them to perform the political and military tasks entrusted to them, and furthermore, provide them with the elements of a social and cultural identity imposing self-control and respect for the social codes of the nobility.[2] The aim was not to reach the level of learning and specialization that future judges, theologians, and physicians achieved by following and completing the traditional educational path; nonetheless, the nobility was now also explicitly invited to apply itself to learning. One of the ways that this need to provide noblemen with a new, targeted education, expressed itself was the increasing importance, for young nobles, of modern language learning (French as well as foreign languages) from the late sixteenth century onwards. These were disciplines generally excluded from the curricula of the traditional school system:[3] in *collèges*, the curricula focused on the teaching of Latin and on Latin authors, through Latin; Latin was also the language in which knowledge was transmitted in universities.[4]

2 See Bitton, *The French nobility in crisis*, particularly 27-52; Schalk, *From valor to pedigree*, particularly 145-146, 174-175; Motley, *Becoming a French aristocrat*, particularly 1-8. On the idea of the nobility as a social group completely averse to the instruction see, for example, Huseman, 'François de La Noue', particularly 7, 11-12, 14; Schalk, *From valor to pedigree*, 174.

3 The inclusion of French in the curricula of *collèges* was still rare in the mid-eighteenth century; vernaculars (such as French or foreign languages) received particular attention in military schools. See Brockliss, *French higher education*, 27, 31-32; Caravolas, *Histoire de la didactique des langues*, 275-277; Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français*, 43-49, 239-245, 495.

4 On the near 'monopoly' enjoyed by Latin in early modern Europe as the principal subject in schools and language of instruction at university, see Waquet, *Le latin, ou l'empire d'un signe*, particularly 18-23; on the Latin of scholars and the level of mastery effectively achieved by pupils, see *ibidem*, 151-157, 160-161. See also Brockliss, *French higher education*, 120; Besse, 'Les techniques de traduction', particularly 77-78; Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 33-40.

Young nobles were obviously not the only ones interested in vernaculars. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, French could be taught in public schools and was not exclusively intended for noblemen. For example, it was included in the curricula of the *petites écoles* of Port-Royal, opened between 1639 and 1661, and in educational institutes for girls, where Latin was for the greater part excluded from educational programmes. Foreign languages were practised by merchants, soldiers, and members of religious orders who travelled outside French-speaking territories and could be learned, at least from the eighteenth century onwards, in the *maisons particulières* specialized in training future merchants and engineers, or in public schools and language classes organized in the capital as well as in the provinces.[5] But nobles undeniably constituted a considerable portion of the public applying itself to writing exercises in French and to the study of modern foreign languages, teaching themselves, and/or working with a private tutor, either in the home or after the Latin lessons attended at the college.[6]

The printed grammars designed for the nobility often present modern languages as an 'art', a leisure activity, or, in any case, as subjects not to be studied methodically or for long. In 1677 the Florentine grammarian Michele Berti explains to the 'marquis Pierre Antoine Geriny', to whom he dedicates his *Art d'enseigner la langue françoise par le moyen de l'italienne ou la langue italienne par la françoise*, that the French language should contribute to his entertainment, as much as poetry, music, and painting.[7] As the French teacher Charles P. de Richany says in his *Grammatica francese-italiana, composta per uso degl'illustrissimi signori convittori del collegio de' nobili di Parma* [...] (1681), modern languages should be learned 'as a game giving us pleasure, and not as a science demanding all our attention'.[8] A few decades later, Annibale Antonini (1702-1755), a famous Italian teacher in early eighteenth-century Paris and author of some Italian and French

5 Brockliss, *French higher education*, 26-32; Caravolas, *Histoire de la didactique*, 90; Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 45-46, 180. On private boarding schools in eighteenth-century Russia and on the role played in them by modern language instruction, see Rjéoutski, 'Les écoles étrangères dans la société russe'. For information on other European countries (Poland, Holland, and Sweden in particular) see *ibidem*, 475-478. On the learning and use of modern languages for commercial and military purposes see, for example, Loonen, *For to learne to buye and sell*; Glück & Häberlein, *Militär und Mehrsprachigkeit im neuzeitlichen Europa*; Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age'.

6 Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 43-44. In early modern Italy, foreign languages were taught in the *seminaria nobilium*, special boarding schools for noblemen attached to some Jesuit colleges. See Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente*.

7 Berti, *L'Arte d'insegnare la lingua francese per mezzo dell'italiana*, n.p.

8 Richany, *Grammatica francese-italiana*, 18: 'comme un jeu qui Nous donne du plaisir, & non pas comme une Science qui demande toute notre aplication [*sic*]'.

grammars designed for noble readers, remarks, in the preface to his *Grammaire italienne à l'usage des dames* (1728), that it is pointless to undertake a serious study of the language, because it is only learned for fun.[9]

Nonetheless, the role that vernaculars (foreign languages as well as mother tongues) actually played in the education of the nobility was extremely important. On one hand, due to the evolution of the techniques of warfare and the increasingly complex organization of military activity, from the mid-sixteenth century, nobles seeking a military career had to develop new and specific skills in calculation and reflection. Knowledge of history, moral philosophy, political science, rhetoric, geography, and mathematics provided an advantage in conducting negotiations and mastering military tactics. As this training was grounded in reading the works of the great authors of antiquity, several Latin texts dealing with such typically noble disciplines began to be summarized in French and translated into this language.[10] This allowed young noblemen simultaneously to improve their command of a correct French vernacular and to learn, without spending most of their time assimilating ancient languages, especially Latin. On the other hand, the members of these elites were supposed to know one or more modern foreign languages, both because of their travels (whether educational trips or diplomatic missions) and as a part of their court culture. From the second half of the seventeenth century, it was the mastery of the vernacular in social conversation that helped to distinguish noblemen from those who had received an essentially Latin education, perceived as bookish and excessively erudite. Even French nobles, whose vernacular had imposed itself as the lingua franca of European courts, were expected to be able to demonstrate in society some knowledge of the other cultures and languages of the continent if only, out of politeness, an ability to express the most common compliments to foreigners in their native tongue.[11]

The purpose of the following study is not to present a history of vernaculars and the teaching thereof to the French nobility, nor to conduct

9 Antonini, *Grammaire italienne à l'usage des dames*, n.p. See also Pellandra, 'Enseigner le français en Emilie', particularly 18.

10 Hale, 'The military education of the officer class', particularly 447-448; Dewald, *Aristocratic experience and the origins of modern culture*, 46, 53-58. Concerning English translations of Latin military books, see Lawrence, *The complete soldier*, 44-45. From the seventeenth century onwards, most works dealing with 'fortifications' and other typically noble disciplines in circulation in Europe were written and read in French: see, for example, Pellandra, 'Enseigner le français en Emilie', 26.

11 See, for example, Waquet, *Le latin*, 250; Mandich, 'Langue universelle ou langues nationales?', particularly 392.

a systematic analysis of textbooks and printed grammars.[12] My goal is to show how new ideas about educating the nobility were expressed in certain projects placing an unprecedented emphasis on the teaching of modern languages for noblemen, and to examine how such ideas can help us understand specific practices in the learning of vernaculars. I shall focus, firstly, on two sixteenth- and seventeenth-century proposals for the foundation of noble institutions; secondly, I will analyse the information that a corpus of sources – unfortunately very fragmented and heterogeneous – dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can provide on language teaching practices. I will focus especially on the French context while mentioning a few sources from other European territories only insofar as they relate to the study of French by non-French speakers. Indeed, a considerable part of the practices considered here were also disseminated transnationally.

The role of modern languages in some proposals for the creation of noble schools

In France, a real debate concerning the use of the vernacular as a language of instruction instead of Latin did not develop until the eighteenth century.[13] However, the idea of an effective theoretical curriculum, based on native language teaching and including foreign language learning, had already been explicitly framed in some projects for creating noble schools that began circulating between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[14] In most proposals, such imagined institutes, referred to as 'académies', were to offer a more or less complete programme not only in *armes*, but also in *lettres*. They would differ from the many *académies d'équitation* that had been founded at the time throughout the kingdom, where pupils were trained mainly in horse-riding, dancing, fencing, and, sometimes, fortifications (i.e. applied mathematics for military purposes). The typologies of the

12 Among the contributions devoted, exclusively or partially, to the history and learning of vernaculars in early modern France and Europe see, for example, Lambley, *The teaching and cultivation of the French language in England*; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, particularly III and IV; Howatt, *A history of English language teaching*; Caravolas, *Histoire de la didactique*; Zuili & Baddeley, *Les langues étrangères en Europe*; Rjéoutski & Tchoudinov, *Le précepteur francophone en Europe*; Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. As for the printed grammars, see for example, where French and Italian are concerned, Bingen, *Le maître italien*; Minerva & Pellandra, *Insegnare il francese in Italia*. See also Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 136-138.

13 See Waquet, *Le latin*, 20, 160, 174-175.

14 See Bruschi, 'Au-delà du collège'.

academies that were envisioned and sometimes founded in France were, of course, extremely varied and their relationships with the traditional education system were many-sided; moreover, such phenomena concern not only France, but also many other European areas.[15] Here, we will confine ourselves to focusing on two French proposals, from which the importance of modern language learning emerges with particular strength.

Let us mention the best-known proposal, the one formulated by the Huguenot captain François de La Noue (1531-1591) in the fifth of his *Discours politiques et militaires* (1587).[16] He recommends that the pupils of the four academies that he suggests be opened in Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux, and Angers, or in the royal residences of Fontainebleau, Moulins, Plessis-lès-Tours, and Cognac, should follow a broad curriculum. Not only would they improve their skills in the *exercices*, such as horse-riding, dancing, fencing, swimming, wrestling, and fortifications, and in some arts (music and painting); they would also learn several theoretical disciplines, including geography, ancient and modern history, moral philosophy, politics, and military strategy.[17] Such theoretical education should be native language based and would not require a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek: La Noue states that all the main history-, war-, and politics-related texts of Classical Antiquity should be read in their French translations. As to foreign languages, their learning should be fast, practical, and functional for a young nobleman's needs: the most important vernaculars should be taught, La Noue points out, insofar as they could be useful to a young aristocrat.[18]

But the most structured remarks on the use of modern languages in educating the nobility can be found in a printed letter which was addressed around 1640 to Cardinal Richelieu, in order to promote the opening of a

15 On the noble academies in France before the foundation of the *écoles militaires* see Yates, *The French academies of the sixteenth century*; Chartier *et al.*, *L'Education en France du XVI^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle*, particularly 181-185; Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers à l'Académie d'équitation d'Angers au XVII^e^ siècle'; Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit*, particularly 16-66; Schalk, *From valor to pedigree*, 174-201; Frijhoff & van Drie, 'Het wapenboek van de Nederlandse studentenvereniging te Angers, 1614-1617'; Doucet, *Les académies d'art équestre dans la France d'Ancien Régime*; Boutier, 'L'Académie de Lunéville-Nancy', and 'Institutions royales et références italiennes'; Bruschi, 'Un'educazione enciclopedica per la nobiltà?', '*Litterae* et *arma*', and *Le accademie nobiliari francesi*. On the Italian and English academies and on the academies of the Empire see Brizzi, '*Ritterakademien* e *Seminaria nobilium*'; Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour des gentilshommes'; Hale, 'The military education', 442-443; Lawrence, *The complete soldier*, 21-23; Conrads, *Ritterakademien*.

16 For further information about this 'Discours', see Hauser, *François de La Noue*, 171-172; Huseman, 'François de La Noue', particularly 17ff.

17 La Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, 'De la bonne nourriture & institution qu'il est nécessaire de donner aux jeunes gentils-hommes françois', 138-157.

18 *Ibidem*, 154. La Noue does not specify in which languages it should be.

noble academy in Richelieu, the town that he had had built on his family lands. Some official documents related to the foundation of the new school, its regulations as well as the inaugural speech are included in the volume that contains the letter.[19] Its author is Nicolas Le Gras (*c.*1600-*c.*1670), a French priest and doctor from the region of Corbeil who, after an adventurous life of travels across Europe, North Africa, the East, and South America, ended up being excommunicated and condemned as a heretic by the Inquisition in the 1660s and probably died in prison in Peru or in Spain.[20]

Le Gras's institute, as he explains in his letter to the Cardinal, was to be different from the ordinary noble academies, where pupils were trained exclusively in physical exercises. When they left such schools, they were very good horsemen, their bodies were nimble, and they could dance and handle a sword, but they did not know virtue, their duties, 'the arts of peace and war', in short all the 'perfections of mind' needed to act for the good of the kingdom.[21] Besides horse-riding, fencing, and dancing, the new academy was to offer lessons in a wide range of theoretical disciplines, which, however, would not be taught following the methods of traditional schools. Le Gras points out how useless and harmful it would be to adopt the Latin-grammar-based curriculum of *collèges* and universities. For centuries, Latin and Greek masters had been trying, in vain, to force their pupils to learn dead languages, while children should be directly introduced to the sciences at an early age. Furthermore, given the difficulty of ancient language learning, the nobility, naturally inclined to the humanities, ended up refusing any form of intellectual education.[22] 'We would do better', says Le Gras, 'to take care of our language and seek the truth'.[23]

What Le Gras imagined for his school was to make it 'une vraye Université des Sciences' for noblemen and, at the same time, an appendage of the Académie française, which would contribute to the improvement and the development of French as well as to the diffusion of the grammar rules issued by the *académiciens*. For this purpose, he stated that he was writing a French grammar, probably designed for the nobles of his academy and

19 Le Gras, *L'Académie Royale de Richelieu, a son Eminence*.

20 On Le Gras's biography, see Bataillon, 'L'Académie de Richelieu, Indre-et-Loire'; Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*, II, 170-184. See also Waquet, *Le latin*, 20.

21 Le Gras, *L'Académie Royale de Richelieu, a son Eminence*, 107-108: '[L]es perfections de l'Esprit, [...] les Arts de la Paix, & de la Guerre'.

22 *Ibidem*, 26-27, 34-36, 39. In the same years, similar attacks were made against the pedantic and overbearing teaching of Latin by the French pedagogue Du Tertre: see Waquet, *Le latin*, 174-175.

23 Le Gras, *L'Académie Royale*, 46: 'Il vaudroit bien mieux s'occuper à la culture de nostre langue, & à la recherche de la verité'.

unfortunately lost, that he summarizes more or less explicitly in his letter to Richelieu. Through some clear rules, Le Gras's manual was to propose a phonetic reform of spelling and would explain how to clarify and enhance the theoretical French vocabulary by coining new words or by borrowing them from other languages.[24]

In fact, according to Le Gras, the most convenient way to regulate a language and, as a consequence, to give it everlasting fame and strength was to make it a means for the transmission of knowledge. Moreover, learning and language are linked in a dialectical relationship: in the same way as French can be strengthened by being used as a language for the sciences, knowledge can be more easily broadened if it is conceived and expressed in a native tongue rather than in a dead language.[25] In the academy in Richelieu, French was thus to be used instead of Latin. Since languages must be learned by practising them – and not through rules – Le Gras put forward an original six-year study programme, in which all disciplines, referred to indifferently as 'philosophy' or 'sciences', would be explained directly in the vernacular: not only French grammar, poetics, and rhetoric, but also cartography, chronology, genealogy, history, mythology, mechanics, optics, astronomy, geography, mathematics, physics and physiology, metaphysics, logic, and morals (with politics). Latin (a four-year curriculum) and Greek (a one-year curriculum) should be studied as foreign languages, during the afternoon lessons.[26] After staying at the academy of Richelieu, Le Gras promised, the ignorant country noblemen who had never dared show up at court would speak Parisian French perfectly and master all the disciplines that every well-read young noble should know.[27]

The academy in Richelieu would also be a modern foreign language school. Firstly, its programme included Italian and Spanish classes among the afternoon lessons: these vernaculars would be taught for one year to the sixth-year students (the 'première classe'), by comparing them to French, ancient Greek, and Latin.[28] Secondly, the new institute aimed to attract foreign noblemen coming from northern Europe and visiting France during their *grand tour*: the courses imagined by Le Gras would give them a good

24 *Ibidem*, particularly 18, 62-63, 66, 87, 97-98, 121. Le Gras declared to the inquisitors who were to condemn him that the manuscript of his French grammar had been lost during a shipwreck off the coast of Lisbon. See Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición*, II, 179. On Le Gras's grammar, see Bruschi, 'Entre l'académie nobiliaire de Richelieu et l'Académie française', 313-324.

25 Le Gras, *L'Académie Royale*, particularly 23-30.

26 *Ibidem*, 39: *Statuts et Reglemens de l'Academie ou College Royal, estably par ordre du Roy en la Ville de Richelieu*, 58-59 (different page numbering).

27 *Ibidem*, 103-104.

28 *Ibidem*, 59.

grounding in French while educating them in the most suitable subjects for a young noble, without neglecting their training in the *exercices*.

> Foreigners, too, have waited for a long time for this institute, especially all those Nordic peoples, who are so eager to learn French [...]. [Foreign noblemen] by mingling every day and making friends with French nobles, as well as by continuously listening to their science teachers and masters of exercises, [...] will easily assimilate the local accent and pronunciation [...]. As soon as the news of this school is made public, the nobility will pour in here from all over the North, and the highest nobility will be delighted to find an opportunity to educate their children with the most beautiful youth of France, so that they can acquire, from young Frenchmen, the dexterity and the politeness that they naturally possess, while at the same time learning sciences, languages, and the noble exercises.[29]

Le Gras pointed out that the town of Richelieu, where the purest French vernacular was spoken, was furthermore located next to the banks of the Loire River, one of the favourite destinations for foreign nobility.[30] The academy, which Le Gras actually founded and ran between 1640 and 1644, could indeed be seen by some foreigners as one of the best French language schools in the kingdom. In his guidebook *Instructions for forreine travell* (1642), James Howell suggests that English gentlemen who travel in France and who want to improve their French 'spend some time in the New Academy, erected recently by the French Cardinal in Richelieu, where all the Sciences are read in the French tongue, in order to refine, and enrich the Language'.[31]

The documents left by Le Gras do not provide further details about the way in which 'philosophy' in French and foreign languages were actually taught by him and his colleagues; after Cardinal Richelieu's death and the closure of the academy for lack of funds, Le Gras's dream of a complete education for the nobility through a structured six-year curriculum taught

29 *Ibidem*, 110-112: 'Les étrangers attendoient aussi il y a fort long-temps cet établissement, & particulierement tous ces peuples du Nort qui sont tellement desireux de sçavoir le François [...]. [Les nobles étrangers] s'assemblans tous les Jours, & faisant societé avec les Gentils-hommes François, en escoutant aussi continuellement les Professeurs des Sciences, & les Maistres des Exercices, [...] prendront aisément l'accent du païs, & la prononciation [...]. Si tost que la nouvelle de cet établissement sera publiée, il viendra une affluence de Noblesse de tout le Septentrion, & les plus grans seront ravis de trouver cette occasion de nourrir leurs enfans avec la plus belle jeunesse de France, pour contracter avec elle cette adresse, et cette civilité qui luy est si naturelle, en apprenant ensemble les Sciences, les Langues, & les Exercices.'

30 *Ibidem*, 119-120.

31 Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell*, 33.

in French remained theoretical.[32] What we know for sure is that the idea of teaching languages and disciplines at the same time was not new in noble education and that it could also be applied to the teaching of Latin. Even if the schooling of young nobles was supposed to avoid a scholarly approach involving many years of study, it did not exclude a knowledge of the most traditional school subject of all, Latin. The Latin lessons noblemen followed in their homes, taught by tutors, were often based on texts concerning history, politics, and the art of war, with the goal of initiating the student in the language of the Ancients while at the same time instructing him in disciplines of practical use for his future responsibilities.[33] Already in the late sixteenth century, the Latin lessons of the young Duc de Nevers were based on military works normally excluded from the curricula of *collèges*, to be translated and commented, under the guidance of his tutor, while drawing on modern history and geography texts.[34]

As for the teaching of modern languages, the elements that I have been able to identify so far, although dated a few decades later than Le Gras's proposal, confirm that his project to teach the principal noble disciplines through languages, and vice versa, corresponds to fairly widespread pedagogical practice in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. Some foreign language manuals and dictionaries published and/or circulating in Paris and throughout the kingdom at the time, handwritten notebooks as well as the periodical press can inform us, at least partially, of the modern language teaching and learning methods actually applied.

Learning languages, learning through languages

A frequent exercise to assimilate current vocabulary and phrases in a foreign language was repeatedly reading and translating, orally or in writing, more or less difficult texts: this was a technique inherited from Latin didactics,

32 Some real seventeenth-century equestrian academies, however, opened up to the teaching of theoretical disciplines in French. In Sedan, which remained an independent princedom until 1642, when it was definitively annexed by the French Crown, the nobility of the riding school were welcomed in the local academy of Protestant theology to receive an education in mathematics, physics, philosophy, and law in French (instead of Latin); teachers had been explicitly invited by Prince Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne to translate their most difficult lessons into vernacular. See Mellon, *L'Académie de Sedan*, 57. After the departure of Le Gras from Richelieu, the premises of the noble academy housed a college, which in turn would be closed at the end of the eighteenth century: see Bossebœuf, *Richelieu et ses environs*, 332.

33 Waquet, *Le latin*, 250.

34 Motley, *Becoming a French aristocrat*, 92-93.

which had been based, since the sixteenth century in France, on *thèmes*, i.e. translations from French into Latin.[35] But while the traditional school courses in ancient languages provided a deep knowledge of grammar rules, modern language learners, after some reading exercises, were usually asked from the very first lessons to translate into the vernacular to learn from their native language, or vice versa. The same sentences could then be translated back to the native language again; the student's gaps and mistakes were eventually spotted, filled, and corrected by comparing several written translations of the same text; generally a model translation was compared with the version(s) produced by the student.[36]

Most grammar categories were not systematically set out, but briefly and occasionally discussed during and after the translation exercises. The aforementioned de Richany, for instance, describes his teaching method in the *Grammatica francese-italiana* for Italian noblemen: he started his courses by teaching his pupils to read, while showing them some pronunciation tables, and to conjugate auxiliary verbs. After assimilating elementary vocabulary, his students were asked to do *thèmes* and *compositions*, by translating some 'everyday dialogues' from Italian into French, and from French into Italian; subsequently, they learned regular and irregular verbs and other parts of speech. As the author himself acknowledges, this was the most widespread method at the time. The same teaching technique was suggested, for instance, by the philosopher, historian, and grammarian Claude Buffier (1661-1737) in his *Grammaire françoise sur un plan nouveau* (1709), as well as in the *Grammaire italienne à l'usage des dames* (1728) by Annibale Antonini. The latter writes that, after studying the articles and the auxiliary and regular verbs, 'we will immediately start explaining some Italian author in French, then we will take the same French translation and put it back into Italian, while constantly studying the difference between the two languages'.[37] Consequently, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed manuals often included bilingual dialogues and short tales to

35 On *thèmes* and on the debate among grammarians regarding the pedagogical utility of this technique in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Besse, 'Les techniques de traduction', 80; Colombat, *La grammaire latine en France*, 112-119, n. 87.

36 Of course, this is a widespread method that is not limited to the education of nobles and the one-to-one teaching of languages. See, for example, Rjéoutski, 'Les écoles étrangères dans la société russe', 501-502.

37 Richany, *Grammatica francese-italiana*, 10, 13-14; Claude Buffier, *Grammaire françoise sur un plan nouveau* [...] (Paris: N. le Clerc, 1709), 39-43; Antonini, *Grammaire italienne*, unnumbered: 'on commencera aussi-tôt à expliquer en François quelque Auteur Italien, ensuite on prendra la même traduction Françoise pour la remettre en Italien, en y remarquant toujours la difference de [*sic*] deux langues'. See also Berti, *L'Arte d'insegnare la lingua francese*, 255.

translate; at a more advanced level, pupils could read in the original language and translate the 'good authors'.[38] It is indeed likely that, for some of those (nobles or commoners) studying a foreign language, the goal was not to achieve perfect mastery, but simply to be able to read famous works in their original versions. Antonini suggests as much when, to justify his decision to print only the Italian-French part of his *Dictionaire* [*sic*] *italien, latin et François* (1735), he states that he considered that 'almost all those who apply themselves to the study of a foreign language seek nothing more than to understand the Authors'; besides, the Latin translation of Italian words was only added to give readers 'a more correct understanding of these two languages [Italian and French] that derive from it'.[39]

For noblemen (and noblewomen), however, literary writings were not the only texts to practise in order to master a foreign vernacular. Modern language learning, as part of their upper-class culture, was strictly connected to their social life, and in particular to the practice of letter writing. The writing of missives in vernaculars did not concern the education of the nobility or the elite exclusively: drafting business letters in a foreign language was, for example, a common practice in Europe for merchants learning English or French for practical and professional reasons.[40] However, in noble circles, epistolary writing acquired a special significance in the light of its social function. Indeed, from the seventeenth century onwards, a well-educated member of the nobility in France was supposed to know the forms and expressions of this very codified art of composition, considered as an extension, on paper, of the art of polite conversation, and for the greater part omitted from the study programmes of the *collèges*.[41] In fact, for the nobility, the letter did not merely represent a tool for communicating

38 See, for instance, as for French and Italian, Berti, *L'Arte d'insegnare la lingua francese*, 255ff. Antonini, *Grammaire italienne*, 241ff., and, *Grammaire italienne, pratique et raisonnée*, 234ff.

39 Antonini, *Dictionaire* [*sic*] *italien, latin et François*, IX-X: 'Si j'y ai ajouté le Latin, ce n'a été que dans la seule vûe d'amener mes Lecteurs à une plus juste intelligence de ces deux Langues qui en dérivent. […] J'ai considéré d'abord que presque tous ceux qui s'appliquent à l'étude d'une Langue étrangere, n'ont d'autre but que d'en entendre les Auteurs'. Antonini published an anthology of the writings of Giovanni della Casa for the French market, *L'Italia liberata dai Goti de Trissino et l'Orlando furioso d'Arioste*; *L'Italia liberata da' Goti di Giangiorgio Trissino* […]*, riveduta, e corretta per l'Abbate Antonini*; *Orlando furioso* […]*, di Ludovico Ariosto*.

40 Concerning the learning of English, for example, while few models of business letters can be found in the printed grammars circulating in France, they were a standard feature in the manuals used in the Netherlands, where English was frequently studied to facilitate trade. See Loonen, *For to Learne to Buye and Sell*, particularly 155-159.

41 Clark Goldsmith, *'Exclusive conversations'*, 29; Motley, *Becoming a French aristocrat*, 89; Landy-Houillon, 'Lettre et oralité', 81-91; Duchêne, 'Lettre et conversation', 93-102; Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 692.

and maintaining relationships with family and friends. In younger nobles, who were initiated to letter writing from their childhood, epistolary correspondence contributed to developing a sense of belonging to the elite; more generally, the quality of the letter writing defined the social status of the author and served as a criterion for gauging his or her degree of refinement and level of education. The private correspondence of a representative of the nobility could be shown, shared and even publicly read in an inner circle or within a small group of correspondents.[42] Writing letters in French (or in other languages) and translating such texts into a different vernacular allowed students to sharpen their skills in letter-writing and, at the same time, to broaden their knowledge of modern languages. Especially from the late seventeenth century onwards, some grammars presented a chapter on epistolary style, while several sample-letter collections were printed.[43]

The traveller Charles-Adéodat Ferber, a German-speaking member of the Danzig elite, left us his foreign vernacular workbook, probably written during his trips and dating back to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. The manuscript mainly shows letter-writing exercises on various matters: letters of appreciation, congratulation, condolence, recommendation, love letters, and travel accounts. The first language to practise was French (fols. 360r-367v). Most letters were written on two-column pages: on the right, a more simple and correct French composition is given – it might be the result of a translation, or dictated or copied as a model; on the left, the same content is reformulated, in a new, scratched-out, and overwritten text. After some short Latin notes on Italian pronunciation, nouns, prepositions, possessives and demonstratives, articles, personal pronouns, and verbs – in which French was still used as a reference language – (fols. 368r-371v), one comes across some letter-writing compositions again, interspersed with different texts (mostly everyday-life accounts) and further notes on Italian grammar (fols. 372r-386v). Here, Ferber translates some Italian letters from a sixteenth-century anthology into French[44] and makes epistolary two-column *thèmes*, from French into Italian; some letter-writing exercises

42 Goldsmith, *'Exclusive conversations'*, 32; Motley, *Becoming a French aristocrat*, 89-90; Dierks, 'The familiar letter and social refinement in America, 1750-1800', particularly 35-38; Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity*, 69; Goodman, *Becoming a woman in the age of letters*, 100-104; Wilde, *Friendship, love, and letters*, 130-131, 134. On the importance of letter-writing in young girls' education see Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement*, 693; Goodman, *Becoming a woman*.

43 See, for instance, Lépine, *Le maître italien* [...] *par le sieur Veneroni*, 380ff. In eighteenth-century Italy, one of the most famous sample-letter anthologies in French was Villecomte, *Lettres modernes* [...].

44 Pino, *Nuova scelta di lettere di diversi nobilissimi huomini*.

in Italian only, following the same parallel-text pattern, end his foreign language workbook.[45]

Vernacular learning was also related to a young nobleman's everyday occupations. In the modern language manuals that were specifically designed for the nobility, particular attention was sometimes paid, even in their most elementary phraseology, to expressions concerning noble activities ('a foreign language, fencing, guitar teacher', 'I like going to the fencing hall, […] to the dancing hall', the '[equestrian] exercises') and the entourage of a member of the elites ('He was very well received by Madame the Princess', 'I received a letter from Madame your cousin'). This is the case with the *Remarques sur les principales difficultez de la langue françoise* (1673), a grammar written by the Parisian teacher Alcide Bonnecase de Saint-Maurice.[46] His contemporary and colleague Louis de Lépine inserts war- and equestrian art-related entries in the nomenclature of his *Maestro francese in Italia* (1683) in order to please two relevant categories of readers: soldiers and the noblemen attending horse-riding academies.[47] Manuscript 1183 preserved at the Sorbonne library is an English grammar for French native speakers dating from the eighteenth century. This anonymous document probably constitutes the basis of a language course taken by a nobleman or, in any case, a member of the elite, under the guidance of a tutor: this is what is suggested by the passage in which the master (the author of the manuscript?) directly addresses his student to explain a point of grammar and invites him to practice the exercises with him.[48] The hypothesis that this is a manual written for a nobleman (or a noble lady) is supported by the fact that the series of *thèmes* proposed in this grammar starts with a

45 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. allemand 147: *Notes de cours et de voyage*, *passim*. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Ferber's biography. On epistolary writing as a method for learning modern languages for European elites in the early eighteenth century, see Rjéoutski & Offord, 'Teaching and learning French in the early eighteenth century'.

46 Saint-Maurice, *Remarques sur les principales difficultez de la langue françoise*, 5: '*Il a esté fort bien receu de Madame la Princesse. J'ay receu une Lettre de Mademoiselle vostre Cousine*'; 8: '*Un maistre de langues, d'Armes, de Guitarre* […] *Je vay* [*sic*] *volontiers à la Salle d'Armes, à la Salle de Danse* […]'; 17: 'Il y a à remarquer que parlant des *Exercices*, avec ces Verbes, *joüer* & *faire*, on se sert de l'*Article défini* […]'. The italics are from the original document.

47 Lépine, *Il maestro francese in Italia*, 338.

48 Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne, Ms. 1183: *Grammaire anglaise, résumée, avec des thèmes*, fol. 36r: 'Vous pouvés peut etre être choqué de la delicatesse qui doit être observée entre pouvoir par permission et pouvoir par capacité vous pouvés seulement la remarquer autant que vous pouvés commodément dans ma leçon et dans la suite de votre exercice avec moi, de votre conversation avec les autres ou de votre lecture' (You may be shocked by the delicateness that must be maintained between *pouvoir* because you have permission [may] and *pouvoir* because you are able to do something [can]; you can notice this difference easily in my lesson and in the rest of your exercise with me, of your conversation with others and of your reading).

composition about aristocracy: the student is thus from the outset asked to learn the correct translation of the most important noble titles.[49]

In fact, those who, in France or elsewhere, offered French and foreign nobles their services as language teachers were usually supposed to be masters in a broad range of 'noble' subjects that *collèges* and universities did not provide; they could also explain some of the traditional disciplines in vernacular. Young nobles could often learn not only French composition, Italian, Spanish, English, and/or German, but also physical and political geography, drawing, and heraldry from the same teacher. Elements of Latin, of mathematics (astronomy and fortification in particular), of ancient and modern history, and of moral philosophy were sometimes provided. A few late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century press advertisements, featuring in the Parisian *Liste du Bureau d'Adresse & de Rencontre*, show the variety of the disciplines that French and foreign language masters promised to teach:

> If someone needs a man [who can teach] belles-lettres, history, heraldry, geometry, astronomy, and other areas of mathematics, [and] philosophy [please contact the Bureau].[50]

> Monsieur Didelet, writer and arithmetician, pupil of the late monsieur Allais, informs the public that he teaches writing in theory and in practice [...]. He also teaches arithmetic, geometry, the elements of Latin, and drawing, and all in a very short time.[51]

> One can learn Latin, Greek, German, philosophy, law, each of them in eight months; and geography, chronology, history, heraldry, geometry, fortifications, [...] each of them in one month. Rue Saint-Louis.[52]

49 *Ibidem*, fol. 28r: 'Premier theme sur la 1ère leçon des verbs et des noms'.

50 *Liste des avis du journal general de France, ou bureau de rencontre*, 10: 'Si quelqu'un a besoin d'un Homme [qui enseigne] les belles lettres, l'Histoire, le Blazon, la Géometrie, la Sphére, & autres Parties des Mathématiques, [et] la Philosophie [s'adresser au Bureau]'.

51 *Liste des avis qui ont été envoïez au Bureau d'Adresse & de Rencontre depuis le 15. May*, 11: 'Le Sieur Didelet Ecrivain, & Arithmeticien, Ecolier de feu Monsieur Allais, donne Avis au Public, qu'il enseigne l'Ecriture par principes et par démonstrations [...]. Il enseigne aussi l'Arithmetique, la Géometrie, les principes de la Langue Latine, & le Dessein, le tout en très peu de temps'. 'Monsieur Allais' is Denis Vairasse (or Veiras) d'Allais (about 1635-?): after spending some years in England, he came back to France and became one of the most famous French and English teachers in late seventeenth-century Paris. He wrote a French grammar, the *Grammaire methodique*, as well as the Utopian novel *Histoire des Sévarambes*.

52 *Liste des avis* [...] *depuis le 15 de Septembre jusqu'au 28. du même mois*, 11: 'On apprend le Latin, le Grec, l'Allemand, la Philosophie, le Droit, chacun en huit mois; & la Geographie, la

Just to mention two examples among the authors of modern language grammars, Louis de Lépine's lessons were concerned with the French and Italian languages, but also with heraldry, history, chronology, moral philosophy, geography, fortifications, and even applied mathematics for navigation.[53] Bonnecase de Saint-Maurice, mentioned above, introduces himself, in his *Remarques sur les principales difficultez de la langue françoise*, as a master of Italian, French, and Spanish, but he also claims he teaches philosophy in French, history, heraldry, geography, astronomy, 'and other areas of mathematics necessary for a gentleman'. He published works on geography and political geography, as well as a guidebook for foreigners travelling in France, the *Guide fidelle des étrangers dans le voyage de France* (1672).[54] Moreover, since they spoke both Latin and several modern languages, teachers of vernaculars could be employed by foreign noblemen as interpreters and travel couriers, and become experts in what we would call 'civilization' and 'art history'. In 1732, Annibale Antonini published the *Mémorial de Paris et de ses environs*, a guidebook describing the most beautiful Parisian monuments.[55]

It is thus not surprising that foreign language teaching was often closely connected to – and might sometimes merge with – the other subjects of this broadly based curriculum, all the more so given that such an educational path was usually conceived and presented as extremely rapid. In particular, the traditional reading and translating method could be applied to various writings concerning noble disciplines, so that young nobles were given the opportunity to learn, with the help of a teacher and/or by themselves, both the content and how to express it in another language.[56] In one of the 'everyday dialogues' of Michele Berti's *L'Art d'enseigner la langue françoise par le moyen de l'italienne ou la langue italienne par la françoise*, a teacher of French and Italian gives his pupil a book on the life of Henry IV to start their modern foreign language lesson.[57] Although most texts included in Charles-Adéodat Ferber's foreign language notebook are sample letters,

Chronologie, l'Histoire, le Blason, la Geometrie, les Fortifications [...] en un mois chacun. Ruë saint Loüis'. See Bruschi, 'Dei pedagoghi a servizio delle élite europee'. For an accurate study on press advertisements related to modern language teaching and learning in late eighteenth-century Paris, see Krampl, 'Bildungsgeschichte jenseits von Schule'. On foreign language teachers see Häberlein, *Sprachmeister: Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte eines prekären Berufsstandes*.

53 Lépine, *Le maître italien*, n.p.

54 Saint-Maurice, *Remarques*, 2, and *Le guide fidelle des étrangers dans le voyage de France*.

55 Antonini, *Mémorial de Paris et de ses environs*.

56 This method is similar to the modern-day CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) movement: see Coyle et al., *CLIL*.

57 Berti, *L'Arte d'insegnare la lingua francese*, 240.

literary anecdotes, and everyday-life accounts, some of these translations clearly reflect the author's own knowledge of European politics and governments: for instance, he uses two excerpts from diplomatic dispatches of the time, detailing the relationships between France and the Spain of King Philip V in the 1710s.[58]

The translation exercises into the target language (*thèmes*) proposed in the manuscript English grammar of the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne are interlinear translations of French texts:[59] pupils could easily and quickly practise the foreign language without using their dictionary, as the English vocabulary was provided between the lines, right above the corresponding French words; some numbers refer the reader to the syntactical rules explained in the first folios of the notebook, while a few red-ink additions in French suggest a word-for-word translation.[60] Here again, disciplines are intended to be taught through the English language and vice versa. Some of the dialogues that the student was supposed to translate explain the most relevant grammar rules of the target language: the theory of English and its practice were, in this way, learned simultaneously.[61] As for the other *thèmes*, they deal with a wide range of subjects, but very special attention is given to precepts of moral philosophy and anecdotes from ancient history, based on the works of the main Latin historians. It is worth pointing out that many of these texts – probably used here in the context of a tutor's lessons, as already noted – are drawn from a school grammar: although this textbook is not specifically intended for the nobility, it is explicitly inspired by the pedagogical principles that are the subject of this study. The anonymous author of the grammar does not cite his source, but in these *thèmes* he offers the French versions of the translation exercises that can be found in a contemporary Latin manual written by an English schoolmaster, John Clarke (1687-1734), and at various times reprinted between the early eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Again, this is a manual designed to make the learning of Latin the means to acquiring specific knowledge and the study of ancient history a means to better mastery of the language of the Romans: it is significantly entitled *An introduction*

58 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. allemand 147: *Notes de cours et de voyage*, fols. 371v, 374r.

59 Interlinear translation is a practice used since the fifteenth century between Latin and Greek to learn ancient languages or to study modern languages from Latin. See Colombat, *La grammaire latine*, 120-130; Besse, 'Traduction interlinéaire et enseignement des langues'.

60 Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne, Ms. 1183: *Grammaire anglaise, résumée, avec des thèmes*, fols. 28r-64r.

61 *Ibidem*, fols. 36, 48r-64r.

to the making of Latin, [...] *to which is subjoin'd* [...] *a succinct account of the affairs of ancient Greece and Rome; intended at once to bring boys acquainted with history and the idiom of the Latin tongue*.[62]

Conclusion

Even those nobles who attended school generally abandoned their studies very early and rounded off their education with less 'structured' experiences, such as army service, stays at court, and travel. The formal education model that dominated throughout the early modern era, that of *collèges* and universities, was indeed better suited to the requirements of the *robins* elite, who traditionally entered careers involving highly specialized training, than to the needs of a nobleman *d'épée*.[63] The new ideas about the education of the nobility that emerged from the sixteenth century onwards called for the development of a curriculum specifically designed for the instruction of young noblemen based on new criteria: first, theoretical education had to be given a place alongside physical training and exercise; second, the study plan had to include disciplines that were essential for a nobleman yet were almost always neglected in *collèges* and universities, although the study period was to be shorter than that followed in such institutions. In short, it was desirable that young nobles should cultivate themselves, but the aim was not to turn them into scholars.[64]

Proposals for the founding of noble academies and the elements relating to teaching practices presented here, which reflect the need to rethink the education of the nobility in these terms, can help us to understand better such an educational ideal. On the one hand, Le Gras's plan, in particular, is defined in opposition to the curricula of *collèges* and universities. In contrast to the lengthy traditional studies, he proposes a relatively short period of schooling that suits the real requirements of the nobility, criticizing both the monopoly of Latin in teaching and the time devoted to learning this language. Certainly, Le Gras does not eliminate Latin from his ideal training program, but he suggests studying it at his academy as only one among other foreign languages; his students should first be initiated into the sciences

62 Clarke, *An introduction to the making of Latin*. According to the British Library catalogue, the first edition dates back to 1721 and the latest one to 1831; from 1747 onwards, at least four French translations of this work were published. Clarke set out his method for educating his pupils both in Latin and in disciplines in *An essay upon the education of youth in Grammar-schools*.

63 Dewald, *Aristocratic experience*, 83-84.

64 Waquet, *Le latin*, 250.

and in French, also the language in which the former disciplines were to be taught. On the other hand, the increase in the number of sources relating to practices for teaching modern languages to nobles from the seventeenth century onwards proves the importance they had gained in the education of the elites. Of course, this is a partial and fragmentary corpus that does not allow for any generalizations concerning the methods of linguistic assimilation and their implementation, yet it reveals the integration of these new (or practically new) disciplines in noble culture as compared to traditional schooling.

All the documents analysed show that languages are not only conceived of as independent subjects, but also, and especially, as part of a wider and articulated curriculum. The idea of an educational model that avoids the scholarly approach of the school system and its long years of teaching Latin grammar corresponds to the formulation – and, at least in some cases, to the practice – of a vernacular-based education that rapidly introduces useful content, both in 'professional' terms and in terms of sociability. Whether used as a language of instruction or assimilated through reading, composition or translation exercises, vernaculars were in this way simultaneously an object of study and a tool for cultural transmission and acquisition.

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Dutch foreign language use and education after 1750

Routines and innovations

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Rjéoutski, Vladislav and Willem Frijhoff, *Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe. Education, Sociability, and Governance*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018

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Abstract

Multilingualism was a distinguishing feature of the Republic of the United Provinces. In addition to Dutch, the rising national language in the course of unification, French imposed itself as the language of international commerce, the everyday tongue of a considerable part of the numerous refugees and immigrants, and above all as the cultural means of expression of the political and intellectual elites, in rivalry with academic Latin and, of course, Dutch itself. French became the gateway to the acquisition of civic values and modern skills and sciences, such as commerce, history, geography, literature, etc., but also an important instrument of cosmopolitanism. Therefore, during the eighteenth century, the so-called 'francization' of the elites was denounced by liberal intellectuals as a harmful routine, detrimental to the development of national culture and national consciousness, and a major cause of the national decline. Simultaneously, a profound innovation of linguistic education was proposed, both in matters of method and in the choice of foreign languages, such as German or English. However, in the years 1795-1813, the French presence in the Batavian Republic and the Kingdom of Holland and its incorporation into the Napoleonic Empire implied a revival of French as the language of Revolution and Empire in Dutch society. Based on some late eighteenth-century surveys this article sketches a measure of the penetration of foreign languages in Dutch society, next to the analysis of the discourse on foreign language teaching advanced by the influential treatises on the reform of the educational system by Schomaker and Vatebender.

Keywords: bilingualism, multilingualism, cosmopolitanism, Frenchification, language teaching, education, Dutch Republic, Schomaker, Vatebender

Dutch multilingualism

Ever since its origin multilingualism was a distinguishing feature of the Republic of the United Provinces of the Northern Netherlands.[1] Regional dialects still prevailed in the different provinces, but the Holland dialect of the Netherlandic language slowly imposed itself as the common tongue and the pre-eminent tool of literary expression.[2] However, as early as the sixteenth century, next to this rising national language, French, succeeding Italian, became the language of international commerce, the everyday tongue of a considerable part of the numerous refugees and immigrants, and above all the cultural means of expression of the political and intellectual elites, in rivalry with academic Latin, and, of course, with Dutch itself. Next to the grammar schools preparing male adolescents in Latin for the university, a broad network of so-called French schools quickly developed in interaction with the immigration waves of refugees, merchants, skilled workers, teachers, and intellectuals from the French-speaking parts of the Southern Netherlands, and some decades later from post-Revocation France.

French schools were often private foundations, but in some parts of the Dutch Republic, they were set up as public facilities by the municipalities themselves. The French language was the gateway to the acquisition of modern and civic skills and sciences, such as commerce, history, geography, literature, etc. During the eighteenth century, however, liberal intellectuals denounced the so-called 'francization' of the elites as an evil consequence of a harmful linguistic and indeed cultural routine, detrimental to the development of national culture and national consciousness. Dutch critics considered Francophilia and Frenchness a major cause of national decline. Simultaneously, they proposed a profound innovation of linguistic education, both in matters of method (including in the Latin schools) and in the choice of foreign languages, such as German or English. However, during slightly less than 20 years (1795-1813), the French presence in the Batavian

1 Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age'. More generally: Rjéoutski *et al.*, *European Francophonie.*

2 Holland was one of the provinces of the Dutch Republic, but the most important, economically as well as culturally; its name is often metonymically used for the Northern Netherlands as a whole.

Republic and the Kingdom of Holland, and its incorporation into the Napoleonic Empire implied a revival of French in Dutch society, in interaction with the culture of Revolution and Empire, shared by those parts of the Dutch population that were prone to innovation.

I propose here a double approach. Based on some late eighteenth-century surveys of the educational system, I shall first sketch a global measure of the penetration of foreign languages in Dutch society against the background of rising cosmopolitanism. Secondly, I shall put the results into perspective through the analysis of the discourse on foreign language teaching in some influential treatises on the reform of the educational system, by authors now forgotten, but true exponents of the desire for innovation in their own time.

From Gallophilia to Frenchified cosmopolitanism

There was a structural difference between the Dutch addiction to Frenchness in the seventeenth century and Gallophilia in the eighteenth. Seventeenth-century Gallophilia was mainly of a practical nature. It followed and interacted with the streams of commerce, books, and commodities, of merchants, students, and diplomats, of immigrations, persecutions, and the search for freedom, either religious or political. France was above all a reference of a social, economic and political nature, and Francophilia closely interacted with the vicissitudes of the relations between the Dutch Republic and the kingdom of France itself. During the eighteenth century, French and the reference to Frenchness changed and broadened at the same time. First of all, French and Frenchness became an element of the global, international cultural landscape in the United Provinces. The reference to France as a nation faded slightly behind Francophilia in the broad, cosmopolitan sense, until the French invasion after the Dutch Revolution cruelly revived the memory of France as a belligerent nation and as the historical enemy of a prior invasion, in the 'year of disaster' 1672. In the course of the eighteenth century, cosmopolitanism had indeed become the dominant form of Frenchness and Francophilia.

A quick analysis of cosmopolitanism will clarify many aspects of our theme.[3] The term 'cosmopolitan' was not new (Erasmus called himself a *civis mundi*) but experienced a boom at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As early as 1721, we find it in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*. After a century of armed conflict in Europe through which national boundaries

3 Frijhoff, 'Cosmopolitisme'; Van den Heuvel, 'Cosmopolite, Cosmopolitisme'.

were reinforced bit by bit and religious differences were intensified, and in the wake of the 'crise de la conscience européenne' (to use Paul Hazard's famous expression[4]), cosmopolitanism appeared to many as a philosophically valuable, spiritually necessary, politically promising, and culturally enriching solution. It stimulated curiosity about what was going on in the world, including what lay beyond Europe. Yet, Europeans hesitated between two options: on the one hand, the idea that the non-European was inferior, and ought to be raised to the European standard, and on the other hand, a sense of world fraternity based on natural law, one that judged foreign races on their own merits. Cosmopolitanism is thus above all an openness to new freedom and the emancipation of the individual who is about to discover the boundaries of the natural world and lay himself open to the experience of 'otherness'. Hence, we see continual swings, during the eighteenth century, between an open and questioning attitude towards the world on one side, and the reinforcement of personal identity on the other. The latter was to be understood in principle from a global viewpoint, but was still very clearly coloured by European ideas, values, and symbols. This worldwide community could draw support from the ideals and experiences of another supranational communication network, namely the seventeenth-century *République des Lettres*, the Republic of Letters, which for its part had also declared itself free and fraternal, egalitarian, transnational, and supradenominational. Scholars accordingly felt themselves to be explicitly citizens of two nations or republics: their own state and the world of learning. In addition, in the world of learning itself they recognized only the supranational authority of their peers.

Nevertheless, we must distinguish cosmopolitanism clearly from the Republic of Letters. The members of the latter sought learning and for their everyday existence had to take into account their monarch, patrons, or other authorities. The cosmopolitan however seeks a shared intellectual attitude to life, a spirituality and sensibility shared by all partners, a universalistic mentality and a lifestyle that transcends national differences. It is precisely in the strongly centralized monarchies of Europe, such as France or Prussia, where the state closely supervises the orthodoxy of intellectual exchange that intellectual cosmopolitanism develops most strongly. From the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it begins to manifest itself ever more

4 It is the title of Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne*; badly translated as *The European Mind, the Critical Years, 1680-1715* in the English edition of 1952, its original title has been restored in the re-edition of 2013, with an introduction by Anthony Graften: *The Crisis of the European Mind*.

clearly as a modern alternative for social groups that feel crippled and restricted by national authorities: not only the Republic of Letters but also the international aristocracy. The cosmopolitan is characterized by the fact that he or she addresses not only the members of his or her own group and specialism, but claims to have a universal message for all, something to say about all walks of life, including politics, the economy, and the practical sciences.

We must place the first great European cosmopolitans in this context. The relevant names here are those of 'philosophes' or writers, whose power lies primarily in their intellectual status: Voltaire, Goethe, Franklin, for example. Even more often, this concerns gifted personalities who have achieved mastery in communication, or who are able to put ideas into words and convey them to places in the international arena: people at the crossroads of lands and cultures, where they can be active in a network of intellectual power, as diplomat, military man, prelate, or merchant. Famous examples include the Prince de Ligne (1735-1814); Abbé Ferdinando Galiani (1728-1787), secretary to the Neapolitan ambassador in Paris; Baron Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), friend of Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and agent of German royal courts in Paris, and publisher of the *Correspondance littéraire*. Perhaps the most typical of all was Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764), a universal mind in the service of various monarchs, great traveller and letter writer, and also a superb popularizer of the new science, for example in his *Newtonianismo per le dame* (1733) written at the age of 21, and a critic of architecture and opera.

In the Dutch Republic, the state had remained relatively weak, although the real power of the House of Orange increased tremendously in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, freedom of thought was unhampered. Accordingly, the old Republic of Letters continued to function there somewhat longer than in the ever more autocratic states surrounding the Dutch Republic. It provided rising cosmopolitanism with some of its most important instruments for the spread of information, knowledge, and scholarship: periodicals, the book trade, collections and libraries, scholarly networks, and new forms of expression such as those modelled on the *Spectator* (1711/12) of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Dutch minimal censorship attracted hordes of persecuted philosophers, scribblers, and hacks from all sorts of countries to the Dutch Republic, but Dutch production in comparison was quite modest. This presents us with a new problem, for where French was concerned the Dutch book trade printed everything going. Even though this production was mainly destined for export, French books were common in the Netherlands too. Therefore, the conviction finally took root in the Netherlands that Dutch morality was threatened, if not already undermined, by culture of French origin.

This impression was not altogether mistaken. For the French language, however international, was also the means of disseminating French culture in the strict sense of the word: the style, aesthetics, and manners that came from France, not forgetting French superficiality and frivolity, as the cliché would have it. In fact, the moneyed elite in the various European countries, and particularly in the Netherlands, often adopted the mere form rather than the content of French style. Thus, the image emerged of a vapid French culture that had nothing to say in itself. It stayed on the surface and contributed little more to the Netherlands than the corruption of the traditional virtues that the Dutch ascribed to themselves and which in their opinion had made the country great: diligence, self-control, thrift, modesty, prudence, careful planning, and openness to others. What remained was an empty shell, an array of loose conventions, which tainted Dutch culture and threatened prosperity. Among them: the French language or French loan words, affected use of language, mannerism, lax morals, the 'petits-maîtres' fashion craze, a growing craving for social distance, inequality, and the defence of group interests, set against the traditional old-Dutch morality of fundamental equality for all, which was a guarantee for communal prosperity. When, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the full extent of the stagnation, indeed the economic downturn of the Dutch Republic became visible, it was easy to find the scapegoat: French manners had corrupted the nation.

Cosmopolitanism had its very concrete niches which the international aristocracy made good use of when it suited them: the interconnected royal houses, court aristocracy, networks of the nobility, merchants and bankers, the literary community, the international networks of Jansenists and Huguenots, Freemasons, the great religious orders like the Jesuits, the international book trade, the Jewish financiers' families. The national states were uneasy about them, but could not do without them. All of these networks, in their own way, support the conviction that people live in a communal culture that transcends national boundaries, providing the impetus for big, encyclopaedic projects, which conceive of Europe as a reality and the world as a virtual mother country. International commerce in particular is seen as promoting universal brotherhood. Consider the lyrical outpourings of such men as Montesquieu (1689-1755), the Cardinal de Boisgelin (1732-1804), and above all the physiocrats Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours (1739-1817), and Pierre-Paul Le Mercier de la Rivière (1719-1801).[5] Cities such as Cadiz, Livorno, Constantinople, and Smyrna were not only

5 Authors of, respectively, *Physiocratie ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain* and *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*, both published in 1767.

crossroads of international wholesale trade, but also formed living proof of the daily reality of cosmopolitanism. Physiocrats and economists were naturally denounced in the press as 'cosmopolitans' as they were seen as trifling with the interests of the nation state.

French language and French morals as cosmopolitan assets

Cosmopolitanism did not aim to belong to one country, but it did possess one language for all to know and speak. That language was French, not only because in practice this was already the most international medium, but also mainly because the French language had a powerful connotation that harmonized with the needs of the *internationale* of the mind. French was the formative language of the *honnête homme*, the language of French manners. It was the language of *savoir-vivre*, the cultural model of France as a country. Inspired by the *civiltà*, the style of the courtier, which developed at the Italian and Iberian courts and thence was further polished at Versailles, this cultural model developed in Paris into a new form of *civilité*, burgher manners, and *urbanité*, urban refinement. From the end of the seventeenth century, this spread over the whole of Europe as an authoritative behavioural model. Italy continued to fascinate and inspire as primal source of civilization, following the example of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832): the grand tour to Italy became a necessary ritual for the male, and sometimes the female, cosmopolitan. However, France provided the international elite with the language and style of her rituals, her world of ideas and her repertory of manners, with *savoir-vivre*, etiquette, good taste, style, conversation, salons, theatres, operas. In his *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française*, proposed at the Academy of Berlin and printed in 1784, Antoine de Rivarol (1753-1801) rejoices at the triumphal progress of French as the universal language of all civilized world citizens. France, and in particular Paris, ranked for a long time as the Mecca of cosmopolitans. At the time of the Revolution the discord between the populist tribunes of national feeling and the cosmopolitans of universal brotherly love was apparent everywhere, even in debates on slavery and human rights.

The cosmopolitans of other countries tried to model their lifestyles on those of France. Thus in a 1750 magazine, an anonymous Dutch 'Cosmopolites' advocated adopting French customs wholesale.[6] In England, Philip

6 *De Nederlandse Spectator*, 2 (1750), 49.

Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), established, in the 1740s and 50s, the French style of upbringing for the English aristocracy in a series of *Letters to His Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman* (published by his widow in 1774). Many times reissued, they had a tremendous influence on the elite far beyond England and made French *politesse* the English aristocracy's formal code of behaviour, in town and at court as well as in the country. A high point was reached in 1777 when the Marquis Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, a Paris-born priest of the French Oratory and member of a famous Neapolitan family, published a lyrical book with the revealing title: *Paris, le modèle des nations ou l'Europe françoise*. French language, French culture and French manners were thus closely interconnected. However, they could also hinder each other, or even clash, for the cultural aims of France were far from always coinciding with those of the French-speaking international cultural community. Francophones were not always Francophiles, and vice versa. Moreover, Gallophilia (love of France) was often in a precarious balance with Francophilia (love of French culture), as is revealed in many points, in the Netherlands, in the work of Holland's most Francophile author, Belle de Zuylen (better known under her husband's name Isabelle de Charrière, 1740-1805).

The cosmopolitanism of the elite suffered from this confusion, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century. The distrust of French policy reflects the emergence of nationalism. In England and the Dutch Republic, Frenchified fellow citizens were ridiculed in order to denounce internationalism, to extol authentic national virtues by way of contrast, and by so doing to work on the construction of a national identity. As early as 1763, the Reformed minister and artist Engelbert M. Engelberts (1731-1807) wrote a *Verdediging van de eer der Hollandse natie* (Defence of the honour of the Dutch nation) in protest at an English publication's disparagement of the Dutch contribution to scholarship and culture. His booklet, reprinted several times, was an enormous success. The arrogance of foreigners cut Dutch patriots to the quick. The balance accordingly began to shift. This patriotic ideal is fully revealed in the work of the Leiden University lecturer Johannes Le Francq van Berkhey (1729-1812), entitled *Natuurlyke historie van Holland* (Natural history of Holland),[7] in which he presents the Batavian race as the purest model of native Dutch virtue. Another basic text of enlightened patriotism is the *Ontwerp tot eene algemeene characterkunde* (Outline of a general characterology)[8] by Willem Anthony Ockerse (1760-1826), containing

7 Published in 9 volumes, 1769-1811.

8 Published in 3 volumes, 1788-1797.

a scientific description of the Dutch national character with the aid of historico-physical explanatory models, omitting the old climatic theory, but including an account of geographical and social differences and a special discussion of the elite. The moral dimension of this ideal was voiced by the enlightened Reformed minister IJsbrand van Hamelsveld (1743-1812), who in his *Zedelijke toestand der Nederlandsche natie* (Moral state of the Dutch nation), published in 1791 a scathing attack on the decline of Dutch moral standards under the influence of French culture.

The debate on French influence comprised another frequently occurring element, namely the political relationship between France and the Dutch Republic, for France also had its place in the national memory of Dutch history. During the Eighty Years War France had been an ally of the Dutch Republic, admittedly sometimes considerably biased but, all things considered, a reasonably trustworthy ally. With the aid of the *leyenda negra*, war propaganda painted the Spaniards in the darkest hues, most clearly and persistently in chapbooks under the caption *the Spanish tyranny*, with gruesome illustrations of Spanish atrocities in various parts of the world, including the Netherlands. The content of these books was hammered in at school. In the disaster year of 1672, French tyranny suddenly took the place of the century-old Spanish tyranny. The engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) showing, among other things, French soldiers in Zwammerdam impaling babies on a spit, stabbing pregnant women, and torturing peasants, illustrated this new version with striking images full of the atrocities the Dutch had barred from their minds for a 100 years. For more than a century this stereotype of the new, French enemy was also hammered in at school, until after the English naval war of the 1780s the English tyranny took up the baton. Until that moment, France admittedly was the traditional enemy, but only in the political arena. The cultural model remained French, and the use, if not the prestige, of the French language remained undiminished. From 1780, England was the archenemy and France once more became the natural ally. In 1787, Dutch patriots fled *en masse* to France, even though the country was, in the eyes of the revolutionaries, groaning under the yoke of Louis XVI.

Yet, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Europe began to look different, although neither France nor the Netherlands realized this at the time. England and particularly Germany were on the way up. We see this in the rapidly growing number of teachers of other languages, in the emergence of modern languages at boarding schools, and in the growing number of translations from those languages. In Germany, the flourishing old and new universities such as Halle, Göttingen, Erlangen, Giessen, Jena, and later

Berlin, suddenly began to attract Dutch students. Moreover, it is in Germany that new sciences emerged, such as public administration (*Kameralistik*), ethnology (*Volkskunde*), or educational theory (*Erziehungswissenschaft*), for which France felt little or no interest as yet. Although the grand tour of the wealthy elite was still spent in Italy, from now on the scholarly journey of young middle-class sons led to Germany, no longer to Italy, and only sporadically to France, and then only for specialized knowledge in the field of surgery, obstetrics, military engineering, or veterinary medicine. France might still have had a technical lead but was losing its cultural prestige at a great rate.

All of this slowly made it obvious that the supposed Frenchification of the Netherlands had had its day. While among the elite the French language still enjoyed the aura of the language *par excellence* of international contact and culture, the elite themselves were undergoing a shift, and French manners were increasingly under discussion, if not undermined. When, following the Batavian Republic and the Kingdom of Holland, the French became the real masters in the Netherlands for some years during its incorporation into their empire in 1810-1813, most people's active knowledge of French was deplorably scanty and there was little inclination to improve it. French was still the language of scholarly communication but German and English were straining at the leash to take over this role. The Netherlands did not act as middleman in Europe in this process, as it had earlier through the dissemination of French via the international book trade. Of course, French benefited from the global linguistic imbalance: there were by then at least 30 to 35 million French speakers in Europe, and barely 3 to 4 million for Dutch, including Flanders and Brabant. In fact, the Netherlands had forfeited its central place in European culture for a long time to come.

Speaking French among the Dutch

Among the Dutch elites of the Enlightenment French played the role that English plays today. One of the best examples is the Dutch *femme savante* Belle van Zuylen (or Isabelle de Charrière, quoted above), who belonged to the old noble Utrecht family Van Tuyll van Serooskerken but wrote her literary oeuvre entirely in French.[9] The same holds for some of the most eminent scholars of the Dutch universities, such as the philosopher François

9 Van Dijk *et al.*, *Belle de Zuylen/Isabelle de Charrière*; 'Isabelle de Charrière et les Pays-Bas/ Belle de Zuylen and the Netherlands'.

Hemsterhuis (1721-1790).[10] In reality, the French language played a multiplicity of roles, sometimes very different. French was indeed the language most used in international transactions at that time.

This also had to do with France's still dominant position as economic and political superpower. French was the language of international diplomacy, it still dominated scientific exchange and the international book trade, and it remained of great importance in commerce. This however was not the reason why the aristocracy learned French as a semi-mother tongue. That had much more to do with the development of the European balance of power, and with the attitude of the aristocracy towards the exercise of power. French was indeed the language of power. After the humanistic neo-Latin phase, which we can see as the tail end of the pan-European concept of Christendom, European culture had gradually crumbled away until it came under the hegemony of the emerging national states. It came first under Italian influence, but quickly felt the pressure of the then most powerful country in Europe, France. The virtually permanent state of war and the fragmentation of power in the great German Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prevented the emergence of a counterweight, so that French culture had full scope in Europe. As early as the sixteenth century, French began to eclipse Italian as the international language of trade and finance, partly because the European economic centre of gravity moved along the fringe of the French-speaking areas to the north, including Lyons and Burgundy, with the active contribution of French-speaking merchants and the printing press.

French however was not only a vehicle for merchants and scholars. It was also the language of what gradually became the most prominent court of Europe, in a country, namely France, where since the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) the Parliaments, the court and other political institutions had actively propagated the vernacular language as official and national tongue. As such, it developed within several decades into the central training instrument of the aristocracy and, more generally, of the cultured elite. European elites regarded French not only as more practical but also as inherently richer and better than their own national languages, or than Latin and Greek, which for example still had a prominent place in the educational treatise for young aristocrats *De institutione principum, ac nobilium puerorum*, written by the Antwerp burgomaster Philippe de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde (1540-1598). Though published in 1615, this Latin textbook still reflected

10 Melica, *Hemsterhuis: a European philosopher rediscovered*; Fresco (ed.), *Lettres de Socrate à Diotime.*

the humanistic ideals of the late sixteenth century, but its spirit became antiquated.[11] For the elite, French thus became a second mother tongue, that of the supranational mother country which took shape along French lines in aristocratic networks and international court culture. Through a social imitation mechanism, French then descended to the lower classes. For the sub-top and the sub-elites, speaking French became a means of raising one's status, because of the prestige of court culture and the behavioural model of the elite derived from it. In the eighteenth century, French Huguenot churches in the Dutch Republic owed a lot of their success to this factor. After the gradual assimilation of the second and third generation of refugees, greatly decreased in numbers, the Dutch bourgeois elites boosted their social status in local society by massively adhering to the Walloon Church, the branch of the Reformed Church created in the late sixteenth century for the Francophone refugees. French acquired a supplement of prestige from this ecclesiastical blessing. French proved to be the language of the God of the powerful.

However, we must not exaggerate the advance of the French language in the early modern Dutch Republic. If we discount individual pupils, who usually escape documentation in any case, or the French-speaking immigrants themselves, less and less numerous in the eighteenth century, a reasoned estimate indicates that around the year 1800, at most 5% of the Dutch population would have learned French at school or from an established language teacher: 1 in 20.[12] At most 1 in 10 if we count all those who had learned French either at home, from one of the numerous manuals and methods for French language acquisition that circulated in the Dutch Republic. In fact, active French-speaking was characteristic of the social and intellectual upper crust, with a few downward shoots in individual occupations in which French was useful or essential, such as bookselling and wig making. The universal Frenchification which the common people and some worried intellectuals claimed to perceive and deplore in the Netherlands and which made many a pamphleteer reach for his pen, was largely the effect of image creation and rhetoric. Admittedly, French was not spoken much in public life, but it was very visible, thanks to the immediate association with the centres of political, social, and cultural power: the court, aristocracy and nobility, elite culture, scholarship, the book trade, and the church. In these sectors of community life, French was the central instrument of what we might call a supranational communication network.

11 Frijhoff, 'Marnix over de opvoeding'.

12 Frijhoff, 'Van onderwijs naar opvoedend onderwijs'.

Those who spoke French gained access to a culture in many forms which transcended the social and cultural boundaries of the everyday environment on all sides.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a new, geographically determined communication network, which was likewise characterized to a high degree by the emergence of a common language. However, that was the language of the people, of the country, and in this country, that language was Dutch. Anyone who did not speak it placed himself on the sidelines. Terms such as citizen and mother country, which reflect commitment to the nation, were no longer purely neutral expressions; they became politically loaded concepts. Everyday functional language was recharged with a moral and political message. A good citizen had to promote the welfare of his mother country by speaking his native language. For the moment, Latin and French remained the international languages, while English and German were the national languages of rival or friendly countries, important for intercourse with these countries and in specific matters but not perceived as a general lingua franca in itself. That remained French, which occupied an ever more neutral place on the language spectrum, decreasingly linked to a particular nation or seen as the language of the French alone. It took over the former position of Latin, but as a living language – just as Latin remained living in the political and intellectual life of central Europe. This French was often far from perfect, as the French themselves scornfully reproached the Dutch elites. It was a sort of Globish, global French for cosmopolitans, who thought globally and saw themselves as world citizens. In this sense French had become in the eighteenth century the mode of expression of a cosmopolitan subculture, a lifestyle which in the eyes of its patriotic critics was characterized by frivolity, extravagance, and worldly behaviour, but which had its own rules and ideals.

In 1812, during the Napoleonic occupation of the Netherlands, the pro-Dutch and anti-French sentiment culminated in the programmatic poem in six long songs *De Hollandsche Natie* (The Dutch nation) written by the businessman and amateur poet Jan Frederik Helmers (1767-1813). Expressing the rising Dutch national feelings, he still paid a literary tribute to the great French authors Pierre Corneille (1606-1684) and Voltaire (1694-1778), stating at the same time, however, Dutch priority, since Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) had preceded Corneille with his masterpiece *Gijsbrecht van Amstel* (1638), now interpreted in nationalistic terms. Moreover, the 1672 invasion by Louis XIV was for Helmers one of the greatest disasters that had overcome his country, a horror equal to the Spanish tyranny a century earlier.

Until that moment, France was the traditional enemy, but only in the political arena. The cultural model remained French, and the use, if not the prestige, of the French language remained virtually unaltered. Yet many members of the burgher class saw the dominant role of French customs, language, and culture in Europe as a harbinger of what would eventually lead to political subjection. After all, Louis XIV already wished to subject all of Europe to himself in a universal monarchy. When this political hegemony was slowly but surely undermined, the relationship between France and the Netherlands also underwent a shift. After the conquest of its independence at the end of the sixteenth century, the Netherlands had claimed a place for itself at the top of Europe, for at least a 100 years, just below France, and in a certain balance with England at sea. Not only the Dutch but *foreigners* too shared this opinion. The French and English studied the Dutch language, Dutch culture was extolled, Dutch scholarship ranked as the very best during the whole of the seventeenth century. 'The University of Leiden is the best in Europe', wrote chevalier Louis de Jaucourt (1704-1779) in the early 1760s in the *Grande Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, long after this institution had ceded its first place to Halle or Göttingen.[13]

Language proficiency

Though there were many ways to learn French, the principal instrument for teaching French in the Dutch Republic was the so-called French school. This school type had grown in the sixteenth century, first in Antwerp. Antwerp was then the most important city of commerce of the Burgundian state, the greater Netherlands, which itself used French as the language of government. From Antwerp, it had quickly migrated to the other provinces, soon to conquer the entire Dutch-speaking northern half of the state. In fact, the French school was the early modern equivalent of the Latin school. The latter was devoted to the knowledge of the classical languages and of classical Antiquity, and served as the preparatory school for the university. The French school typically had a modern curriculum including one or more modern languages, French being its distinguishing mark because of the pre-eminent role of French in the commercial world of the northern half of early modern Europe. Although this curriculum could vary considerably from one school to another, French schools never taught classical languages

13 Jaucourt, Louis de, 'Leyde', in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, arts et métiers*, IX, 451.

and did not prepare for the university. Their public and function were therefore fundamentally different from the Latin schools, though pupils could attend both school types in succession, and in fact quite often did so. In the French schools of the Dutch Republic, French was not only a passive teaching subject but also the active teaching and conversation language itself, not only for French but also for other subjects, just as Latin was in the Latin schools. Hence, the Frisian publisher François Halma (1653-1722) rightly asserted in 1710: 'la langue Française est devenue une partie essentielle de l'éducation dans la République des Pays-Bas unis. Il est même plusieurs emplois que l'on ne peut obtenir sans la connaissance de la langue' (The French language is now an essential part of education in the Dutch Republic. Several jobs are impossible to acquire for whoever may not master it).[14]

Yet, in spite of its appearance, the French language never had a monopoly in the field of foreign language use and teaching in the Dutch Republic. In specific social sectors and situations, other languages were in use, alongside Dutch in its local and regional varieties and different sociolects. This was the case of neo-Latin at the university and in the field of scientific communication, but also of Italian, High and Low German (the language of many immigrants), and English, and occasionally of Spanish and Portuguese (the everyday language of part of the Jewish communities). Italian was not a language of everyday use, but many rulers, merchants, and intellectuals knew it as a language of culture. Outside maritime Holland and Zealand, where multilingualism was a condition of economic success, the many foreign regiments of the army brought linguistic diversity into the long range of garrison towns surrounding the core provinces of the Republic: German, English, French, or Scottish coloured the daily life of many urban centers, in fact virtually all the major cities in the country.[15]

Moreover, the level of language proficiency could be very different in and between the user groups. The active mastery of Latin and French was supposed to be acquired after the completion of the Latin and the French school. Alumni of these schools would have achieved a form of diglossia, but their numbers were limited. Latin must have been a virtual working language for approximately 3 to 5% of the male adult age group during the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century only half of this

14 Halma, preface to *Dictionnaire flamend et françois*.

15 On the rise of German as an international languge in Europe, see Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*; Glück & Häberlein, *Militär und Mehrsprachigkeit im neuzeitlichen Europa*.

proportion.[16] For French, a prudent estimation points towards a maximum of 10% in the male cohort, perhaps 5% among female adults, both essentially in the urban environment, but we must remember that the Dutch Republic was a land of towns and cities. Knowledge of Latin must have been rare among women; their language of socialization in the international cultural world was French. A learned woman like Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678), who spoke eleven ancient and modern languages and was able to draft her letters in Latin and Greek as well as in Aramaic and Hebrew, was the notable exception.[17]

Reforming language teaching

The federal structure of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, each of which was sovereign in cultural matters, considerably hampered any general reform of the world of learning and education. Throughout the early modern period, the grammar schools of the province of Holland remained subject to the provincial regulations of 1625, imbued with classical humanities but barely adapted to the spirit of the Enlightenment.[18] The only truly national institution was the army, under the responsibility of the Council of State. Small wonder, therefore, that the very first fully fledged reform project of public secondary education came from the military environment. The shock wave generated by the defeat of the Dutch by the English at the naval battle of Doggersbank in 1781 caused an outburst of patriotism and a desire for substantial change everywhere in the Dutch Republic. At present, we know this as the start of the preparatory phase of the Batavian Revolution of 1787. The patriot-minded bourgeoisie took up arms and joined forces in free corps and shooting societies for the defence of freedom against the traitors in power, who by their moral demise had been at the origin of the defeat and humiliation of the nation.

The desire for civic rearmament motivated colonel Jan Willem Schomaker (1727-1789) to submit to the nation in 1786 the project of an *école militaire civique* (civic military school) for the 'formation morale des hommes destinés au service de l'État et de la société' (the moral formation of men whose

16 Frijhoff, 'Crisis of modernisering?'.

17 De Baar, 'Schurman, Anna Maria van'. More generally for early modern learned women: Rang, 'Jus fasque esse in Rempublicam Litterariam foeminas adscribi'.

18 Kuiper, *De Hollandse 'Schoolordre' van 1625*; Frijhoff, 'Latijnse school en gymnasium als schooltype'.

destiny is the service of state and society).[19] He was, in fact, a university-schooled lawyer, educated in Latin. This text was the first great project of general education in the Dutch Republic that on purpose made abstraction of regional boundaries, went beyond provincial particularism, and invoked the unifying role of the state. Schomaker's military school, open to all boys of at least twelve years age, was designed for adding a civic and military formation to a useful form of secondary education provided in a boarding school, an educational formula that was not very popular in the Netherlands, where pupils normally lived at home. The colonel distinguished three stages in the formation of the young adolescents, each of which was characterized by a growing degree of active participation of the pupils in the process of learning: basic education (one year), exercises (two years), and a literary academy (one year). The curriculum was diametrically opposed to that of the grammar schools : the classical languages, deemed useless for the future elites, were entirely suppressed, and a full, modern curriculum performed and attended at a hasty trot replaced the traditional slow and repetitive learning process:

First class: writing, arithmetic, French language, mathematics, logic, history, geography, military theory, exercises with weapons, drawing, fencing, dancing;

Second class: the same, adding algebra, civil and military architecture, physics, mechanics;

Third class: the same, adding the art of military defence (the old *castrametatio*), artillery, experimental physics, hydraulics, physical exercises, manual arts;

Fourth class: lessons and conferences on the same matters, weekly dissertations and debates by the pupils, their parents being asked to participate actively.

This enumeration may suggest a well-conceived curriculum. In fact, for Schomaker the basic structure and the novelty of his project were not vested in the curriculum itself but in its didactical progression and in the mutual emulation of the pupils, not in matters but in method. In the fourth class this principle had to ensure an almost natural transition from teaching by a master toward the self-realization of the student, typical, in Schomaker's eyes, of higher education. Didactically speaking, he conceived the fourth class as an interactive learning community of a semi-academic level, close to the concept of *Bildung* that would soon mark the northern European

19 Schomaker, *Ontwerp eener drieledige burger-krijgs-instelling*. On the author and his projects, see also Janssen, *Op weg naar Breda,* 71-78.

world of education, prefiguring the interactive academic community of students and masters proposed by Humboldt a century later.

The link of this military school with the existing system of secondary education seems totally severed. Moreover, Schomaker, himself a member of the Reformed Church, stipulated that his school would be open to all boys of whatever church affiliation and without any form of religious constraint, confessional tolerance being in his eyes one of the best cements of national unity. Observe that Schomaker puts logic, traditionally crowning the *studia humanitatis* at their very end, at the very beginning of his curriculum. The basics of the art of reasoning replace grammar, and the exact sciences replace the classical languages, in conformity with the cognitive revolution characteristic of the century. French is the only language to survive gloriously in this project. Indeed, a quarter of a century earlier, the same Schomaker, in his treatise of military art, had already sounded the praises of French for its eminent use in international relations.[20] For enlightened citizens, the failure of the traditional humanities required a transfer of the core values of education from pure learning to human, social, and civic formation, the indispensable conditions of any efficient instruction.

This project of a generalized militarization of the civic elite may make us smile. Anyway, in the following year the Orangist counter-revolution of 1787 prevented the realization of the school at Dordrecht, which the States of Holland had already scheduled. Yet, the major part of Schomaker's educational principles can be recovered from another revolutionary project for a public elite school for secondary education published six years later, in 1792, by another patriot, Gerrit Vatebender (1759-1822), principal of the grammar school at Gouda.[21] By limiting his school to the national elites, Vatebender – who really was a democrat of the most radical tendency – gave proof of his sense of realism in the heat of the counter-revolutionary regime that followed the aborted Batavian Revolution of 1787. However, the project itself was properly revolutionary. Above all, Vatebender asserts that the nation has to sow the seeds of happiness (*geluk*) in the hearts of the children. Their education must allow them to play their role in the theatre of the world. Therefore, a school of general education, going well beyond some

20 Schomaker, *De krygskunde, het vaderland nuttig, en de ingezetenen gemakkelyk gemaakt,* 164-166.
21 Vatebender, 'Plan van een Nederlands Opvoedings-school'. See also his *Antwoord op de vraage, welke wijze van opvoeding is de meest verkiezelijke?* (1793), in favour of a purely meritocratic educational reform under the responsibility of the state ; quoted by Frijhoff, 'Valeurs militaires, élites civiles, sciences exactes'; Noordman, 'Onderwijsdemokratisering in de Patriottentijd'; Lenders, *De burger en de volksschool*, 58-60, 259-264.

single and isolated teaching subjects, was compulsory, but such a school was still cruelly lacking in the Netherlands of his time.

In Vatebender's eyes, a school must above all be public, because individual parents and private preceptors lack general competence. Such a school must also be civic and military at the same time, because a child's future career should not be fixed too soon, and even army officers may benefit from ancient civic wisdom. Spartan discipline has to reign in the dormitories, and all pupils have to attend the military exercises. The six classes of the school are completed during a seven-year curriculum. Pupils must be between 10 and 12 years old when entering the school, and must already have mastered five skills: reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary knowledge of geography, and speaking a little French (next to Dutch, of course) – which supposes that the pupils have minimally attended a French school or learned French under a private tutor. In fact, active knowledge of French is supposed from the start, which explains why the French and drawing lessons were always combined: French was not really taught as a subject but just practised during drawing, as a language of socialization. An active command of French remained in fact rather limited in the Netherlands. The national school survey realized in 1811 by the Napoleonic regime in the former Kingdom of Holland shows that French was a subject in 361 elementary schools for a total of 10,055 pupils (male and female together), which amounts to not more than 2.8% of the age group from 6 to 13 years.[22] Small wonder then that, even for the Francophile Vatebender, Dutch remains the teaching language for all the other subjects, including the classical languages, which were still taught in Latin in the grammar schools.

Nothing is left to chance in Vatebender's school project. Conceived in a sense of military discipline, the occupation of the masters themselves is detailed for every hour. Following the contemporary critics, Vatebender – who was a Latin teacher himself – rejects the very slow progression of classical studies in the existing grammar schools and proposes an accelerated rhythm. The similarity of the grammatical structure of Latin and Greek makes it possible to teach them simultaneously from the first class onwards, but always in Dutch. At the end of the fourth year, the pupils must be familiar enough with grammar, syntax, and prosody to leave these matters behind, to practise Latin and Greek poetry and prose in the original languages during the fifth year. Yet, in contrast with the existing grammar schools,

22 The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 2.01.12: Interior before 1813, inv. no. 999, exh. nos. 160 and 261. See Frijhoff, 'Van onderwijs naar opvoedend onderwijs', and 'Université et marché de l'emploi', 223. For the context: Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800: Blueprints for a National Community*, 243-264.

the classical languages do not invade Vatebender's curriculum. Their place is stable, but limited to one fourth of the lessons, liberating as many hours for modern teaching matters, such as modern languages, history, the sciences, or useful and pleasant arts, which, together with religion (catechism and morals), are taught all along the curriculum. Within the great blocks of languages, arts, and sciences, the subjects taught are arranged according to their degree of difficulty, their physical or mental proximity, and the age of the pupils. German, national history and geography come first; subjects that remain far from the pupil's everyday reality are reserved for the last years, such as Hebrew, universal history, Italian, and astronomy. In a truly didactic spirit, the pupils are by and large brought to a greater awareness of the surrounding world. Contrary to Schomaker's project, Vatebender introduces the exact sciences only halfway through the curriculum, gradually replacing the languages. A final characteristic is the range of optional courses in the highest class: law, botany, and anatomy, and more generally the importance of drawing, practised in small groups of two or three pupils.

Vatebender's project, dated 3 December 1791, is perfectly simultaneous with, and even slightly prior to, the famous proposals of Condorcet and Le Peletier in France, and it anticipates the foundation of the Central Schools in France, in replacement of the old grammar schools, in 1795 (an IV of the Revolutionary era).[23] On the territory of the former Dutch Republic only one Central School functioned, at Maastricht (*département* of the Meuse Inférieure), but apparently this foundation had no influence on the public debate on education that started in the Batavian Republic in 1795.[24] As early as April 1796, Vatebender had been elected a member of the Batavian Committee for National Instruction, but his proposals, judged too radical, were rejected, and after the Revolution the militarization of the elites was not a manageable topic any more. Contrary to what happened in France, where the grammar and boarding schools, the *collèges* and *lycées* were the principal object of revolutionary politics and the university system was profoundly reorganized, the Batavian Republic focused entirely on the level of elementary education and succeeded in a complete reorganization of the basic schools.[25]

23 Julia, *Les trois couleurs du tableau noir*, 249-282, and 'L'Institution du citoyen'; Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*. Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794) read on 20 April 1792 in the National Assembly his *Rapport sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique*; the *Plan d'éducation* de Louis-Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau (1760-1793) was read in the Convention by Robespierre himself on 13 July 1793. Baczko, *Une éducation pour la démocratie*, reproduces all the important French documents.

24 Spekkens, *L'École Centrale du département de la Meuse-Inférieure.*

25 Schama, 'Schools and politics in the Netherlands 1796-1814'.

It was not before 1803 that a reform of secondary education was started in the grammar school of Haarlem on the initiative of Adriaan van den Ende (1768-1846), a former Reformed minister, curator of the school, and some years later Inspecteur-général de l'Université impériale en Hollande, a sort of proto-minister of education under the Napoleonic regime. Ancient history and geography (as taught in the grammar school) joined modern history and geography; mythology became an autonomous subject. Three years later, the ancient Latin school of Haarlem was united with a new French boarding school, under the generic name of Institut de Belles Sciences. For the pupils of the Latin school, Latin remained the teaching language. However, for one hour and a half every day, they had to attend the lessons of the French section, where French was the language of contact, and where modern history and geography were taught, next to Dutch literature, mathematics, the art of writing, and Christian morals, as of 1811 also geometry, and finally in 1817 English.[26] In all, the new Institute kept two tracks, a classical and a modern one, united by some kind of personal union realized by the pupils themselves.

The Haarlem experience resounds in the report presented to the King of Holland Louis-Napoléon (1778-1846) in April 1809 by the Committee for Educational Reform under the direction of the university professors Johan Valckenaer (1759-1821) and Jean-Henri van Swinden (1746-1823) and the physician Jan Arnold Bennet (1758-1828). Their verdict on the Latin schools was just as negative as the opinion of their eighteenth-century predecessors had been. They deplored the neglect of the sciences, rejected the monopoly of the humanities, and declined implicitly the segmentation of a school system separating the 'savants' from the 'non-savants'. The secondary school had to address young people of all social conditions – still with the exception of the working-class youth and the rural population. However, the Committee remained divided on the actual form to be given to the secondary education system. In both alternatives presented to the King, Latin and Greek lost most of their traditional place in the curriculum. They were reserved for the higher classes or made optional. The exact sciences (mathematics, physics, and astronomy) and modern languages (Dutch, French, German, and English) on the contrary came to dominate the curriculum, including drawing, a skill considered an 'absolute necessity' for a great number of professions. Alas, at the change of political regime, this lucid report shared the fate of so many

26 See the enthusiastic report by the French commissioners Cuvier & Noël, *Rapport sur les établissements d'instruction publique en Hollande*, 83-86. Previously, the reform pamphlet of the medical doctor Pieter van Woensel, (Van Woensel, *Vertoog over de opvoedinge van een Nederlandsch regent*), had ridiculed the ancient school of Haarlem.

other documents. When in 1810 the Kingdom of Holland became part of the French Empire, it was finally stored in the archives, and became forgotten.[27]

Appendix: Curricular structure of Vatebender's project, 1792

	Classes					
Subject matters	1	2	3	4	5	6
Catechism	xx	xx	x	x	x	x
Morals*	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
Latin, Greek, mythology	xxxx	xxxx	xxxx	xxxx	xxx	–
Hebrew	–	–	–	–	–	(xxx)
Poetry, composition	–	–	–	–	xx	xx
French**	xxx	xxx	xx	x	–	–
German	xx	x	–	–	–	–
English	–	–	xx	x	–	–
Italian	–	–	–	–	xx	x
Geography	x	–	–	–	–	–
History of the fatherland	xx	x	xx	–	–	–
Universal history	–	–	–	–	xxxx	xxxx
Mathematics	–	–	xx	xx	–	–
Algebra	–	–	–	x	–	–
Architecture	–	–	–	x	–	–
Globe	–	–	–	–	xx	–
Astronomy	–	–	–	–	xx	–
Logic	–	–	–	–	–	xxx
Physics	–	–	–	–	–	xxx
Mechanics	–	–	–	–	–	x
Law, the Institutes	–	–	–	–	–	(xx)
Botany	–	–	–	–	–	(xx)
Anatomy, osteology	–	–	–	–	–	(xx)
Drawing	xxx	xxx	xx	x	–	–
Music	xxx	xxx	xx	xx	x	x
Dancing	–	–	x	xx	–	–
Fencing	–	–	–	–	xx	x
Riding	–	–	–	–	xx	xx
Total weekly hours	19	16	18	19	23	21(+3)

Note: Every x represents one teaching hour; optional matters are put between ( ). The first and fifth classes are spread out over one year and a half, the other classes over one full year.

* The course of morals is given during lunch and dinner.

** Practiced during the drawing classes.

27 Bolkestein, *De voorgeschiedenis van het middelbaar onderwijs*, 55-77.

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Practice and functions of French as a second language in a Dutch patrician family

The van Hogendorp family (eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries)

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Abstract
In seventeenth and eighteenth-century Holland, French was increasingly used as a second language, not only by diplomats, in international business and in the Republic of Letters, but also as a distinguishing factor in social life. In this article this is demonstrated on the basis of numerous documents, partly unpublished, preserved in the archives of the van Hogendorp family. These enable us to give a bird's eye view of the ways in which French was used by successive generations of this patrician family. We discuss its relation to the Dutch language and show how this use of a foreign language develops: the first generation's bilingualism becomes plurilingualism in the later ones. We also interpret this bilingualism and plurilingualism in the context of contemporary politics, without neglecting the gender perspective, since many of the documents of this family were written by women.

Keywords: bilingualism, correspondence, education in French, egodocuments, French as second language, Low Countries, multilingualism, van Hogendorp family

In a recent study on multilingualism in the United Provinces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Willem Frijhoff underlines the particular place that French gradually occupied.[1] Of course, the States General, that is to say the government of the Republic of the Seven Provinces which was born in 1579, adopted Dutch for official texts, and the translation of the Bible they commissioned (published in 1637 as States Translation or States Bible) marks a new step in the standardization of Dutch and its recognition as the national language. Besides, the presence of other languages on the territory of the Republic can be observed too, languages such as the Frisian spoken in the province of Frisia (Friesland), Latin used in scholarly communication and in religious controversy. The knowledge of modern languages (French, English, German, and to a lesser extent Italian and Spanish) proved essential for commercial relations with the countries where these languages were spoken but also on account of the presence of groups originating from these countries, on the soil of the Republic.

In this context of multilingualism French, which was present in the Dutch linguistic space from the fourteenth century, through the intermediary of the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, was reinforced by a first wave of Walloon refugees in the sixteenth century, fleeing the religious persecution of the Spanish sovereigns, then by a second wave, formed by the numerous Huguenots leaving France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Several factors were to contribute to establishing its hegemony: first the fact that over the seventeenth century Latin gradually lost its status as the international language of scholarly communication; the number of French-speaking periodicals created by Huguenot refugees only increased the process, French gradually becoming the language of the Republic of Letters. Used already for a long time in commercial relations, French also became the usual language of diplomatic negotiations. Spoken in the country that at the time was one of the most populated in Europe, it acquired the status of the language of international reference and, to use Pierre Bourdieu's terminology, it was considered by the upper classes of the Republic, wishing to increase their social prestige, as a language of 'distinction'. Despite scholarly resistance in favour of Dutch as opposed to the ever growing hegemony of French,[2] despite virulent criticisms during the eighteenth century in popular journals both in French and Dutch against the (supposed) disdain of the elites as regards their mother tongue and

1 Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age'.

2 Thus Pieter Rabus (1660-1712) created in 1692 the first scientific periodical in Dutch, *De Boekzaal van Europe*. See Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age', 119.

thus for the old Batavian virtues,[3] Dutch-French bilingualism was common, particularly among the aristocracy and the patriciate, who used it not only in relations with foreigners but also within the family circle.

Thus the French-speaking Dutch writer Isabelle de Charrière (1740-1805), when talking to her nephew Willem René van Tuyll van Serooskerken in the 1790s, insists on the necessity of mastering both languages perfectly. Her brother, Vincent, the father of the young man, is moreover in complete agreement with her:

> Tout ce que vous remarquez quand au parler et penser juste est de la dernière vérité, et du dernier difficile surtout pour un Hollandais qui doit, ou qui devrait pour cela connaître également sa propre langue, et la française, je vous remercie de m'avoir indiqué la grammaire de Gibelin, et les Mémoires de Duclos (30 juin 1792).
>
> Everything you say concerning the right way to speak and to think is true, and difficult especially for a man of Holland who must or who should know his own language and French equally well, I thank you for having indicated Gibelin's [Gébelin's] grammar, and the *Mémoires* by Duclos (30 June 1792).[4]

Franco-Dutch bilingualism is considered self-evident, although already at this time the international quasi-monopoly of French was beginning to disappear, to be replaced by German and English.

I am going to present to you with the way French was practised, according to the writings of a Dutch patrician family, the van Hogendorp, including its relations with the Dutch language, and to outline the evolution from the bilingualism of the first generation to the plurilingualism of later generations.

The van Hogendorp family and writings in French

The van Hogendorp family indeed offers an exemplary case of this practice of French both in the public and in the private sphere. Its very rich archives, kept in the National Archives of the Hague, contain texts written by three generations, destined for publication (literary, economic, and political writings) as

3 See, for example, Justus van Effen (1684-1735), in his *Misanthrope* (1711-1712), letter 13 (10 August 1711), 60-63.

4 Isabelle de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 377: letter of 30 June 1792.

well as varied personal documents such as travel journals, personal diaries and letters, and autobiographical texts.[5] Here we are using writings of the first generation, those of Willem van Hogendorp (1735-1784) and his wife Carolina van Haren (1741-1812). As for the second generation, their six children Dirk (1761-1822), Gijsbert Karel (1762-1834), Willem (1765-1834), Antje (or Annette, 1766-1802), Geertruida (or Gertrude, 1767-1800), and Frederik (Frits/Fritz) (1769-1823), all left writings in French, the most prolific being Gijsbert Karel who also was the most famous member of his family, on account of his role in Dutch political life: kept out of politics because of his Orangist convictions during the so-called French period that the Low Countries experienced from 1795 to 1813, in November 1813 he co-organized the return of the princes of Orange, becoming in December first minister for foreign affairs of the new Kingdom of the Netherlands, and is known as one of the co-authors of its new Constitution. His numerous writings were kept because of his position, but also quite deliberately, and over the years these archives were enriched by original documents from other members of his family.

His older brother Dirk first made a career in the Dutch Indies. Very critical concerning the organization of the East India Company, he was relieved of his duties, and returned to Holland where he paid allegiance to the new regime. He served King Louis-Napoléon as well as Napoléon himself, who in 1811 made him Comte d'Empire. He too left a lot of writings in French, among them the *Mémoires* published in 1887. Of the two sisters and the two younger brothers we only have private documents, travel journals and abundant family letters between parents and children, and brothers and sisters. As far as the third generation is concerned, we shall limit ourselves to the son of Dirk and Elisabeth Bartlo (1773-1801), Carel Sirardus Willem (1788-1856), who left some attempts at poetry, drafts of *Mémoires* and a travel diary, and to the second daughter of Gijsbert Karel and Hester Clifford (1766-1826), Hester van Hogendorp (1791-1830), who kept up a correspondence in French with her father.

Practices and functions of French

To what extent are the factors that contributed to determining the privileged status of French visible in the practice of this language by the van Hogendorp family?

5 The Hague, Nationaal Archief [NA], 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp; 2.21.008.69, Collectie van Hogendorp, suppl. 1.

French, language of distinction

The fact that in this family circle the use of French was a mark of distinction appears clearly in a letter from Carolina van Haren to her son Gijsbert Karel where she explains to him that the mother tongue of a man of his rank (a patrician) was in fact threefold – the language of books (Latin), the language of correspondence, of politeness and *savoir-vivre* (French), and spoken language (Dutch) for conversing with ordinary citizens and in that way ensuring their friendship; it is thus useful to know all three.[6] The political dimension of a mastery of spoken Dutch (language essential for a military or political career in the Republic), the social distinction attached to French (Latin still being considered the language of culture, required for administrative jobs[7]) are clearly highlighted in these remarks. Moreover, Carolina passes on to her children the practices current in her own family. Her father Onno Zwier van Haren (1713-1779) and her uncle, the poet Willem van Haren, had had a bilingual education and used French in their epistolary exchanges.[8]

French, the language of the Republic of Letters

The prestige of French among the Dutch elites and more generally in Europe is also linked to the influence exercised in the literary and aesthetic domain by the classical authors of the seventeenth century, Boileau, Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine to name but a few, and in the domain of ideas and political and social thought by those of the eighteenth, such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, as well as Diderot and the Encyclopedists.[9]

This literary and philosophical admiration is to be found too among the members of the van Hogendorp family, some of whom, not content just to read, try their hand at writing in French. Thus, Willem van Hogendorp, who had become aquainted with Diderot in Paris at Baron d'Holbach's in the years 1758-1759, contacted him again in 1771, submitting for the philosopher's approval some of his poems in French, together with some questions concerning problems of versification.[10] One of his grandsons, Carel Sirardus Willem (son of Dirk) may have inherited his literary talents,

6 De Beaufort, *Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp*, 37.

7 Frijhoff, 'Le statut culturel du français', 36-37.

8 Vliet, *Onno Zwier van Haren*, 45.

9 Argent *et al.*, 'European Francophonie and a framework for its study', 1.

10 See the letter of 19 July 1773, in Diderot, *Correspondance*, XIII, 58, 65. On the contacts between Willem van Hogendorp and Diderot, see Du Perron, 'Een lettré uit de 18e eeuw, Willem van Hogendorp'.

for he worked on some *Essais de poésie* in the years 1815-1816. His two older sons, Dirk and Gijsbert Karel, while still very young (in 1775), played a role in *La mort de César* by Voltaire[11] and Gijsbert Karel commented on the *Contes moraux* by Marmontel for his mother.[12] When they were a little older, the two brothers discovered Rousseau. The reading of *Emile*, then of the *Confessions* made a strong impression, particularly on Gijsbert Karel, an admiration however which subsequently underwent certain reservations.[13] His interest for Voltaire is visible in the summaries he made of the *Essai sur les Mœurs*.[14] When he travelled to America in 1783-1784, he wrote his mother letters filled with philosophical, political, and economic reflexions, which illustrated his admiration for the works of Montesquieu.[15]

This taste for reading was shared by the women of the family. For example we still have a list dated from around 1780 of what the two sisters, Annette and Gertrude, read,[16] when they were thirteen and fourteen respectively. As well as some Latin, German, and English authors, the list contains mostly French titles: classical authors of the seventeenth century, such as Boileau and Racine, contemporary writers such as Voltaire and the poet Jacques Delille, and above all educational readings by Louise d'Épinay, Anne-Thérèse de Lambert and no fewer than six titles by Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont whose *Magasins* were very successful in Europe, especially in Holland.[17] For his wife Hester Clifford and their children, Gijsbert Karel established a programme of reading, lighter than the one he practised for himself, for in a letter dated 1 May 1800, he suggests reading some *Voyages*, among others those of Chardin.[18]

French, the language of self-narration, the language of private life

The use of French in correspondence as Carolina van Haren advised Gijsbert Karel, as well as in personal journals, is certainly a distinctive mark of their milieu and made it possible to acquire the necessary linguistic skills

Willem van Hogendorp also corresponded with the encyclopedist Jean-François Marmontel (1723-1799), a very popular writer at the time (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 6).

11 Verberne, *Gijsbert Karel's leerjaren*, 25-26.

12 *Ibidem*, 27-28.

13 *Ibidem*, 161-163.

14 *Ibidem*, 161

15 Hogendorp, G.K. van, *Brieven en Gedenkschriften*, I: 1762-1786 (1866), 244-358.

16 NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 85.

17 Montoya, 'French and English women writers in Dutch library catalogues, 1700-1800'.

18 Jean Chardin (1643-1713). This may be the Amsterdam edition of *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* (1711, 10 vols.).

for social relations; it was also an apprenticeship in writing about oneself which was to favour the expression of private life.[19]

This private dimension is very present in the correspondence kept up between Carolina and Gijsbert Karel from 1773 to 1781: at the time, together with his brother Dirk, he was a pupil at the military academy in Berlin. In the case of Gijsbert Karel, we can talk of education dispensed in French via maternal correspondence: education based essentially on the moral training of the young boy and the development of his social skills, intellectual training being assured by his teachers. During this epistolary exchange, we can see the young boy developing his ability for self-analysis; a personality is being forged, one of whose major traits is ambition. During this formative period, French also seemed to favour the expression of personal feelings, emotions proper to one's private life such as a love of nature, nostalgia for one's home country, questions about the meaning of life.[20]

The correspondence between Dirk, the older brother, and Gijsbert Karel was carried out almost exclusively in French,[21] while Dutch quite often alternated with French in that between the younger brothers, Willem[22] and Fritz. It is possible that this persistent practice of French was linked to the greater intimacy between the two older brothers of the family, reinforced by their common 'exile' in Berlin. Dirk moreover recalls this intimacy in his *Mémoires*: 'Je fus élevé avec mon second frère: maîtres, études, plaisirs, peines, tout était commun entre nous' (I was brought up with my second brother: teachers, studies, pleasures, sorrows, everything was common to us both).[23]

These *Mémoires* belong to the genre of self-narrative; the fact that they were written in French can be explained in this particular case by Dirk's political choices – we will come back to this later – but if we accept Fumaroli's thesis according to which French is 'a language which excelled (in the eighteenth century) notably in everything private, letters, journals,

19 See Coudreuse & Simonet-Tenant, *Pour une histoire de l'intime et de ses variations*. For the Dutch context: Ruberg, 'Children's correspondence as a pedagogical tool in the Netherlands'; Baggerman & Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment*, 87-91.

20 See in particular the letter dated 13 March 1780: Hogendorp, G.K. van, *Brieven en Gedenkschriften*, I, 40-41. For a more detailed analysis see Van Strien-Chardonneau, 'Correspondance de Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762-1834) avec sa mère Carolina van Haren (1741-1812)'.

21 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Correspondentie*. We can note the difference of tone in a letter in Dutch that begins by 'mijn waarde Karel' (my dear Karel) (27 March 1786) and the letters in French, warmer: 'mon très cher frère et intime ami' (my very dear brother and close friend) (25 July 1785) and 'Chérissime ami et frère Charles' (Dearest friend and brother Charles) (25 October 1785).

22 Letters from Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp to Willem van Hogendorp (7 April 1776-29 December 1825): NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 169.

23 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Mémoires*, 2.

occasional poetry, *Mémoires*',[24] we can suggest that the models provided by French writings contributed to favouring the writing of self-narrative in that language. Gijsbert Karel also wrote some personal journals,[25] partly factual, partly very private, in French. It is also in French that the two van Hogendorp sisters chose to write their travel journals. And we can also make a note of the fact that although the elder of the two, Antje, read and wrote German, it was in French that she wrote her *Journal d'un voyage de La Haye jusqu'à Bonn et de retour en l'année 1792*.[26] As far as the third generation is concerned, Dirk's son, Carel Sirardus Willem kept a travel journal during the Russian campaign[27] and began to write *Souvenirs*[28] in French too during the later years of his life: he intended them, as the title explicitly says, for his descendants while at the same time paying homage to his father, referring to the latter's own *Mémoires*, for he too had wanted to leave as testimony for posterity 'l'histoire de ma vie ou plutôt les mémoires de mon temps' ('the history of my life or rather the memoirs of my times').[29]

French-Dutch bilingualism

Although during the time known as the French period in the Netherlands, people predicted a gradual deterioration of the Dutch language, which would become a mere dialect for 'servants, workmen, sailors',[30] an extensive practice of French, both in international relations and within the family circle, in no way excluded that of Dutch.

French-Dutch code-switching

In the van Hogendorps's French writing, the language is of good, and even very good, quality. Passages in Dutch are sometimes inserted into it: thus

24 Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français*, 21.

25 *Journal d'Adrichem* (1806-1809) in *Journal de La Haye* (1810-1813).

26 On the travel journals of the van Hogendorp sisters see Van Strien-Chardonneau, 'Belle, Betje, Antje … et les autres: Néerlandaises en voyage au XVIII[e] siècle', and 'Frans in het privé-domein: de reisverslagen van Antje en Truitje van Hogendorp'.

27 *Croquis d'un Journal du Voÿage en Russie et de la campagne dite seconde de Pologne faite par la grande Armée en 1812*: NA, 2.21.008.69, Collectie van Hogendorp, 117.

28 *Souvenirs de ma vie publique et particulière retracés et destinés à mes enfants et à leurs descendants*: NA, 2.21.008.69, Collectie van Hogendorp, 119.

29 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Mémoires*, 1.

30 *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, XIII, 268 (17 June 1805). Quoted in Frijhoff, 'Le statut culturel du français dans la Hollande pré-moderne', 47.

Antje van Hogendorp in her travel journal in 1787[31] inserts a passage in Dutch about the way windmills work. Copying fragments of information from several sources in a travel journal was not unusual, and we can suppose that on this technical subject Antje did not master the adequate vocabulary and at the time she was writing the journal she was unable to consult documents in French. When Gijsbert Karel began to learn Dutch again, shortly before his return from Berlin to Holland, we also find passages in Dutch in his letters to his mother and his sisters and in their replies, but very soon Gijsbert Karel avoided mixing the two and wrote either in French, or in Dutch.

On the other hand, in the correspondence in French, some isolated Dutch words appeared from time to time. This practice came mainly from a lack of the adequate terms in French, either because the writer did not know specific vocabulary, as in the case of Antje's journal mentioned above,[32] or because reference is made to a typically Dutch reality which had no real equivalent in French, for example terms denoting functions or notions linked to the running of the Dutch East India Company which appear in the correspondence and the memoirs of Dirk van Hogendorp.[33] In a quite other domain, we can also note the names of Dutch dishes, impossible to translate into French such as *koudeschaal*, a refreshing drink made with beer and white wine which Gijsbert Karel recommends to his wife,[34] or the *koek op de ketel*, 'un délicieux mets' (a delicious dish) which Gertrude enthusiastically describes in a letter to her younger brother, Fritz.[35]

In other cases, we can suppose that the use of a Dutch word or expression is not necessarily the result of the absence of a French equivalent or the ignorance of the writer, but of a deliberate choice on their part, Dutch seeming more expressive[36] or corresponding to the realities of usual domestic life

31 NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 171. The journal was published in 1904: Hogendorp, A.C.W. van (ed.), 'Dagboek van eene reis naar Nijmegen en het kasteel Biljoen in 1787'.

32 In quite another register, note the term *kraamstoffen* (crib matter), used by Gijsbert Karel who, in a letter to his wife 17 July 1792 gives her advice; she was then expecting their third daughter. He is no doubt unfamiliar with the French vocabulary of obstetrics (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 180).

33 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Correspondentie*, 178: 'le poste de G*ezaghebber* [commander] […] j'avais laissé cet *overneem* [sum for buying back the position] tout entier à sa disposition'; *Mémoires*, 35: Les *Edele Heeren* (noble lords), 88: *Amptgeld* (remuneration).

34 Letter of 17 July 1792 (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 180).

35 Letter of 14 August 1785 (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 177). *Koek op de ketel* ou *ketelkoek*, a cake made with flour, milk, and molasses, and sometimes with dried fruit, eggs, etc., wrapped in a cloth and cooked in a cauldron.

36 See, for example, in this same letter from Gertruida to Fritz this sentence concerning canaries which escaped from their cage and for which domestics and gardeners were mobilized: 'Martinus et les garçons de Siepman restèrent tout le matin *op de loer staan* [on the lookout]'. It

where people had a reason to speak Dutch particularly with the personnel. Thus in the writings of Gijsbert Karel we find terms such as *jagt* ('yacht'), *huismiddeltjes* ('old wives' remedies') and when he mentions his young daughters he sometimes uses Dutch. For example speaking of his eldest Mina who must be one or two years old at the time and who has colic: 'qu'on lui frotte bien le ventre *met een lugtige hand*' (her tummy needs a good massage with a light hand) ou '*met zachtheid*' (gently).[37] Dutch seems more appropriate to express the tenderness between a father and a very young child. Gijsbert Karel ends a letter in French to his wife by these few words: '*een zoen aan Mina en vaarwel*' (a kiss for Mina and goodbye).[38] In an undated letter to his wife, probably from 1793, we can read these words, written in pencil at the top of the page – '*Dag lieve Papaatje*' (Hello, Daddy dear) – by Mina (their eldest daughter who was two or three at the time) and the mother specifies at the bottom of her letter: 'Mina a voulu vous écrire' (Mina wanted to write to you).[39] What a contrast between what we can read in a later letter, written in French by their second daughter, Hester, who must then have been between nine and ten, the very formal formula: 'Je suis avec attachement votre obéissante fille' (I am, with affection, your dutiful daughter).[40]

Writings in Dutch

Alongside these writings in French, we find a number of texts in Dutch, more often than not published or destined for publication, but not exclusively. The father, Willem, chose Dutch for the publication of a brochure on the benefits of inoculation, as well as a moral tale denouncing the fate of the natives in the Dutch colonies,[41] that he observed when he entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. It was no longer a case of practising a scholarly leisure activity (in French), common in his milieu: Willem van Hogendorp wants to convince his fellow citizens and so resorts

is possible that Gertrude did not know the French expression, but maybe she also thought the Dutch expression was more colorful, more 'telling'.

37 Letter from Gijsbert Karel to Hester on 8 May 1791 (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 180).

38 Letter of 19 June 1791 (*Ibidem*).

39 NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 88.

40 NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 89.

41 Hogendorp, Willem van, *Sophronisba of de gelukkige moeder* (Batavia, 1779); *Kraspoekol, of de droevige gevolgen van eene te verre gaande strengheid jegens de slaaven: zedekundige vertelling* (Batavia, 1780).

to Dutch. In this point, his son Dirk and his grandson, the eldest son of Dirk, Carel Sirardus Willem, followed his example. Dirk, while favouring French in his correspondence with Gijsbert Karel, sometimes wrote to him in Dutch: we see that the information given is intended for people other than the family circle and that more often than not concerns his activities within the East India Company. It is also in Dutch that he publishes various brochures that are very critical of the organization and policy of the Company.[42] His son, who was to make a career in the Dutch Indies, was to publish several works in Dutch concerning the political and economic situation in the colonies.[43] He would also write *Eerste beginselen der aardrijkskunde* (First rudiments of geography) for his children and an autobiographical text, *Bouwstoffen van een eigen levensschets* (Materials for a glimpse into my life) in 1853.[44]

As we have already noted, Gijsbert Karel expressed a desire to relearn Dutch, in his letters of the 1780s. His mother sent him a grammar book; his sister Antje corrected his letters, which were full of Germanisms and Gallicisms to start with. Gijsbert Karel fast relearned how to express himself and write correctly in Dutch, as we can see in his letters to his brother Willem, which from 1783 were written alternately in French and in Dutch and exclusively in the latter from 1817 to 1825.[45] Although he was kept on the sidelines of power during the French period, he showed himself to be a fervent publicist and published numerous brochures in Dutch concerning economic and political issues. When the country became independent again, he was to be one of the authors of the Constitutions of 1814 and 1815. He continued to publish a series of pamphlets suggesting reforms, for example during the Belgian Revolution of 1830.[46]

42 See the letter (in Dutch) of 2 July 1796, *Correspondentie*, 186; in 1798, he published an autobiographical text, *Korte Leevens Schets van Dirk van Hogendorp*, to justify his positions and defend himself from the attacks of the members of the East India Company (see *Correspondentie*, 193-272).

43 *Iets over de handel op Nederlandsch Indië en de Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij* (1833/1835), an adaptation of a work published in 1830, in Brussels: *Coup d'œil sur l'île de Java et les autres possessions néerlandaises dans l'archipel des Indes*. In the review *De Recensent*, appeared in 1833 'Tafereelen van Javaansche Zeeden'. But it was in French he chose to write *Pièce de circonstance sur la conquête de Bali* (1846). *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, II, cols. 584-594.

44 NA, 2.21.008.69, Collectie van Hogendorp, 120.

45 'Brieven aan Willem van Hogendorp van zijn broer Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp 1776 April 27-1825 December 29' (NA, 2.21.006.49, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp, 169).

46 Meerkerk, *De gebroeders van Hogendorp*, 261-263.

The choice of language

It is not always easy to determine why sometimes French and sometimes Dutch is used, but certain factors do seem to play an important role, such as the gender of the writer, the political context, and the question of identity.

The gender of the recipient or the sender

It has been suggested that French in the Netherlands was a language practised above all by women. For the period that concerns us, it is difficult to support this theory with precise figures. We know that young ladies frequent schools known as 'French', those from the elites have French and above all French-speaking Swiss governesses.[47] We also have accounts of travellers mentioning that among the wealthy classes, the women speak French very well, often better than the men;[48] this is indirectly corroborated by the Dutch novelists Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken who, in the preface to their best-known novel *Sara Burgerhart* (1782), criticize the Dutch young ladies who have apparently 'forgotten' their mother tongue and feast on French novels of doubtful morality, thus neglecting the national virtues. In the documents that have been kept in the van Hogendorp archives, we can note a predominance of French in female writings which, we must remember, are destined for private use, unlike the masculine writings.[49]

In his study devoted to the correspondence of the Dutch elites between 1770 and 1850, Willemijn Ruberg raises this question of French as the language of women and notes that when women write to each other, or when a man writes to a woman, it is French that dominates.[50] An illustration of this is given to us by Gijsbert Karel: after the phase of relearning Dutch in the 1780s, the exchange of letters with his mother, his sisters, his wife, and his daughter Hester is in French, while in the letters addressed

47 Van Strien-Chardonneau & Kok Escalle, 'Le français aux Pays-Bas (XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles)', 128-131.

48 Murris, *La Hollande et les Hollandais aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles vus par les Français*; Van Strien-Chardonneau, *Le voyage de Hollande.*

49 In the case of Antje van Hogendorp, avid for knowledge of all sorts, the mastery of French (combined moreover with the learning of other languages) clearly had an emancipatory character. See Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age', 121: 'Not only among the elite but also among the well-established bourgeoisie as well as for a part of the middle class, French was, for those women who could afford to learn it, an important language of daily use that ensured them a position in the world of culture and science'.

50 Ruberg, *Conventionele correspondentie*, 66.

to his brother Willem, he alternates the use of French and Dutch. During a business trip to Germany in 1798, he writes letters to Willem (in Dutch), in which he evokes the problems of their business house, the state of trade in Germany, the useful contacts that he can make there; at the same time as he is writing these letters, he keeps a diary in French, for his wife. In this very personal journal already hinting at romantic melancholy, the diarist gives his impressions on the landscapes, his feelings, his existential questions:

> Je fis en un jour la route de Groningue [...] à Emden, où j'écris en ce moment, pendant une forte ondée, qui me cache par intervalles la vue de la mer, laquelle d'ailleurs a pour moi, calme comme elle l'est à cette heure, un attrait indéfinissable, et qui nourrit une douce mélancolie. Que d'idées, que de souvenirs, de plaisirs et de peines. O vie, o homme! Par un retour sur soi-même, et sur la faculté d'éprouver ces sensations si variées, si sublimes, je me réjouis de ne pouvoir pas m'ensevelir dans mes affaires et dans mes calculs, et de devoir les éloigner quelquefois absolument de mon esprit (*Journal d'une course à Emden, Bremen, Hambourg et Leipzig en 1798*, 22 juillet).
>
> In one day I went from Groningen [...] to Emden, from where I am writing at the present moment, during a heavy rain which, from time to time, completely hides the sea which, calm as it is at this moment, has an indefinable attraction for me, and which feeds a gentle melancholy. How many ideas, memories of pleasures and of pain. O life, O man! Thinking about oneself again and one's ability to feel these various and sublime sensations, I am pleased not to be able to bury myself in my affairs and my calculations, and sometimes to be obliged to chase them from my mind completely.[51]

Political factors

The political factor is no doubt the most important in the choice of language. The two brothers Dirk and Gijsbert Karel offer us a good example of this as they chose opposing parties during the so-called French period. At that time in Holland, French occupied an ambivalent position as the language of liberty, that of the Revolution and its ideals, but also the language of the invader and foreign occupation.

51 Nierop, 'Brieven van Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp en Willem van Hogendorp', 28.

It is the attachment to revolutionary ideals that Dirk, who chooses the new regime, invokes in a letter to his younger brother in order to justify his political choice:

> Je ne vous cache pas [...] que les principes qui servent de fondement au système républicain de notre nouvelle constitution ont eu depuis longtemps mon approbation. J'ai suivi les évènements de la Révolution française, et tout en abhorrant les excès et les abominations [...], j'ai admiré les principes d'équité, et de vraie philosophie, qui font la base de ce système. J'ai publiquement (longtemps avant qu'on pouvait imaginer qu'une telle révolution puisse avoir lieu chez nous) défendu la Révolution française, et les principes d'égalité entre tous les hommes. [...] Quant à la maison d'Orange, je ne crois pas que raisonnablement on puisse me faire des reproches d'ingratitude à son égard. [...] Je dois beaucoup au Prince et à la Princesse. Je le reconnaîtrai aussi toujours. [...] A la Patrie, je dois ma vie, mon sang, mes biens, mes talents; et nul devoir, nul intérêt, nulle liaison, [ne] peut être préféré à ceux qui m'attachent à ma Patrie. (Sourabaja, 21 janvier 1797).

> I cannot hide from you [...] that the principles that found the republican system of our new constitution have for long met with my approval. I followed the events of the French Revolution, and while abhorring the excesses and the abominations [...], I admired the principles of equity and of true philosophy which are the base of this system. I publicly defended the French Revolution (long before we could imagine that a similar revolution could take place in our own country) and the principles of equality between all men. [...] As for the House of Orange I do not think anyone can reasonably say I have shown ingratitude towards it. [...] I owe much to the Prince and the Princess. I shall always recognize this. [...] To the homeland, I owe my life, my blood, my goods, my talents; and no duty, no interest, no liaison can be preferred to those that link me to my Homeland. (Surabaya, 21 January 1797).[52]

Gijsbert Karel remains faithful to the House of Orange. As we already remarked, he works behind the scenes and during this period he publishes both in Dutch and in French, the latter having the status of the official language of the Court administration under Louis-Napoléon (1806--1810). From 1813, date of the Orangist 'restoration', deeply involved in the political

52 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Correspondentie*, 188-189.

life of his country, he writes mainly in Dutch, even if he still sometimes uses French to get a larger audience for his ideas, identifying himself increasingly with the language and culture of the country he lives in.[53]

Identity awareness

Already in the second half of the eighteenth century, an increasingly narrow link is formed between language and nation in various European countries. German thinkers such as Herder, Fichte, and Schlegel played an important role in the spread of the idea that a nation is a community bound together by language.[54] This awareness of a specific national identity linked to a language is clearly evident in the writings of Gijsbert Karel. The desire to relearn Dutch in 1781 is linked to the fear of becoming a foreigner in his own country. Thus he writes to his mother: 'If I want one day to become someone in my country, is there not a danger that if I wait too long, I will be too different to "renationalize" myself? And would people want the foreigner that I would be?'[55]

This relearning brought a distancing as regards French, which is visible at two levels: first in a new appreciation of the Dutch language that he rediscovers through his reading:

> J'ai lu Friso; et ma langue et Van Haren commencent à me plaire beaucoup. Elle a une énergie dont le manque me fait mépriser la française. Ne craignez pas que je ne sache, une fois en Hollande, bientôt à fond ma langue. D'ailleurs avec le grand secours de ma mère!
>
> I have read Friso; and my language and Van Haren are beginning to please me greatly. It has an energy the lack of which makes me despise French. Do not fear that once back in Holland, I will not know my language thoroughly. What is more, I shall have the help of my mother![56]

This distancing is also expressed in the awareness of the dangerous influence a language can exercise through the values and the models it conveys, as is shown in this commentary on a young man he knows, who reads only French:

53 Slijkerman, *Wonderjaren,* 218.

54 Burke, *Language and Communities*, 163-164.

55 Hogendorp, G.K. van, *Brieven en Gedenkschriften*, I, 84: letter of 3 March.

56 *Ibidem*, I, 106: letter of 7 May 1781; *Friso* is a reference to an epic narrative, *Gevallen van Friso* (1741) by the poet Willem van Haren (1710-1768), maternal great-uncle of Gijsbert Karel.

> J'ai eu une conversation avec le jeune Ivoy, qui lit assez, mais rien que du français ou du moins traduction en français. C'est dommage de tous ces jeunes gens. Le génie de cette langue est si différent de celui de la nôtre, tout y a une tournure à soi, auquel l'esprit se plie enfin. Et que peut-il arriver de plus pernicieux à une nation que de se plier ainsi sur un voisin puissant, monarchique, ambitieux, perfide, même envers elle! Voilà ce qui rend peu à peu esclave, à commencer par les mœurs et la façon de penser, jusqu'à ce que la contagion se répande jusque sur le gouvernement dont il sape les principes.
>
> I have had a conversation with young Ivoy, who reads quite a bit, but only French or at least translations into French. It is a pity for all these young people. The genius of this language is so different from our own, it has its own turn of phrase, to which the mind adapts. And what more pernicious thing can happen to a nation than to adapt itself to a neighbour, powerful, ambitious, perfidious, even towards her! That is what is making us slaves bit by bit beginning with customs and ways of thinking, until the contagion spreads to the very government whose principles it saps.[57]

Here we can observe an acute awareness of the link between language, thought, and customs as well as the relations between the practice of a language and the political context. Moreover, other passages of this correspondence bring to light a withdrawal from the French social model, that of a dandy, clever and superficial.[58] Gijsbert Karel is far from being alone in this criticism: this rejection of the supposed aesthetic, sociocultural, even political superiority of French, was to increase among many Dutch people during the nineteenth century.[59]

Dirk, on the contrary, expressed himself increasingly in French. In the above quoted passage where he proclaimed his adhesion to republican ideals, we can see that the House of Orange (which protected his family) is dissociated from the notion of homeland, the homeland being at that time, for him, the Batavian Republic, managed by Dutch people with democratic and anti-stadtholder aspirations. A sister republic, subjugated to France certainly, it is still relatively independent. Things change with the kingdom of Holland governed by King Louis-Napoléon from 1806 to 1810, and above all with the annexation to France in 1810. Dirk, who

57 *Ibidem*, I, 213-214: letter of 9 January 1782.
58 *Ibidem*, I, 269: letter of 10 January 1783.
59 Frijhoff, 'Le statut culturel du français', 48.

admires Napoleon profoundly, chooses, unlike other Dutch dignitaries, to stay with the Emperor and together with his son, Carel Sirardus, he was at his side at Waterloo.[60] He would still use Dutch to defend himself against the accusations brought by his compatriots on the occasion of a bloody episode in Hamburg in 1813,[61] but it is in French that he evokes his 'patrie primitive' (original homeland), Holland, in a letter to Gijsbert Karel; it is in French that he publishes a brochure entitled, *Du système colonial de la France sous le rapport de la politique et du commerce*, at the beginning of the reign of Louis XVIII in 1817, to help his 'seconde patrie' (second homeland), France. Rejected both by Louis XVIII and the king of the Netherlands, William I, he left for Brazil in 1817. Uprooted, he confided to a visitor: 'Il n'y a pas de patrie pour moi, ou plutôt, ma patrie c'est cette case de bois. [...] Plus de sol natal pour le vétéran proscrit' (There is no homeland for me, or rather, my homeland is this wooden hut. [...] No more native soil for the outlawed veteran).[62] It is in French that he wrote his *Mémoires*, the language of the ungrateful second homeland, which turned out to be the language of exile.

His son returns to Dutch society on the periphery so to speak, as the main part of his career took place in the colonies. In his practice of both languages simultaneously, he seems to assume an identity linked to his social group and to family features, the example and souvenir of his father, a French wife, but also a national identity, homeland being for him the kingdom of the Netherlands. This double identity linked to two linguistic groups seems to be embodied more particularly in the two autobiographical texts written at the end of his life respectively in Dutch (1853) and in French (1856).

Conclusion

At the same time as the hegemony of French was crumbling at the end of the eighteenth century, in favour of an increasing interest for German and English language and literature, the bilingualism that was characteristic of the Dutch elite was to evolve during the nineteenth century towards a situation of plurilingualism. The documents in the van Hogendorp archives are evidence of this evolution from one generation to another, in particular the writings of Dirk, Gijsbert Karel, and their older sister, Antje.

60 Meerkerk, *De gebroeders van Hogendorp*, 203-217.
61 *Ibidem*, 227.
62 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Mémoires*, ix.

Gijsbert Karel studied languages enthusiastically while he was a student in Berlin, Latin, Greek, and German, with his friend and mentor Johann Erich Biester, with whom he maintained a correspondence in English in order better to practice the language; apparently he spoke it quite well too during his stay in America.[63]

In the list of books belonging to the van Hogendorp sisters we find, especially for Annette the eldest, dictionaries and German reading books. Her letters to her brother Gijsbert contain passages both in German and in English.

Dirk offers the largest range of foreign languages: besides French, English, and German, he also learned Italian.[64] The importance of this sort of skill was obviously not unknown to him for according to his son, the choice of the École Militaire where he was sent in France, was due to the fact that the teaching of classical and modern languages and of French literature was excellent there.[65] Dirk's linguistic interests extended beyond the frontiers of Europe for he was to learn the spoken languages of the Dutch colonies and he was proud of these skills:

> Je sais le français, l'anglais et l'allemand. Le malais m'est déjà aussi familier que le hollandais et j'en ai déjà attrapé si bien les différents accents, que cela m'a donné une grande considération parmi l'Indigène, où je suis d'ailleurs généralement connu et estimé par l'expédition de Rio.
>
> I know French, English and German. Malaysian is as familiar to me as Dutch and I have already caught several of its different accents, which has made me well thought-of among the natives, where moreover I am generally known and esteemed by the Rio expedition.[66]

He was to add the study of Arabic, Persian, and Javanese to the Malayan language. His linguistic curiosity was certain; his interest in these languages shows too that he is conscious of the importance of knowing the language of others, to be able to manage his administrative tasks. His *Mémoires* moreover are proof of his sympathy for the native populations of the Dutch colonies.

63 Meerkerk, *De gebroeders van Hogendorp*, 74.

64 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Mémoires*, 15.

65 Carel Sirardus Willem van Hogendorp, *Bouwstoffen van een Eigen Levenschets*, 1 (NA, 2.21.008.69, Collectie van Hogendorp, 120).

66 Hogendorp, Dirk van, *Correspondentie*, 135.

English, German, Italian, and, in the case of Dirk, oriental languages, considerably enlarge the cultural and linguistic fields but are, however, less used – in writing – than French. The linguistic interests of these members of the van Hogendorp family announce an evolution peculiar to the nineteenth century: French gradually loses its status as second language becoming a foreign language among others, still important because still useful for international relations. The cosmopolitanism of the previous century which had made French the reference language of the European elites made way for an awareness of the link between language and national identity. Thus, Gijsbert Karel, while remaining faithful to a certain extent to his social identity by the use of French in his personal writings, 'renationalized' himself and re-appropriated the Dutch language. It is no longer the mastery of French which 'distinguishes' the elites. That of three modern languages, French, English, and German, was to form the 'trademark' image of the educated Dutchman in the nineteenth and still in the twentieth century.

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Multilingualism versus proficiency in the German language among the administrative elites of the Kingdom of Hungary in the eighteenth century

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Abstract
This article deals with a particular issue in the social history of language. It tackles the early attempts of the Vienna court – as early as the 1760s and 1770s – to introduce German as the only language of official correspondence and for the circulation of documents all over the Austrian monarchy, and the reaction it caused among different branches of the executive power in the polyglot Kingdom of Hungary. It raises the question of the self-assertions of royal servants, varying degree of proficiency in the same language for different purposes, and treats some first outcomes at the end of Joseph II's reign.

Keywords: language choice, Austrian Monarchy, Kingdom of Hungary, Latin, German, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, officialdom

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the reform agenda of the Vienna court aimed at a tighter amalgamation of the Habsburg lands. Obviously, this challenged the dominance of the Latin language in Hungary and raised the question of its replacement by German. Robert Evans suggests that after the near collapse of the state in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the issue was 'whether the Austrian

monarchy could create enough state loyalty and structural coherence to flourish among its increasingly centralised, tightly administrated European rivals'.[1] It raised the problem of linguistic uniformity, and for administrative communities of all levels this pressure meant going beyond the simple ability of communicating orally, with a passive understanding of German. The present study deals with the following three issues. How was the German language imposed on the administrative elites of the Kingdom of Hungary? How did royal officials all over the country evaluate their own linguistic proficiencies in the 1770s? Moreover, what did the collective portrait of a central financial body look like from the linguistic point of view some fifteen years later? In this respect, the article refers to a case study on the problem formulated in 1993 by Peter Burke. He noticed that government control of language use is characteristic of the modern state,[2] but that language policies were formulated long before the French Revolution; for this reason, it might be 'good to see the governments, which first took an interest in the language of their subjects'.[3]

A country of polyglots

Two aspects typify the cultural horizons of Hungarian royal officials in the eighteenth century: the dominance of Latin in the public sphere – be it legislation, administration, or jurisprudence – and the multilingual character of the country.[4] Education in Hungary[5] was traditionally Latin-oriented, inasmuch as the corpus of fundamental laws[6] of the kingdom (also known as the Hungarian constitution) was written in this language. It was believed that once translated into any other vernacular, including German or Hungarian, ancient laws would lose their binding force. The Vienna court recognized this to the extent that it kept its correspondence in Latin – not only with the Hungarian Estates, but also with the Hungarian governmental bodies representing the king in the country. Sufficient proficiency

1 Evans, 'Language and state building', 3.

2 See the recent study by Yelena Borisenok: Елена Борисенок, 'Украинизация служащих в УССР в 1920-е-1930-е годы'.

3 Burke, *The art of conversation*, 32.

4 Heinz, 'Sprachverhalten in Ungarn in der Frühen Neuzeit'; Kovacs & Lenhart, *Deutschlernen.*

5 Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Mária Terézia korában*; Kornis, *A magyar művelődés eszményei, 1777-1848*, I.

6 See the later codification: *Corpus juris Hungarici: Magyar Törevénytár 1000-1895.*

in Latin provided by the Jesuit schools, colleges, and the only Hungarian university at Nagyszombat (Trnava, now Slovakia)[7] was indispensable for any public career.[8]

At the same time, as the pioneer of Hungarian statistics Martin Schwartner (1759-1823) wrote in his *Statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary*: 'In keinem Lande der Welt sind vielleicht mehrere Sprachen, und eben deswegen auch so viele Völkerschaften einheimisch als in Ungarn' ('There is no other land on the earth, where there were more languages and as a consequence more nationalities, than Hungary').[9] Individuals who have grown up in a multilingual environment are often proficient in speaking and understanding two or three vernaculars. As Peter Burke states, elites were not the only group to speak more than one language.[10] Officials from the Bohemian-Austrian Hereditary Lands usually mentioned the knowledge or use of foreign languages (French, Italian, or English) and, much rarer, of Bohemian. Joseph Eispert (d. 1774), an émigré from Prussian-occupied Silesia, was employed by the Hungarian Chamber as *Accessist* in 1760. Apart from the indispensable Latin and German, he reported that he spoke French and Italian.[11] On the contrary, officials in Hungary showed knowledge and skills in the inland vernaculars. The case of János Tagányi (d. 1778), an expeditor from the Hungarian Chamber, who spoke Latin, Hungarian, German, and Slavic,[12] might be called the most typical combination of languages among royal officials.[13]

Polyglossia as a quality was always an advantage, but had never been a sufficient condition for employment. In 1772, József Kapta applied for a job at the Hungarian Royal Chamber and reported that he was proficient in Latin, German, Slavonic (*sic*!), and Serbian, and mediocre in Hungarian. He had been working as a grain merchant, while he had learned the profession of tax collector from his father, who served in Nagylévárd (Veľké Leváre, Slovakia). Meanwhile, the director of the Chamber received defamatory

7 Szentpétery, *A bölcsészettudományi kar története, 1635-1935*; Eckhart, *A jog- és államtudományi kar története, 1667-1935*. On the universities of Hungary, see Jílek, *Historical Compendium of European Universities*, 36-37 (Hungary), and 299-300 (Trnava).

8 Cf. Almási & Šubarić (eds.), *Latin at the crossroads of identity*, 121-151.

9 Schwartner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern*, 118-119.

10 Burke, *The art of conversation*, 17.

11 Austrian State Archives, Vienna (ÖStA, Österreichisches Staatarchiv), financial archives (FHKA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv), Hungarian public finance (HFU, Hoffinanz Ungarn), Fasz. r. Nr. 926, 2 October 1762, fol. 190r.

12 Quite often, royal officials mentioned a certain 'Schlawische Sprache', or 'lingua Slavonica', which most likely meant the Slovak vernacular.

13 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 895, 3 March 1760, fol. 564r.

information about the applicant: he had been sacked by Count Erdődy, for indecent behaviour.[14] The candidacy of Kapta was dismissed.

The famous Hungarian document on the school curriculum called *Ratio educationis* (1777) specified: 'Everyone who is familiar with the political conditions of Hungary definitely knows that in this Kingdom together with the connected provinces, along with smaller nations, live all in all seven larger nationalities, which differ from each other by their languages'.[15] Those nationalities were Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Ruthenes, Illyrians (Serbs), and Valachians (Rumanians). Their languages were taught at school both to the native speakers and to their direct neighbours.[16] The document called Latin 'extremely necessary', while the German language was 'especially useful'. It envisaged that first in larger, then in smaller towns and finally in villages, there would be enough skilled German teachers, inasmuch as 'nobody would object that proficiency in the German language is profitable for the Hungarian youth and indispensable for their future career'.[17]

It would be an exaggeration to call polyglossia an overall characteristic of the administrative corps in Hungary. As late as the 1760s, many middle-ranking clerks were skilled only in 'office-style' Latin and managed not to be fired only thanks to their enormous experience. And yet officials, whose linguistic talents were daily challenged and tested while managing correspondence, taking notes on private meetings, and composing memoranda – together with writers, scholars, or priests – took up the cause of their mother tongues. They were among the authors of grammar books and dictionaries, or translators of useful works, which they thought would contribute to the flourishing of their home country.[18]

'Let all obey my decree …'

The use of the German language as an instrument of amalgamation of ethnic communities of the Habsburg Monarchy and their administrative

14 ÖStA, FHKA, Hungarian public finance (UC, Ungarisches Camerale), Fasz. r. Nr. 3, Konv. 3, no. 33 *ex* April 1772, fols. 250r-254v.

15 *Az 1777-iki Ratio Educationis*, 36-37. Cf.: Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch*.

16 In Hungary, as well as in the rest of the Habsburg lands, the primary school was reformed in accordance with the guidelines worked out by the famous pedagogue from Prussian Silesia Johann Ignaz Felbiger (1724-1788). See: Engelbrecht, *Geschichte*.

17 *Ibidem*, 86.

18 See more in Khavanova, 'Men of letters between profession and vocation'.

elites is usually associated with the famous language decree of Emperor Joseph II (1765/1780-1790), who in 1784 ordered the replacing of Latin by German in the administration all over the Monarchy.[19] For the same reason, Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) persistently encouraged wider use of German in the administration.[20] During her reign, the German language was turning into an increasingly desirable skill in royal officers' careers.

For young men who were applying for a position in the central administrative bodies, it was indispensable to mention this language skill. For instance, Franz Ignaz Teissl who after fifteen years in the army decided to apply for the position held by his father the tax collector, introduced himself in the following way:

> Praeterea nobilis patriae filius, linguarum in hocce regno Hungariae necessariarum signanter Sclavonicae, Illyricae, Vallachicae, Germanicae, ac commode Hungaricae ita et Italicae gnarus.
>
> I am a son of the homeland [*filius patriae*], who speaks the Slavic, Serbian, Romanian, German and Hungarian languages used in this kingdom, not to mention my proficiency in Italian.[21]

Another applicant for a position in the financial administration, Mátyás Kákonyi, reported as late as 1762:

> ad haec qua diversarum linguarum, utpote praeter latinam, hungaricae, germanice, sclavonicae, totidemque scripturarum praecipue germanicae uti et arithmeticae gnarus, et simul patriae illius, in qua pluries versavat, optimam notitiam habens.
>
> I know different languages, such as Latin, Hungarian, German, and Slavic, I am experienced in German writing and arithmetic and know very well the country which I have travelled through.[22]

19 Soós, 'II. József nyelvrendelete és a "hivatalos" Magyarország'.

20 The influential jurist and political writer Friedrich Karl Moser (1723-1798) in his work on the languages used at court and in office held an ambiguous position on linguistic uniformity. On the one hand, he recognized that sovereigns ruling over independent states were to alter their language in accordance with the tradition of the land. On the other, he claimed that chancellery officials who were in charge of expediting matters in complicated Latin were to receive double fee. Moser, *Abhandlungen*, 34, 99.

21 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 813, 21 August 1748, fol. 449r.

22 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 921, 6 May 1762, fol. 81r.

From the 1760s on the Empress made slow but decisive steps towards the gradual replacement of Latin by the German language in the kingdom. This was not motivated by any anti-Hungarian sentiment, but aimed at rationalizing communication between different parts of the Monarchy. In 1766, making her choice between two candidates for the post of an accounting clerk, she wrote on the proposal:

> Da beide Supplicanten in der Dienstfähigkeit einander gleich sind, so verdient jener den Vorzug, welcher der deutschen Sprache, und Schreibart fähig ist […] auch von nun für die in Meine Cameral-Dienst aspirierende die Befähigung in der deutschen Sprache und Schreibkunst als ein zu ihrer hiernächstig weiteren Beförderung nötiges Requisitum dergestalten aufzugeben, dass jene, die dieses Requisitum besitzen, den übrigen bei welchen solcher ermangelt, vorgezogen werden sollen.
>
> Given that both petitioners possess similar professional skills, the one should be preferred who reports a better knowledge of the German language […] also from now on those who aspire to fill a position in my Chamber must prove their proficiency in speaking and writing German, which should become an indispensable prerequisite of any further appointment, and those who meet this requirement should be preferred to those who do not.[23]

As a wise and pragmatic ruler, Maria Theresa avoided resolute steps, preferring steadfastness; the Hungarian authorities in their turn were making use of the situation and tried to keep the status quo as long as possible. The Viennese Imperial Chamber had been persistently asking the subordinate Hungarian Royal Chamber to give exhaustive accounts of the language skills of the applicants who were proposed to one or another position, but this requirement was usually left unnoticed.

Furthermore, on another occasion, in March 1773, the Empress wrote:

> Für meinen Dienst wird es ganz ersprießlich sein, wenn nach und nach die ganze Behandlung der Hungarischen Cameral Geschäfte in teutscher Sprache eingeführet werden mag […] es wird solches nicht hindern, dass dessen ungeachtet gleichwohlen die Hungarische Kammer die an die weitere Behörden im Land abgehende Befehle derzeit noch, so weit es

23 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Hofresolutionsprotokolle Ungarn und Siebenbürgen (court resolutions and protocols for Hungary and Transylvania), Bd. 107, fol. 167v.

> nötig, in lateinischer Sprache abfassen möge, doch wird Sie untereinstens anzuleiten sein, die anhero angebende Berichte, so weil es immer geschehen mag, ebenfalls in teutscher Sprache einzusenden.
>
> It was a great benefit for the royal service, when financial issues were treated in German [...]. This does not concern rescripts of the Royal Chamber to the inland offices. If they need, they might go on with correspondence in Latin, but memorials and proposals addressed personally to me should from now on be written in German.[24]

Unlike the Hungarian Royal Chancellery – a small advisory body situated in Vienna and staffed with German-speaking officials, the Royal Chamber was a ramified system, responsible not only for financial issues, but also for the management of the free royal towns, for collecting taxes and duties, extracting salt, and running post offices. After explanations and further consultations, the Hungarian authorities persuaded the Empress that due to some legal formalities and the specific terminology not all the spheres subordinated to the Chamber could immediately switch over to the German language. In July 1773 she approved the use of German for not specifically Hungarian issues, such as the administration of royal estates, taxes, salt extraction, or credit operations; at the same time fiscal matters, donation of royal privileges and estates donations, law suits, correspondence with the Hungarian Chancellery and Lieutenancy Council were still documented in Latin.[25] At the same time, Maria Theresa remained firm: 'Placet, will keine lateinische nicht mehr unterschreiben, kann das Rescripten wenig Zeilen bestehen, die Beilag[e] Latein sein in denen Fällen wo es erlaubt' (I will not sign anything in Latin any more: decrees might consist just of one or two lines, and the supplements if necessary might be in Latin though).[26]

It took a month to come to terms with the Empress. She was reminded of the fact that her decrees had also to be valid at the court of justice. In the courts, the language obviously remained Latin and a decree in German might not have force of law, not to mention that supplements in Latin might be confused or lost, which would risk the decision of the monarch being based on false information. This and similar arguments had their effects to the extent

24 *Ibidem*, Bd. 110, fols. 261v-262r.

25 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 4, subd. 1, no. 4 *ex* September 1773, fols. 150r-166v.

26 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Hofresolutionsprotokolle Ungarn und Siebenbürgen (court resolutions protocols for Hungary and Transylvania), Bd. 107, fol. 296v.

that Maria Theresa wrote on the margin of the Imperial Chamber proposition: 'Vor [= für?] den Anfang noch placet' ('To begin with, this is resolved').[27]

To introduce an apparently foreign language of record-keeping among the staff, who had hardly learned it at school, was not an easy task. In September 1773, the Empress asked the local branches of the Chamber to evaluate their own proficiency in German and report about it in the form of a letter to the central office. Some 70 answers arrived. The results were disappointing. To sum up: 45 respondents evaluated their proficiency as insufficient. The exasperated Maria Theresa wrote on the margin of the final report: 'und will nichts mehr davon hören, wohl aber meine Befehl zu befolgen' ('I do not want to hear any more about it, let all obey my decree').[28]

Self-estimations

This survey of linguistic proficiencies was an unprecedented experiment. It gives present-day historians a unique insight into how and for what purposes one or another language was used. It also leaves little doubt that the staff of the Hungarian Chamber was not skilled enough to conform to the new requirements of the court. As Mihály Hazucha from the remote Ungvár (Mukačeve, Ukraine) confessed:

> me linguam Germanicam omnino non calere humillime et cum rubore refero, ac una apud Excelsum Regiae Hungarico-Aulicae Camerae Consilium, ut in futurum quoque consveta latina forma humillimas relationes meas universas conficere et repraesentare valeam.
>
> I humbly and diffidently recognize that I do not speak German, and in the future I am capable of writing and presenting reports only in the usual Latin language.[29]

From fifteen free royal towns only six – Nagyszombat, Szentgyörgy, Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), Sopron, Kékkő (Modrý Kameň, Slovakia), and Győr – confirmed their readiness to switch over to German

27 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 4, subd. 1, no. 4 *ex* September 1773, fols. 138r-140v.

28 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 591, subd. 1, no. 139 *ex* October 1773, fol. 182v.

29 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), Hungarian Treasury Archives, records of the Hungarian Chamber (Magyar kincstári levéltárak, Magyar Kamarának regisztratúrája), E 47, *Cancellariae et registraturae necnon postae negotia, item honorifica et gremialia, necnon extraordinaria* (hereafter E 47), 14th cs., no. 162 *ex* December 1773, no. 33.

completely. Nine towns – Trencsén (Trenčín, Slovakia), Várasd (Varaždin, Croatia), Esztergom, and others – gave a completely negative answer. Várasd specified that magistrate servants knew Latin and Croatian, or just Croatian, moreover Germans living in this town preferred to communicate in Croatian. The respondents of Esztergom, which among others was the residence of the primate archbishop, reminded the authorities that they were used to conducting correspondence in Latin and Hungarian; if the authorities expected responses in German, they might cover the expenses of employing a supernumerary secretary for these purposes.[30] Eighteen tax-collection offices (Buda, Szeged, and Zagreb) suggested that their personnel should be capable of fulfilling the task, but to be on the safe side, asked for manuals with sample letters. In north-east Hungary, known for its quite numerous German-speaking population, all six Chamber administrators and prefects refused to switch over to German.

The fiscal procurator from Szeged in southern Hungary belonged to those who were ready to use German:

> Dan ich muss gestehen, dass wann nebst der Lateinischen Sprache keiner anderen, nemlich der Teutschen, Hungarischen, Slowkischen, und Illirischen (welche alle bey dem hier zu Lande sich befindenden und aus derley Sprachen versamleten Volck erforderlich seynd) nicht kündig wäre [...] ich werde in Verfassung der Berichten nach teurscher Sprache ganz gehorsambst zu Diensten seyn; es ist zwar meine teutsche Schreibens Art gering, allein dessen Ursach<e> ist die bishero nicht gehabte Übung, wodurch es geschehen, dass die in meiner Jungendt erlerente teutsche Sprache und Schrift (so gegenwärtig gehorsambst aufzeige) in Ermangelung derstätten Praxis in vielen wider abgenommen hat, und dahero eben wegen denen hier etwan verkommen mögenden Schreibs Art Unvollkommenheiten gehorsambst um gnädige Nachsicht bitten wollen.
>
> I must confess that apart from Latin, I am not incapable of any other language – German, Hungarian, Slovak and Illyrian – which is necessary [for communicating] with the people living here [...]. I would be at your disposal for writing reports in German, even if my German is poor for the reason that it has not been practised, so that it might happen that the German language and writing, which I learned in my boyhood years (and hardly used since then), would be deemed insufficient.[31]

30 *Ibidem*, no. 21.

31 *Ibidem*, no. 3 (the original orthography preserved).

In his response to the questionnaire on language skills, the Chamber administrator from Arad in eastern Hungary, Pál Kruspér, described, with praiseworthy self-knowledge, the situation that was typical for the older generation:

> Natus sum ego circa annum 20um labentis saeculis educatus in partibus, ubi in tenera aetate nullam occasionem linguae Germanicae fundamenta condiscendi habui, sub tempus virilis aetatis, omnem quidem in idiomate hoc mihi familiari reddendo operam impendi, sed ultra habilitari non potui, quam quod vulgariter loqui, et typum Germanicum aeque ac scripturam legere sciam, et noso perplexe, altiorique Stylo concepta sit, etiam intelligam.
>
> I was born in the twenties of this century and went to school in that part of the kingdom where in my early days I had no chance to learn the foundation of the German language. As I grew up, I did my best to learn this language, but did not proceed further than to speak a bit and to understand handwritten and printed texts. Yet I cannot write German and even less edit an official paper written in this language.[32]

The basic problem with this generation was that they were excellent experts in their fields but it was not their fault that they were incapable of using German. Accounts left after this poll on the language skills are very instructive, inasmuch as they give unique evidence of how people were evaluating their own linguistic talents and achievements. Just one quotation from the report of the tax collector from Lipotvár (Leopoldov, Slovakia) in Nyitra County Ferenc Fabiani:

> dass nachdeme in dieser meiner Station gar selten andere Leute passiren, alß Bauern, und diese Sclovacken, und wann auch ein und andrer teutsch seynd, auch diese meistens nur Soldaten, oder Edelleute seynd, so muss gestehen, dass ich zwar kein geborner Teutscher, auch die teutsche Sprache nicht dergestalten besitze, dass ich im Stande wäre mit hohen Stellen geziemende Correspondentzien zu führen, dennoch, gleichwie so viel und so gut teutsch rede, dass mich jeder Mensch verstehen und jeden in meinen Amts Sachen sathsam mich expliciren kann.
>
> In my office, I hardly meet people other than peasants, mostly Slovaks, and if one or another visitor turns out to be a German, those are usually soldiers or nobles. I must admit, that I am not of German origin, and my

32 *Ibidem*, no. 22.

> German is far from being that perfect that I could write official reports, at the same time my language skills are good enough to be understood by everyone, and everybody is satisfied with my work.[33]

Interestingly enough, a picture similar to the one described by Fabiani can be found in the travel notes about Hungary written some half a century later, in 1814, by Richard Bright. In the town of Báta in southern Hungary, the author confesses, he was obliged to speak Latin. 'The postmaster was an old gentleman [...], he could not speak German and gave me a choice of all the languages he knew; they were Latin, Hungarian, Slavonian and Walachian, from which of course I soon made my selection'.[34]

The Hungarian Chamber wrote in 1773, in one of its votes: 'In the nearest future, young men from all over Hungary should be instructed in German, while right now people employed in the royal service graduated from school long ago and hardly speak this language'.[35] The 1770s became a watershed in the qualification of those striving to be admitted to a royal office. This was due to newly founded institutions, where the pupils were taught in German. The first college of political economy in the Habsburg lands was created in the estates of the Hungarian Chancellor Count Ferenc Esterházy (1715-1785), in the tiny town of Szenc (Senec, Slovakia , in German: Wartberg), financed partly by Maria Theresa herself and partly by the Chancellor.[36] This college provided a two-year instruction in bookkeeping, engineering sciences, geodesy, and cartography in the German language. Although there was an obvious discrepancy between the academic requirements of highly trained professors and the poor preparation of undereducated students, this school nevertheless equipped the administrative elites of the Kingdom of Hungary with a cohort of competent officials. A good example is provided by the biography of Antal Zajgar: as a teenager orphan, he was admitted to Szenc, then employed in the archives of the Hungarian Chamber. He evaluated himself as follows:

> ich hingegen auf die vorgedachte Deutsche Schreib-Art, Rechtschreibung, und Weiß deutsche Entwürfe aufzusetzen in obberührtem Stifte zu Wartberg mich mit sonderbahrem Fleiße verleget, und vollkommen geübet habe.

33 *Ibidem*, no. 5.
34 Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 138.
35 ÖStA, FHKA, Fasz. r. Nr. 4, subd. 1, no. 4 *ex* September 1773, fol. 154r.
36 Hegyi, 'A Szenci Collegium Oeconomicum, 1763-1776-1780'.

> While studying at the Szenc Foundation, I turned all my efforts to learning German, its orthography and style, and exercising myself in this language.[37]

In the archives, he worked as registrar until 1818, when he retired.[38]

Another reservoir of German-speaking professionals was the university course on Polizey-, Cameral- und Finanzwissenschaften (Policy, Cameralistics, and Public Finance).[39] This was a mixture of government principles and administrative techniques designed by the writer, teacher, and ambitious statesman Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732/33-1817), who taught from 1763 at the University of Vienna.[40] Later on, the professor used to claim that all the teachers of this course in the Monarchy were his pupils, and this was absolutely true. Every year, this course embraced new lands of the Monarchy in concentric circles, in the old and new educational centres (Vienna, Graz, Klagenfurt, Nagyszombat, Várasd, and later Zagreb) where Sonnenfels' disciples taught. As in Szenc, not all students were able to absorb knowledge in a foreign language, but those who attended the course and passed a complicated examination, officially enjoyed preference by admission.[41]

The third source of German-speaking officials was the Hungarian noble guard created in Vienna in 1760.[42] Just half a century earlier, Hungary had been the epicentre of an anti-Habsburg movement of a magnitude without precedent: Ferenc II Rákóczi's War of Liberation (1703-1711). At the pacification in 1711, the dynasty abandoned its rude methods of incorporation of the kingdom into its lands, and the Estates gave up the idea of armed resistance. As a means of tacit integration of the noble elite into the court, the concept of the noble guard was elaborated. This answered the aspirations of the provincial nobility, the stronghold of the resistance to Habsburg rule. Young men delegated by their home counties were sent to Vienna to fulfil ceremonial duties of as guardsmen and couriers, but also to learn sciences and languages. After three, five or seven years in the capital, they were allowed to make their choice: either take service as an officer in the regular army, or try their luck in civil society. Many ambitious ex-guardsmen

37 MNL OL, E 47, 15th cs., no. 278 *ex* June 1774.

38 Fallenbüchl, 'A Magyar Kamara tisztviselői, II. Józseftől a polgári forradalomig, 1780-1848', 375.

39 The textbook was first published in 1763 and since then went through numerous editions. See the contemporary critical edition by Werner Ogris: Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Policey*.

40 Karstens, *Lehrer-Schriftsteller-Staatsreformer: die Karriere des Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733-1817)*.

41 Khavanova, 'Eine universitäre Lehrveranstaltung als universales Instrument'.

42 Hellebronth, *Magyar testőrségek névkönyve*.

applied for administrative positions, but only some of them were selected.[43] One of these was Ignác Lendvay (born in 1739), who after six years in the guard was admitted to the Hungarian Chamber; he wrote in 1773:

> etiam ideomatis Germanici tanquam pro moderna rerum circumstantia necessarii requisiti notitia, ut ut non ex professo, ad obeundum tamen praedeclaratum officium abunde sufficienti poleam.
>
> I possess the language proficiency in German which is nowadays indispensable; that is why I consider myself apt for the position of *Registrar*.[44]

The younger the applicant, the surer it was that he would have some command of the German language. Promotions in administrative bodies were gradual and slow. Therefore, skilled and ambitious youngsters competed with each other, while elderly people continued to hold the offices. They had been engaged decades ago, when there was no need for a profound knowledge of German. As the president of the Hungarian Chamber Count János Erdödy (1723-1789) put it in 1773: 'In Ansehung der Hungarischen Hofkammer dahero könnte der deutsche Schriftwechsel nicht anderst als mit Umänderung des größten Theils des dasigen Personalis eingeführet warden' ('The switch over to the German language could only be achieved at the expense of changing the greater part of the personnel').[45] Obviously, the Vienna court was concerned by this disproportion.

Yet, in the multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary, languages other than German were needed and welcomed. Those who were applying for a position in the royal administration as well as the authorities who assessed the competitors, considered multilingualism as an advantage, since this was an important tool of communication with the local population. Ambitious competitors for administrative jobs never forgot to mention the languages they were able to speak. The young Hungarian nobleman, Ádám Csáthó (who was later employed by the Hungarian Royal Chancellery), stressed in his petition that he was not only capable of record-keeping in German, 'in public as well as financial issues', but that he also spoke the Ruthenian language, and was well acquainted with 'the mentality and the nature of

43 Calculations made by Zoltán Fallenbüchl suggest that during the reign of Maria Theresa some 44 ex-guardsmen were employed in different branches of the administration. Cf. Fallenbüchl, *Mária Terézia magyar hivatalnokai*, 41. However, most likely the number was higher.

44 MNL OL, E 47, 14th cs., no. 492 *ex* September 1773.

45 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 4, subd. 1, no. 4 *ex* September 1773, fol. 165r.

that nation' ('und durch diese Zeit nicht allein die ganze Verfassung der Politischen und Kammeral Manipulation, sondern auch die Rußnakische Sprache, die Denkungsart und das Gemüt dieses Volkes, dass diesen Teil des Landes bewohnt kennen gelernt').[46]

Disproportions in language use in Zips

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Habsburgs took control of the part of Hungary that had not been conquered by the Turks or did not yet depend on them, and built there a system of fiscal and administrative government. For more efficient control over the remote counties in the east of the Kingdom, the Szepes Chamber was organized in the first years of the seventeenth century, in addition to the Hungarian Chamber in Pressburg (Bratislava, Slovakia). It was named after the Szepes County, which is better known under its German name of *Zips* (in Slovak: Spiš). As early as the Middle Ages, German colonists had settled in the region. They founded towns and developed crafts, enjoying special privileges issued by the Hungarian kings. In 1412, King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437) pawned twelve of the sixteen towns to the Polish king; it was only after the first partition of Poland (1772) that they were restored. These towns were not incorporated into their respective counties, but subordinated to the Hungarian Chamber. The capital of the county was situated in Lőcse (Levoča, Slovakia), while another larger town of the region – Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) – hosted the Szepes Chamber.[47]

The region was inhabited by Slovaks, Germans (the second largest ethnic group[48]), Ruthenes, and Magyars. Therefore, the Szepes Chamber, together with the tax, salt, and post offices that depended on it, might not have suffered from a short supply of German-speaking officials. However, as shown above, this was not the case. In the years after the Rákóczi War of Independence, which was fought on the territories submitted to the Szepes Chamber (the siege of Kassa was one of its main episodes), the personnel were predominantly German(-speaking), but unto the 1770s these officials were replaced by the offspring of Hungarian families of the median nobility. A possible explanation of the disproportions in language use is therefore that the elites dwelling in the towns (even if collective nobility was granted

46 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 592, subd. 1, no. 93 *ex* April 1779, fols. 59v, 61r.
47 Fallenbüchl, 'A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői XVII-XVIII. Században'.
48 Cf. Kriegsleder *et al.* (eds.), *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur in der Zips*.

to the residents of the free royal towns), the noble elites and the educated non-nobles in royal service never merged.[49] Mainly those officials, whose Latin was perfect, worked in the Chamber administration in Kassa.[50]

One of the respondents to the questionnaire, Antal Szkávinszky, actually served in Nemsó (Nemšová, Slovakia), but was born in eastern Hungary. He explained why the new requirement was so hard to fulfil:

> quia vero ego in comitatibus Zempliniensi et Saarosiensi educatus, raro admodum linguam Germanicam vel audire, minus vero eandem percipiendi occasionem nanscisci potuerim, nunc autem quinquaginta annos natus, ex quibus quindecim annos linguae Latinae ministerio suscepti servitii Cameralis mei fidelitatem zelumque, pro supremo posse meo promovere satagebam, et neve amplius eandem linguam percipiendi labantis memoriae meae ratio spem porrigere videretur.
>
> I was educated in the Zemplén and Sáros counties, where there was little chance to hear the German language, and even less occasion given to learn it. Now I am fifty years old, of which for fifteen years I have administered my services in Latin, truly and zealously, and it seems that my memory is no longer capable of acquiring that [German] language.[51]

A detailed letter from the head of the Zips Department, Count József Török, to the Empress, drafted one month after the royal decree of 18 August, suggests an analysis of the linguistic situation in the office:

> et de praesenti inter gremiales quidem consiliarios uno, alteroque excepto, qui in Germanica lingua referrent, votaque scripto depromeret, nullus, secretariorum [...] atque nullus (actuali prothocollista ob frequentiorem valetudinarium statum, et reliquam corporis labefactatam constitutionem aliundei ad gerendum officium suum inhabili, sed et caeteroquin Germanicam linguam pro officii sui exigentia haud callente) [...] ac demum in officina rationaria praeter unum, alterumve, qui officia sua Germanica lingua manipularent, nullus, denique neque regestrator, neque expeditor, sed inter cancellistas, accessistas ac diuturnalistas (excepto recenter huc resoluto supernumerario cancellista Klompe, et tribus diuturnalis, ac denique in regestratura Antonio Filszky) nullus est,

49 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 591, subd. 1, no 139 *ex* October 1773, fol. 179r.
50 Fallenbüchl, 'A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői XVII-XVIII. században', 211.
51 MNL OL, E 47, 14th cs., no. 492 *ex* September 1773, no. 41.

> qui Germanicam linguam, vel ita prout sui, quod gerit, officii necessitas exigit, calleret, vel saltem intelligeret, tacendum legeret, vel scriberet.[52]

> Among the councillors, with one or two exceptions there is nobody who knows German and could write votes. Among the secretaries [...] the situation is much the same, the *Protocollist* is so ill and physically sick that he could be hardly employed for these tasks, not to mention that his knowledge is very poor) [...]. In the bookkeeping office nobody can run documentation in this language, the same is true for the *Registrator*, and *Expeditor*, while among the *Kanzellist*-s, *Akzessist*-s, and *Diurnist*-s (with the only exception of the recently employed *Kanzellist* Klompe, three *Diurnist*-s and *Registrator* Filszky), there is nobody who could fulfil his duties in German.

One month later, on 17 October, the Viennese Court Chamber informed the Empress of this pitiful state of affairs.[53] Nevertheless, there was no way back: the Empress did not want to hear anything about it. The following year, the Szepes Chamber was dissolved, in its place the Szepes Administration in Kassa came into being. During the transitional period, chiefs of departments were doing their best to 'protect' their employees from the harmful consequences of new requirements. In 1774, the head of the Chamber Administration in Szepes, Count József Török, characterized one of his senior councillors, Baron Palocsay as follows:

> Baron Pallócsai ist fast allezeit und seit der eingeführten neuen Manipulation, wo die Räte selbst arbeiten müssen, stets abwesend. Es ist schade, dass dieser teils wegen Verwaltung seiner großen Güter, teils aber auch wegen Mangel der deutschen Sprache und übrigen nötigen Studien nicht dienen kann, denn er hat vielen natürlichen Witz, und ein gutes Judicium.

> inasmuch as he does not speak German and never learned other sciences necessary nowadays, he can hardly serve any longer, which is a pity, for he has a witty mind and certain wisdom.[54]

Transitions from one branch of power to another became more complicated. County officials who had never needed any German, were now handicapped.

52 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 27, Kt. 1905, subd. 1, no. 139 *ex* October 1773, fol. 187r-v.
53 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 591, subd. 1, no. 139 *ex* October 1773, fol. 181v.
54 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 27, Kt. 1905, subd. 1, no. 49 *ex* July 1774, fol. 459v.

Count Török, recommending Sáros County Vice-Sheriff Zsigmond Pécsy to the Chamber Administration in Kassa, suggested:

> Er ist der deutscher Sprache um selbe zu reden und zu verstehen allerdings wohl kündig, und es fehlt ihm lediglich an der Vollkommenheit deutsch Ausätze schriftlich zu machen, worinnfalls er aber durch das ihme unterzuordnende Personale ganz leicht eine Aushilfe erhalten kann.
>
> The only problem is the German language, which he himself speaks and understands well, but he plainly lacks proficiency in writing. For such purposes though, he can be given the necessary personnel, as he is capable of evaluating the correctness of the sentences.[55]

Yet more and more often, the older generation made room for the younger ones. On one occasion, when Bereg County Vice-Sheriff György Bessenyei (a namesake of the Hungarian writer Ferenc Bessenyei, 1919-2004) applied for the position of Head of the Chamber Administration in Máramaros,[56] the Vice-president of the Hungarian Chamber Count Pál Festetics (1722-1782) had to recognize: 'Er ist, so viel mir seine Eigenschaften bekannt sind, ein wohlverdienter Mann, redet zwar etwas weniges Deutsch, aber schreiben kann er in dieser Sprache durchaus nicht so rühmlich' ('He is, as far as I know his qualities, a man of great merit, but he does not speak German at all, and his writing in that language is hardly praiseworthy').[57]

The position was given to another applicant.

The Josephin generation in office[58]

Nevertheless, even if in a remote province many of the lower rank officials were still incapable of using German in the early nineteenth century, in the central offices there was a spectacular change in the education and employment paradigms by the end of Joseph II's reign. Among the innovations of the

55 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 591, subd. 1, no. 101 *ex* November 1774, fol. 715v.

56 Máramaros – a historical region in the east of the Kingdom of Hungary (now in Romania and Ukraine) with the centre in Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmației, Romania).

57 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 27, Kt. 1907, subd. 1, no. 6 *ex* September 1778, fol. 28r.

58 Josephinists were adherents of the reform agenda of enlightened absolutism and its protagonist Joseph II. This word was also used for officials of liberal convictions in the first half of the ninetheenth century. See: Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen*, and *Josephinische Mandarine*.

Emperor were the so called *Konduitlisten*,[59] which employees of the central and provincial governmental bodies were to fill in about themselves, providing basic data about their place of origin, age, education, professional experience, spoken languages, and so forth. In so far as scholars were accurate about the self-estimation of their skills and talents, these tables can be used to explore the characteristics of bureaucracies in the age of enlightened absolutism.[60]

In 1788, two hundred and twenty-three officials of the Royal Chamber Bookkeeping Office answered eight questions related to their background and experience.[61] The collective portrait of these personnel is very instructive.[62] First of all, their average age is very young. Only 7 of them were over 50 years old, 2 more over 60, more than one-third (39%) however were under 26. The geographical range of their origin is very broad: not only Pressburg, where the Chamber was located until 1784, or Pest-Buda, to where it was then moved, but also Vienna, Transylvania, Bohemia and Moravia, Tirol and even the Rhineland. Their educational strategies were diverse, but the staff was well, or well enough, prepared for the functions they were fulfilling. Just 14 men (6.2%) had attended nothing other than primary school, all of them being under 36. Five more officials had, after primary school, attended the special course of the Polizey-, Cameral- und Finanzwissenschaften and thus added professional competence to basic literacy. The majority, 114 men (or 63.5%), had graduated from the philosophy class, or in other words had attended a college or university. One-fifth of the staff, or 50 people had studied different branches of law, from Canon Law to Hungarian jurisprudence. Twenty-nine had finished a *gymnasium*, 24 of them being younger than 26 years old.

Furthermore, all age groups tended to complete their schooling by professional training. Forty men attended the course of the Polizey- und Cameralwissenschaften (Policy and Public Finance), taught in German by Joseph von Sonnenfels himself, or by his pupils in different towns of the Monarchy.

59 See a sample table to be filled in (as a supplement to the decree from 13 January 1783), col. 9: 'Whether he [member of the staff] has any education and speaks languages', in: *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II.*, 120.

60 Hajdu, *II. József igazgatási reformjai Magyarországon*.

61 Fallenbüchl mentions this account but does not go beyond a short notice. Cf. Fallenbüchl, *Mária Terézia Magyar hivatalnokai*, 100. Elek Csetri has worked with similar sources for Transylvania, see Csetri, 'Az erdélyi központi hatóságok tisztviselőinek nyelvtudásáról a 18. század végén', 19-29.

62 MNL OL, Magyar kincstári levéltárak, Magyar (pozsonyi) kamarai levéltár, E 701, Magyar Kamara számvevősége, Gremialia (Szervezetre, működésre vonatkozó iratok), vol. 3, Enthalt die von Einer Hochlöblichen Kaiserlichen Königlichen Hofrechenkammer herabgegebene acht Fragpunkte und wie sie durch ein jedes Glied der Ofner Landes-Zentral-Buchhalterey mit Inbegriff der in die Bezirke detaschirten sind beantwortet worden. Zusammengetragen den 15tens Decembri 1788.

Thirty persons had attended a special course in bookkeeping organized by the Piarists in Vienna, and one-third of them were young men under 26. Ten more men (all under 30) had attended another course taught by Sonnenfels, on business style. A small number of officials possessed a unique expertise, not specific to bureaucrats, such as an education at the Mountain Academy in Hungarian Schelmezbánya (Banská Štiavnica , Slovakia), or in the faculty of theology or of medicine. The 28-year-old Jakob Eckler, a German from Pressburg, had studied the art of drawing before entering the royal service.

Their language proficiencies were quite impressive. There are no data about four persons, but as to the rest of the staff, just one person did not speak any language other than German. Only 27 men (12%) could read and write in German and Latin only. Thirty-nine men reported familiarity with Hungarian in addition to German and Latin. Thirty more men knew four basic languages of the kingdom: Latin, German, Hungarian, and one of the Slavic ones. At the other end, there were real polyglots: six people knew seven languages, seven more six languages; one person spoke eight languages and vernaculars. Between these two extremes, there was a majority of speakers of four languages: in addition to Latin, German and Hungarian the fourth language could be Italian, French, English, Czech, Croatian, Roman, Serbian, or even ancient Greek and Hebrew. The Hungarian language was spoken not only by the subjects of the Hungarian king (many Germans from Pressburg stated that they understood Hungarian and Slovak), but also by foreigners coming from Austria, Silesia, or other parts of the Holy Roman Empire. For example, Paul Rausch from Austria spoke and wrote German and Latin and understood some Hungarian. Johann Schibing from Olmütz (Olomouc, Czech Republic) spoke German, Latin, and Bohemian, understood some French and also Slovak, Ruthenian, and Hungarian.[63]

As follows from the last example, proficiency in different languages was not always similar. Many could speak or understand a language, but not write in it, others understood one or another language only to a certain degree. For instance, József Pospischill from Pest stated that he could write and speak German and Latin, but Hungarian only in case of necessity. Similarly, Johann Saltzmann from Altenburg in Austria spoke and wrote German and Latin and, when needed, French and Italian. Leopold Beyermann from

63 Zsolt K. Lengyel, a Hungarian historian working in Germany, has recently used a similar methodology for the reconstruction of the language proficiencies of the bureaucratic corps of the so-called 'Bach age', named after the interior minister of the Austrian government (1849-1859), Alexander von Bach (1813-1893). He has presented the results at the VIIIth International Congress of Hungarian Studies on 22-27 August 2016 in Pécs (Hungary). See the programme: http://hungkong2016.hu/pdf/hungkong2016_program.pdf (accessed 7 September 2016).

Vienna spoke and wrote German and Latin, while understanding some Polish and Illyrian. Johann Suppini from Darufalva (Drassburg, Austria), on the contrary, had no command of Hungarian, but spoke and wrote German and Latin, and also understood some Italian and Croatian.

As a rule, the older the person was, the more picturesque his life experiences were, and the more diverse his linguistic skills. Unfortunately, József Josvay (b. 1750) did not say where he had studied philosophy, experimental mechanics, botany, chemistry, physiology, anatomy, geography, natural history, and economics. However, he wrote and read Latin, German, Hungarian and Slovak, and understood Walachian, Italian, French, and English. Among those over 35 years old, one meets ex-army officers and ex-Jesuits, adventurers and refugees. As young men, they had studied military science and theology, law and engineering. They had travelled through many lands and at least understood many languages. They collected the necessary competencies after they had been employed at the Chamber and for this purpose attended special lecture-courses in Vienna and Pressburg.

The younger generation on the contrary was the product of the school plan *Ratio educationis*; they had chosen their profession relatively early and studied German, mathematics, or statistics in secondary school. They were more career-oriented. Born in Buda or Pest, they were trying to benefit from the proximity of the central governmental bodies for collecting knowledge and experience. Quite rightly, the process they were part of may be called 'professionalization'.

Conclusion

Peter Burke has characterized one of the roles of language use as 'expressing or constructing a variety of social relationships'.[64] The case under review in this article is an example of how the gradual introduction of the German language in Hungary in the 1760s and 70s – hand-in-hand with the set-up of a new school system for the transfer of indispensable language proficiencies – eventually changed the administrative elites. As far as the aims and goals of the language policy of Austrian enlightened absolutism are concerned, this did not mean that the dynasty tried to replace the Hungarian officials unable to speak German with those knowledgeable of German and loyal to the Crown. Making knowledge of the German language compulsory, the Vienna Court was trying rather to enrich the administrative corps of the kingdom with people enjoying a broader intellectual horizon, a better schooling, and more specific skills.

64 Burke, *Language and communities in early modern Europe*, 3.

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Voices in a country divided

Linguistic choices in early modern Croatia[1]

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Rjéoutski, Vladislav and Willem Frijhoff, *Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe. Education, Sociability, and Governance*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018

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Abstract

Croatian lands in the eighteenth century belonged to several separate political entities. The north-western territory, officially autonomous as the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary and with it also of the Habsburg Monarchy; a portion on the east was still occupied by the Ottoman Empire, with the borderlands between those two forming the so-called Military Frontier, governed directly by the Imperial Court of Vienna. Dubrovnik was an autonomous republic and the rest of the coastal region, Dalmatia and Istria, was under the rule of the Republic of Venice. Divided not only in territory, but also in the language itself, composed of three rather distinct dialects, Croatians managed to preserve their national identity, and created a standard language in the time of national revival in the nineteenth century. This chapter examines, through examples of writers and public figures of both sexes, as well as official legislature, the various languages that were used by the Croats in various aspects of their life and works, such as Latin (language of education, literature, and communication that helped to unify the divided nation), German, Italian, and French. It analyses how this multilingualism reflected the political and social views of an individual and the reasons for particular choices. Special attention is paid to the role the Latin language, in comparison to Croatian, played in literature and in socio-political life, and to the spheres in which it was used.

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Keywords: eighteenth century, Croatian history, multilingualism, Enlightenment, national identity, language choice, literature, history of education, political life, Latin

'We are part Latins, part Germans, part Italians, part Hungarians, and part Slavs …'

> We still keep our language confined only to our families and our serfs. Long ago, in those barbaric times, we introduced Latin into our communal life and business, when the whole world considered it the language of the educated and the sophisticated. In time, German slipped into our social life and into our families, altering our innate nature and the mentality of our fathers. […] We are part Latins, part Germans, part Italians, part Hungarians, and part Slavs, while overall, frankly speaking, we are next to nothing! The dead language of Rome and the living Hungarian, German and Italian – those are our tutors. The living ones threaten us, the dead one clutches us by the throat, suffocates us and leads us, helpless, into the arms of the living![2]

These words were pronounced in the first speech in the Croatian language given in the Croatian-Slavonian Parliament (*Sabor*) – the representative body of estates of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The speaker is Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889), historian, writer, and politician from a noble background. At the time he made the speech, the official language in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia was Latin, and the Croatian nobility had already, for half a century, been faced with attempts to introduce the German and Hungarian languages into the administration. The very year in which the speech was made is especially interesting – namely the year 1843, when the primacy of national languages in public affairs had long been affirmed within European political, social, and cultural circles. Latin was official in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia up until 1847, when Croatian replaced it; the preservation of Latin in the administration had been the goal of the estates' struggle for decades before that – since 1790.

2 Quoted in Šidak (ed.), *Historijska čitanka za hrvatsku povijest,* 188.

A very long ascendancy of Latin in the public sphere makes the Croatian experience different from that of other European countries. Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, Latin was usually not only the language of administration in educated circles, but also the first choice for literary works or private letters – even in cases where the correspondents shared the same mother tongue. However, the cultural milieu – where language choice definitely belongs – was decidedly multilingual, especially during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. In areas that could have been considered Croatian-speaking at the time, we also encounter very frequent use of German, Hungarian, Italian, or French, as well as Latin as an administrative language and Croatian as a mother tongue. Each of these languages played a specific role in the lives of the inhabitants of the Croatian lands, and the language choice often revealed a speaker's social, cultural, or political attitudes.

The present work is predominantly based on archive material and other sources – correspondence, memoirs, institutional proceedings, and contemporary publications. It stresses the importance of multilingualism and various choices of specific languages in early modern Croatian society. The emphasis is on the eighteenth century, as the period when the role of specific languages changed dynamically under the influence of the Enlightenment and the attempts at reform by the Imperial Court of Vienna. This is also a period when the preconditions were created for the affirmation of Croatian as an official language – mainly through (and in spite of) the educational policy of the newly formed state school system. In geographical terms, the focus of our research is on the so-called Croatian lands – the region divided in the early modern period between various political leaderships, legal traditions and social developments, while bound together by Croatian as the mother tongue and the language with a significant influence on the formation of the Croatian ethnic area during the nineteenth century. We will argue that the use of specific languages caused the culture of the literate (and politically active) layers of Croatian society to remain markedly multilingual until well into the nineteenth century. Furthermore, we will show that the choice of (not) using the national language reflected the spread of Enlightenment ideas in the eighteenth century, and will demonstrate how Latin, succeeded in time by the national language, acted as an integrative factor in the political unification of Croatian lands within the Habsburg Monarchy.

'The confusion of tongues': official languages, languages of (high) society, and the mother tongue

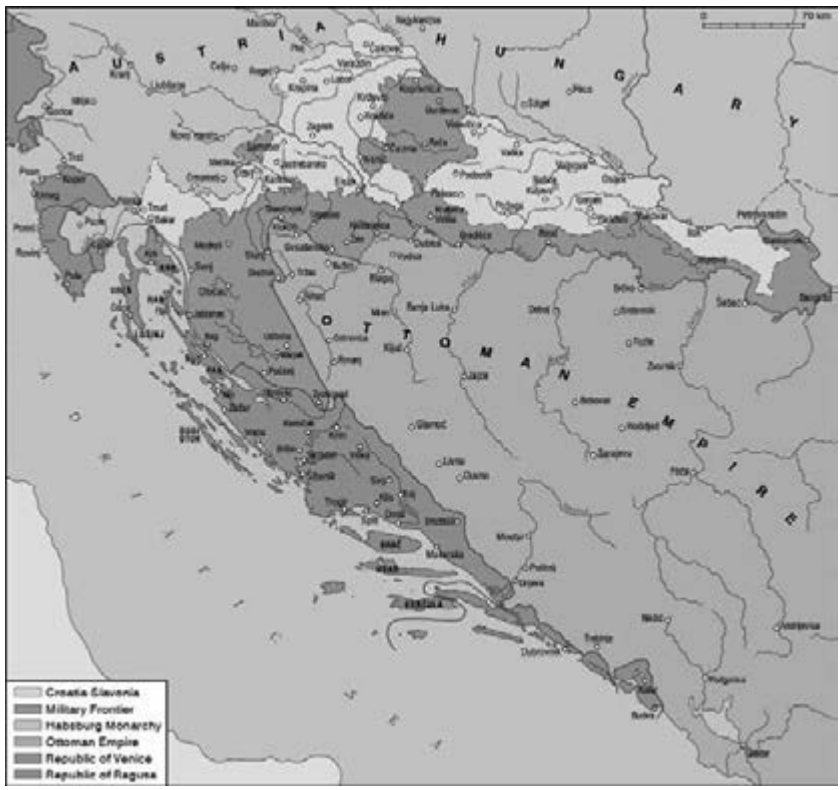
Travellers passing through Croatian lands during the eighteenth or early nineteenth century had to agree with the phrase used by the French naturalist François Sulpice Beudant (1787-1850) to illustrate the diversity of linguistic practices he observed during his voyage through Hungary (and Croatia) in the year 1818 – *a confusion of tongues*.[3] Throughout the Croatian lands, political fragmentation and the different layers of internal political autonomy of specific regions favoured this 'confusion'. The considerable heterogeneity of the social, cultural, and political climate in which the elites acted also played a role. These elites were in turn instrumental in the linguistic and political practices current at the time. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the Ottoman defeat in the Austro-Ottoman wars and their subsequent retreat, various forms of political government that were to dictate language policy were consolidated in the Croatian lands. The Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia were thus a part of the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as of the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen i.e. the Kingdom of Hungary, while the Estates of these two kingdoms (*status et ordines regnorum*) enjoyed a wide autonomy.[4] Furthermore, the Military Frontier – a wide military-administrative belt along the border with Ottoman Bosnia – was also a part of the Monarchy, under the direct rule of the Imperial Court of Vienna. The Monarchy likewise included a part of inland Istria and Littoral, under the jurisdiction of Inner Austria. Coastal Istria and Dalmatia belonged to the Republic of Venice until 1797: this area was administratively divided between Venetian Istria and Venetian Dalmatia. During this time, the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was the only independent state, a merchant state that would cease to exist in 1808 when Napoleon annexed it to the Kingdom of Italy.[5] Following the dissolution of the Republic of Venice and Napoleon's subsequent defeat, the former Venetian territory came under Habsburg rule along with the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik, both areas administered separately from the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom until the disintegration of the Monarchy in 1918.

3 Beudant, *Travels in Hungary in 1818*, 21.

4 The full title of the country is 'Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia'. However, the name of Dalmatia in the title at the time merely represented the pretensions of Croatian estates. We therefore use a historiographically more conventional term, Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, or Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia.

5 For more detailed information on the political jurisdiction and borders of particular Croatian lands see Katušić, 'Pregled političkih zbivanja', 3-26.

Croation Lands in the 18th century



Thomislav Kaniški

Although the mother tongue for the entire above-mentioned area was mainly that which served as a basis for Croatian literary language (variously called Croatian, Slavonic, or Illyrian) during the eighteenth century, it was not established as the official language throughout the early modern period. Therefore, other languages replaced it in the administration: as already mentioned, the official language in Croatia and Slavonia was Latin, as in the rest of the Kingdom of Hungary, but here this situation lasted longer than elsewhere in the Monarchy – until 1847. The use of Latin in the administration, but also in private communication, aimed to resolve *the difficulty of mutual understanding*,[6] as Beudant again noticed, and to provide equal conditions for political participation in all the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary. German replaced Latin in the administration only

6 Beudant, *Travels in Hungary*, 21.

between 1784 and 1790, although this turned out to be just one among many unsuccessful reforms of Joseph II.[7] German was the administrative language of the Military Frontier, as well as of the Hereditary Lands. The exception was the region called Banalgrenze in German, historically under the direct control of the Croatian viceroy (*ban*), financed and managed – in military, economic, and personnel matters – by the Croatian Parliament, where the use of Latin was exercised alongside German. In Croatian lands under the rule of the Republic of Venice, where there was no strongly defined language policy like the one in the Habsburg Monarchy, the official language of the administration and the legal system was Italian. It was also the language in use in the city councils of Dalmatia. Venice generally did not impose Italian – only during the short-lasting French rule in 1806 was it officially introduced into the administration, as 'a language of science and art', supplanting the parallel use of Croatian in rural communities. The Austrian administration copied this regulation in 1814.[8] On the other hand, the Republic of Dubrovnik employed Latin in its administration, and often Italian as well.[9]

Individual public and military officials, because of their specific status, needed to learn other languages in addition to the official ones. The contemporary author Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728-1778) gives us an example: the regimental scribes and clerks in the Military Frontier had to read and write the Ottoman Turkish language in order to conduct the necessary correspondence with the *begs* and *pashas* in Serbia, Bosnia, and Ottoman Croatia.[10] The so-called 'language youth' or the *dragomans* were young men systematically educated in Oriental languages and employed by the Venetian government as state officials of special significance; they played an important diplomatic role in relations between the Republics of Venice and Dubrovnik and the Ottoman Empire.[11] The use of Croatian, as the mother tongue for the vast majority of the population, was a necessity almost exclusively demanded only in military service during the eighteenth century. All the officers in the Military Frontier were thus required to speak the language of the people, although the language of command was

7 Of the more recent works on the introduction of German into the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary and especially Croatia and Slavonia, see Baric, *Langue allemande, identité croate*, and Šubarić, 'From the aftermath of 1784 to the Illyrian turn', 191-217.

8 Šimunković, *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri,* 38-43.

9 Laznibat, *Govor Dubrovnika u 17. i 18. stoljeću*, 83-84, 250-251.

10 Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, II, 85.

11 For the office of *dragomans* see Šimunković, 'Služba tumača i dragomana u Splitu za vrijeme mletačke uprave', 65-86; Čaušević, *The Turkish language in Ottoman Bosnia*, and Radoš, 'Nikola Veseličić (u. 1775.) u službi dragomana Dubrovačke Republike', 315-323.

German.[12] On the other hand, the military in Venetian Dalmatia, including the Venetian overseas troops (*oltramarini*) and the cavalry of the Republic of Venice (*cavalleria croata*), used Croatian as a language of command, which meant that knowledge of Croatian was a prerequisite for the position of commander. Croatian was accordingly the language used at the military school in Zadar, founded in 1781.[13]

In contrast, we do not find knowledge of a national language as a prerequisite for holding public office in the civil administration in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, nor in Venetian Dalmatia and Istria. For example, in Croatia and Slavonia, the rule that stated that public office could only be obtained by the members of noble families with *indigenat* (rights of citizenship and nobility), i.e. individuals with property in the Kingdoms and with permission to participate in the estates' bodies of government, was in force until 1844.[14] Latin was the only prerequisite for office. On the other hand, even the Croatian *ban* did not necessarily have to be fluent in Croatian. This is surprising when we consider how this position symbolized the preservation of Croatian statehood up until the twentieth century, and was conferred on the most prominent noble families in the Kingdom. However, we know, for example, that *ban* Ferenc Nádasdy (*ban* from 1756 to 1783) had the appeals in Croatian translated for him into German.[15] The officials in the chancellery of the Croatian Royal Council, the provincial government for the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, were another example of public servants who did not have to speak Croatian. This chancellery was a relatively small one, comprised of ten officials, four of whom had only a mediocre knowledge of Croatian, or none at all.[16] We encounter similar examples in Venetian Dalmatia. The general *provedadore* (prefect of the region) in Zadar since 1716 regularly had an accompanying public translator for Croatian; this was later also the case in the Venice-governed towns of Makarska and Kotor. The job of these translators was to translate all documents of public importance into Croatian.[17]

12 Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, II, 85.

13 Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada Mletačke Republike*, 30, 38-39, 207-208; Šimunković, *Mletački dvojezični proglasi u Dalmaciji u 18. stoljeću*, 11-13, and *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri*, 75.

14 For the abolition of this restriction in 1844 see Conclusion of the Hungarian Parliament, 1843/44, art. 5. Cf. for example *Decretum generale*, II, 555.

15 See the letter of Vuchimir Trivanovich, lieutenant in the *ban*'s hussar regiment, in the National Archives of Hungary, Hungarian State Archives (MNL OL, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára), coll. P-507, box 46, no. 857 (*varia*).

16 MNL OL, A39 (Hungarian Court Chancellery, Acta generalia), 4389 *ex* 1779.

17 Since 1740, after the people protested that they misunderstood the Venetian decrees, the proclamations for a wider population were necessarily bilingual. It is interesting to note

Still, we can assume that the officials whose public service consisted of continuous communication with the people naturally spoke the national language. Examples of this kind are the *judices* and *vicejudices nobilium* in Croatian and Slavonian counties: the county regularly elected them from the ranks of the lesser nobility, and they conducted court or other investigations.[18] Medical practitioners – physicians and surgeons – were the only public officials in the eighteenth-century Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia who were obliged by law to use the national language.[19] Viewed from today's perspective, this fact is especially interesting. On the one hand, it is an entirely sound request by the state authorities, since the medical practitioners would hardly be able to perform their work without knowing the language of the people they treated. On the other hand, the request is also paradoxical: formally educated physicians and surgeons in Croatia and Slavonia were almost always of foreign origin, unlike other public officials.[20] Not until the nineteenth century was the knowledge of a national language formally required of all public officials: the Austrian government in Dalmatia, aiming to save on the cost of translators, decreed in 1834 that all state officials must speak the language of the people and provinces they served in.[21]

During the eighteenth century, while Croatian was still insufficiently standardized and terminologically inadequate for public and legal affairs, or scholarly work, Latin fulfilled all the needs of public linguistic practice in every area of Croatian lands – not only in a political, but also in a social, cultural, and scientific sense. Historically speaking, the use of Latin provided the Croats, as a Slavic people who entered the historical stage only after the fall of the Roman Empire, with legitimacy in the eyes of the Western world, which relied heavily upon the Roman tradition. In precisely this context, a Croatian jurist Josip Kušević (1775-1846) defended the use

that proclamations with decrees and instructions for officials or for the province, for church authorities and citizens, were exclusively in Italian. A similar practice existed in the Habsburg Monarchy. About languages in Venetian Dalmatia see Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada Mletačke Republike*, 26, 28, 38-39; Šimunković, *Mletački dvojezični proglasi*, 7-16, 105-106, and *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri*, 21-22; Bratulić, 'Jezik hrvatskih poslovnih tekstova u 17. stoljeću', III, 310; Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 102-103.

18 There are plenty of investigative acts, confirming that investigations among the populace were conducted in the national language, preserved in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb (HDA, Hrvatski državni arhiv), colls. 1 (Croatian Parliament), 12 (Croatian Royal Council), and 28-34 (county archives).

19 Linzbauer, *Codex sanitario-medicinalis Hungariae*, 550-551.

20 Horbec, *Zdravlje naroda*, 159.

21 Šimunković, *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri*, 38-43.

of Latin in the administration in 1830, deeming this right to be one of the fundamental constitutional rights of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia:

> Negotia publica intra ambitum Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae non alia, quam Latina Lingva etractantur. Usum Latinae Lingvae in Regnis Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae vetustissimum, cujus initia ad Romanos plurium Coloniarum, in Dalmatia et in Pannonia Interamnensi Fundatores referri possunt.
>
> Within the limits of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, public affairs are handled in no other language but Latin. The use of the Latin language in the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia is most ancient, and its beginnings can be traced to the Romans, founders of several colonies in Dalmatia and Pannonia Savia.[22]

Furthermore, the Croatian estates used Latin as a means of defending the national identity both against the Imperial Court of Vienna and its attempt to introduce German as the official language (1784), and against the Hungarian estates and their attempt to introduce Hungarian (since 1790). Education was also closely related to Latin. In most Croatian lands schooling, whether under the tutorship of the monastic orders, or later under state administration, was conducted in Latin, the language of science and culture well into the nineteenth century. An array of works by Croatian neo-Latin authors in all Croatian lands, in the areas of theology, history, law, natural sciences, or poetry, surpasses by far the limited production in the national language.

Among many eighteenth-century examples, we can mention here the group of Latin poets from Dubrovnik who worked outside the borders of their homeland and acquired an international reputation, among them a famous scientist Josip Ruđer Bošković (1711-1787). Marko Faustin Galjuf (1765-1834), who used to say he was *sorte Ragusinus, vita Italus, ore Latinus* ('a man from Dubrovnik by chance, an Italian by life, and a Latin by speech'), became famous for his improvisations in Latin verse. Benedikt Stay (1714-1801) gained fame with his epics that explain physics, while Rajmund Kunić

22 For the role of Latin in the process of establishing a national identity see Kušević, 'De municipalibus juris et statutis Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae', 252-253; and also papers by Sikirić Assouline, 'Latinitet u hrvatskom društvu prve polovice 19. stoljeća', 257-265, and 'The Latin speeches in the Croatian Parliament: collective and personal identities', 218-236; Shek Brnardić, 'The Enlightenment's choice of Latin', 119-151.

(1719-1794) and Bernard Zamanja (1735-1820), in addition to original poems, wrote Latin translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, respectively. The work of Đuro Ferić (1739-1820), poet and precursor of Romanticism, who translated into Latin both popular poems and proverbs converted into fables, testifies to the connection that these poets had with their mother tongue and to their awareness of its importance. Regarding the quantity and variety of subjects, Latin literature in the Croatian lands is one of the richest in Europe,[23] which makes this language truly 'national' throughout the early modern period.

The private correspondence of literate people – i.e. the educated ones – during the eighteenth century was also predominantly carried out in Latin. Written bequests and the preserved correspondence of Croatian *bans*, for example, provide us with perhaps the most complete picture of language choice for communication, since the *bans* received letters from the widest possible layers of the literate population, due to the very nature of their office. When we analyse these sources, we can conclude that Latin was by far the most common choice for written communication among the Croatian nobility (especially lesser and middle) and other educated Croats, even among correspondents whose mother tongue was Croatian.[24] From the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the use of Latin among the elites was considered more and more anachronistic. In the Habsburg Monarchy, this attitude towards Latin appeared in Viennese social and political circles: the Croatian linguist Josip Voltić (Voltiggi, 1750-1825) is of this opinion while criticizing new methods in the teaching of science. He concluded that Latin in Vienna was *banished among boys who mock it as if it were an old geezer.*[25]

23 For more detail on Croatian neo-Latin literature see Gortan, 'Hrvatski latinisti u 18. stoljeću', 121-127; Bogišić, 'Hrvatski latinisti u XVIII stoljeću', 479-498; Knezović, 'Hrvatski latinisti 18. i 19. stoljeća', 177-189; and Gortan & Vratović (eds.), *Hrvatski latinisti/Croatici auctores qui latine scripserunt*.

24 Abundant correspondence of the eighteenth-century Croatian *bans* is preserved in the Hungarian National Archives in colls. P-201 (József Esterházy), P-219 (Ferenc Esterházy), P-507 (Ferenc Nádasdy), P-1316 (Adam III Batthyányi), P-1765 (Ferenc Balassa), and official correspondence also in the Croatian State Archives, coll. HDA-10 (Croatian ban). Compare also the Latin correspondence of Nikola Škrlec Lomnički and Maksimilijan Vrhovac in Kolanović, 'Dopisivanje Nikola Škrlec-Maksimilijan Vrhovac'.

25 Voltić, *Bečka pisma*, 77. Latin was, however, used in diplomatic correspondence with non-German-speaking nations throughout the eighteenth century. In public affairs within the Monarchy, the Court encouraged the use of German in order to simplify the administration. Cf. Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch*, 48-49.

Considering the language choices of the Croatian aristocracy, we can conclude that the elite of the Monarchy embraced the same attitude. In their private correspondence during the second half of the eighteenth century, Latin receded more and more, faced with other languages, especially German. Although the *ban* Ferenc Nádasdy conducted correspondence with the Croatian lesser and middle nobility in Latin, he communicated mostly in German with the members of the Croatian aristocracy, using it, surprisingly, in correspondence with his brother Lipót, chancellor of Hungary, as well.[26] Count Petar Troilo Sermage also chose German as his preferred language of communication when he wrote letters from the Seven Years' War.[27] This predominance of German can partly be explained by the fact that a large number of nobles had Austrian mothers. On the other hand, Italian became immensely popular among the elites in Dubrovnik and Dalmatia. Therefore Ruđer Bošković, although he composed poems and scientific works in Latin, wrote letters to his brothers in Italian,[28] while Ivan Luka Garanjin (1764-1841), an economist from Trogir and a supporter of Enlightenment ideas, wrote his discussions and business books, as well as correspondence, in that same language.[29] French also appears as a language of modern Europe, especially in Dubrovnik, but is also present in the correspondence of the aristocracy of the Croatian north.[30]

The linguistic trends within Croatian society, dictated by the elites – in the north predominantly the aristocracy, and in the south patricians, rich merchants, and bearers of Enlightenment ideas – were soon broadly embraced by the urban centres. The use of modern languages created the *Gesellschaftston* in cities and towns. 'In Osijek and Petrovaradin you can hardly hear anything but German', wrote Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube in the 1770s.[31] Judging by the experience of a Hungarian magnate Dominik Teleki von Szék (1773-1798), German was also spoken in other urban

26 Compare for example the correspondence with the Drašković and Oršić families in MNL OL, P-507, boxes 28-30, nos. 240-245, and box 37, nos. 534, 540; for correspondence with Ferenc-Lipót Nádasdy see box 36, no. 501.

27 Matasović (ed.), *Die Briefe des Grafen Sermage*.

28 Bošković, *Pisma, pjesme i rasprave*.

29 Celio Cega, 'Patricij hrvatskoga juga', 76.

30 For French see Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti do preporoda*, 311-312; Novak, 'Zapadna Europa', 477-480; Matasović, *Lingvistička povijest Europe*, 237-242; and the correspondence of the Drašković family members with Ferenc Nádasdy in MLN-OL, P-507, box 28, nos. 240-242.

31 Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, I, 63. As a result of numerous German inhabitants, German remained the language of society in many Slavonian cities up until the end of the World War I. In Osijek, for example, a special dialect of German was formed. Cf. Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch*, 345-346.

communities of Slavonia, while in Zagreb one could hear both German and Latin.[32] On the other hand, in Rijeka, which was also part of the Kingdom of Hungary, but socially and culturally influenced by its proximity to Italy and populated by a large number of Italian inhabitants, Italian was the prevailing language. 'Nowhere is it more obvious than in the cafés', Teleki notices, 'where you cannot hear a word, if not Italian, and you get only Italian newspapers to read. If someone asks for something in another language, they won't understand him'.[33]

Meanwhile, in Dubrovnik, French was particularly fashionable: apart from translations of popular and scientific works into French and adaptations of Molière's comedies (the so-called *frančezarije*), our witness for this fact is one of the greatest lyrical poets of Dubrovnik, Ignjat Đurđević (1675-1737). He comments that 'as soon as people know even a bit [of French], they immediately consider themselves the greatest scholars of Europe'. It would seem that in Dubrovnik, by the end of the century, only German and English remained less popular. An interesting occasion confirms this: in order to discourage the people of Dubrovnik from constantly borrowing their books, the mother of a Dubrovnik bibliophile and Enlightener Tomo Basiljević announced in 1790 that their library contained only German and English books.[34]

The analysis of the examples presented above shows the primacy of Latin and other contemporary languages among the educated classes of Croatian society during the eighteenth century. This raises the inevitable question of the importance of Croatian, as the mother tongue for the majority of the population in the Croatian lands. Only the wealthier classes of society, who could afford formal (and mostly private) education, spoke foreign languages. The majority of the nobility (in a situation where, in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia only a very small number of noble families even distinguished themselves with a property worthy of noble status) were not well educated in Latin or any other contemporary foreign language. Thus, even among the nobles employed in public service, we encounter those who knew just a few phrases of Latin, necessary for conducting their work.[35] Even the traveller

32 Szék, *Reisen durch Ungern*, 178, 222.

33 *Ibidem*, 245-248. The same impression is expressed by Fortis, *Travels into Dalmatia*, 510.

34 Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti*, 294-309, 324-327; Novak, 'Zapadna Europa', 477-480; Shek Brnardić, 'Intelektualni razvoj', 212.

35 See appeals of county officials Josip Završki and Ivan Grdenić in 1770 in HDA-34 (Zagreb County), box 6, 7/1770, no. 240, and box 6, *ex gen. congr.* 8.8.1770. For comparison, a Hungarian historian István György Tóth concluded that in the mid-eighteenth century more than half of the nobility of Upper Hungary were illiterate. Tóth, *Literacy and written culture*, 118-123.

Taube commented on the poor knowledge of Latin used in the Hungarian administration, claiming that this Latin 'was so corrupt, that Cicero himself would have needed a translator'.[36] Everyday practice therefore required frequent use of the national language. The politician and publicist Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac (1824-1912) confirms this in his memoirs – he remembered that he had, as a boy, crossed the border with Ottoman Bosnia, wishing to 'see Turkey'. During this trip, he was puzzled to hear Austrian and Ottoman soldiers communicate in Croatian, but his companions explained it by saying: 'well, those are our own people: they understand Turkish no more than our soldiers understand German!'[37]

However, the Croatian language, not yet standardized, was divided into three basic dialects: Kajkavian (prevalent in north-western Croatia), Štokavian (mostly spoken in Slavonia and Dubrovnik), and Čakavian (spoken in Istria, the Littoral, and Dalmatia). Croatian was not adequately equipped with a varied terminology to be used in administrative, legal or scientific work. 'We cannot be surprised, that many of the other languages of Hungary, such as Sclavonian and Croatian, should be even less cultivated than the Hungarian', wrote the English doctor and traveller Richard Bright in memoirs from voyages through Hungary. He also emphasized that, in the libraries of Vienna, works 'in Sclavonian, and Croatian or Illyrian' were 'nearly limited to grammars for children, dialogues for strangers, and bibles and prayer books for the churches'.[38]

It would be wrong to assume, however, that only the lack of standardization and the imperfection of terminology caused the unpopularity of Croatian in high society. Even at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Croatian aristocracy conducted correspondence in the Croatian language.[39] During the seventeenth century, in the lands of the most prominent Croatian aristocratic families, the Zrinski and the Frankopan, there existed the so-called Ozalj literary circle, which used elements of all three dialects in its publications. This fact was symbolic especially because the town of Ozalj, from which this community of authors and nobles got its name, was situated at the intersection of all three Croatian dialects. The chancelleries of these two aristocratic families employed this 'unifying' form of Croatian in their correspondence.[40]

36 Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung*, I, 63.

37 Tkalac, *Jugenderinerungen aus Kroatien*, 143.

38 Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 215.

39 For examples see Matasović, *Iz galantnog stoljeća*; the Croatian *ban* Žigmund Erdődy also wrote to family members in Croatian. Pálffy, 'Magyar arisztokraták – horvát nemesek', 26.

40 Bratulić, 'Jezik hrvatskih poslovnih tekstova', 300, 308, 325, 335.

Towards the second half of the eighteenth century, however, Croatian became less frequent in written communication in high society. Moreover, it becomes so rare that it takes on a 'mystical' role: e.g. in letters to his brothers, written in Italian, Ruđer Bošković inserted parts in Croatian when he did not want something to be read by others. He also writes in Italian to the Senate of Dubrovnik, but slips in an insult for a certain person in Croatian: 'er je pravi mahnitac' ('cause he's a proper loony').[41] Count Petar Troilo Sermage uses the same technique when writing to his wife from the battlefield in Germany: while writing to her in German, he advises her to use the Kajkavian dialect whenever she wishes to keep something secret.[42]

Contrary to this trend of relative anonymity, during the second half of the eighteenth century, simultaneously with the lack of interest for Croatian among the higher classes of society, this national language becomes increasingly important in the education of people in connection with the spread of the Enlightenment. Through this kind of work, intended for wider layers of society, the standardization of Croatian and its acceptance as an official language would eventually take place in the mid-nineteenth century. The bearers of the ideas of the Enlightenment were Croatian intellectuals, but also the state's educational policy, which resulted in an educational system widely available to all layers of society, making the eighteenth century a 'pedagogical' one.

State education and the emergence of modern languages

> If one is able to understand German, French, and Italian poets, and enjoys reading the works of these prominent authors, without writing the poetry oneself, I do not understand why someone who learned Latin would not understand Horace, Virgil, Ovid and other excellent poets, improving one's mind without becoming a poet on one's own, and sacrificing a whole year, or more, before being allowed to the class of rhetoric? All of us who finished Latin schools in the current manner, had to learn poetry for one year; however, among a 1000 such students, there are barely 20 of them who can justifiably bear the name of poets. We can therefore say that that year was spent *in spem oblivionis*.

41 Bošković, *Pisma, pjesme i rasprave*, 402.

42 Štefanec, 'Velikaš hrvatskoga sjevera Petar Troilo Sermage (1722.-1771.)', 43.

Cristophor Niczky (1725-1787), the supreme count of the Virovitica County in Slavonia, wrote these words in a 1769 proposal to Maria Theresa for the reform of gymnasia in the Kingdom of Hungary in order to 'greatly improve and benefit the state'.[43] Niczky's critique of the contemporary curriculum in gymnasia was primarily aimed at the too long and overdetailed lectures in Latin, the knowledge of which – as Niczky himself admitted – was 'universally beautiful, and in the Kingdom of Hungary also necessary'. According to him, anyone who mastered Latin oratory, i.e. *stylum epistolarem et narrativum aut historicum*, had also learned everything necessary *ad usum Reipublicae*. Therefore, he proposed to shorten the learning of Latin to five years, and the poetry class to be diverted into more useful disciplines, such as learning of modern languages, primarily German. This was not the first time the idea of replacing Latin by German appeared, nor was it new. For instance, Maria Theresa published an Act in 1756, which concerned the treatment of barber-surgeons' apprentices and *baders* (bathhouse owners), frequently employed at the time as medical practitioners in rural communities. This Act ordered the apprentices to read quality German surgery and anatomy textbooks because, 'although Latin is very useful, it would seem that it is not necessary, because a young man, even after finishing the fourth school, cannot easily understand Latin authors, and will seldom encounter them under the roof of a barber-surgeon'. On the other hand, reading German books 'will prove to be much more useful than spending four or five years studying Latin, which he will soon forget'.[44]

While the Republic of Venice established no clear linguistic or educational policies in its provinces of the eastern Adriatic, the Habsburgs, since the mid-eighteenth century, had strongly supported the studies of contemporary languages, especially German, as well as studying 'real science' – statistics, architecture, engineering, physics, etc. The anticipated goal was the same as in the above-mentioned Act of 1756: to train the students to read German literature, already abundant in many scientific disciplines.[45] Textbooks in

43 Manuscript in MNL OL, A1 (Hungarian Court Chancellery, Originales referadae), 439 *ex* 1769; quoted in Fináczy, *A Magyarországi közoktatás története*, 404-405. On this proposal see Shek Brnardić, 'The Enlightenment's choice of Latin', 45-46.

44 Imperial patent of 24 June 1756, cited in Horbec, *Zdravlje naroda*, 133.

45 Niczky also notes that one of the aims of studying German was 'reading useful books on economy, trade, and other disciplines (which can frequently be found in this language)'. Fináczy, *A Magyarországi közoktatás története*, 403. The Court also encouraged the learning of German by financial incentives for language learning manuals. Although the first manuals for learning German in Croatia were related to the participation of Croatian soldiers in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), after the educational reforms of Maria Theresa in 1770s many German grammars or

German were frequently used in academies for the nobility, established throughout the Monarchy after the model of the so-called Theresianum in Vienna (founded in 1746), as well as in the reformed university studies. German was to be the teaching language of the Course of Cameral Sciences in Varaždin, founded in 1769 for the purpose of the education of future public officials in Croatia and Slavonia, and beyond.

However, since the Course was aimed at the local nobility and citizens, previously educated almost exclusively in Latin, there were not enough applications until the Provincial Government announced that the teaching language would be Latin.[46] Because of similar attempts to introduce German into the educational system, and as the administrative language in 1784 as well, the term *Germanization* is usually used to describe the rule of Maria Theresa and Joseph II in older Croatian historiography.[47] However, although the Habsburg Monarchy had by the second half of the eighteenth century established a unified language policy, with German promoted as the dominant language of the administration, the state had also begun encouraging the use of national languages in other areas, aiming to enlighten the wider population.

This conclusion is also based on the fundamental documents for state education in the Habsburg Monarchy: the *Allgemeine Schulordnung* (1774) for Austrian lands, applied in the Military Frontier as well, and the *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* (1777; updated in 1806), for the lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, including the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. The *Allgemeine Schulordnung* in its curriculum for normal schools (*Normalschulen*) proposes 'linguistic instruction in the mother tongue, instructions in most frequent types of written essays, instructions in the way Latin is to be used by those who will advance to Latin schools and by future apothecaries, surgeons etc., or by those who will use a pen to earn their daily bread'.[48] The *Ratio educationis* emphasised the fact that there were seven linguistically-different nationalities in Hungary, and that each should be taught in its own language, so the head-masters of national schools (i.e. primary schools where the teaching language was the national one of a specific area) were

learning manuals were published for the purposes of state schools. Cf. Glück, *Die Fremdsprache Deutsch*, 339-340.

46 HDA-12, A77 *ex* 1769.

47 Fancev, *Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo Hrvatskoga preporoda*, at xxiv, for example, calls Joseph II, 'Emperor of Germanization'; see also the term 'Habsburgs' in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online version: http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=42 (accessed 21 December 2016).

48 Horbec & Švoger, 'Školstvo kao *politicum*', 25.

required to know the mother tongue of the region.[49] The decree also stated that, because of the aforementioned linguistic diversity, 'Latin is one of the most important languages in the provinces of Hungary, and in some sense a national language'. On the other hand, German is 'useful'.[50] Nevertheless, the language of the people was prescribed as a language for the explanation of various disciplines, particularly for the terminology of the natural sciences: this stressed the importance of the mother tongue and its role in the comprehension of educational content.[51]

Furthermore, the *Ratio educationis* considers learning other national languages of the Monarchy, besides one's own, useful (presuming that one of those was German) in order to establish successful communication with other inhabitants of the Empire. According to this decree, it was almost as important to practice the skills of proper handwriting, expression, and argumentation in one's mother tongue as it was to accomplish it in Latin. Special gatherings were supposed to be organized in the academies (the highest degrees of education) to achieve this purpose. Also, as an indication, while final dissertations in defence of graduation theses were to be composed in Latin, they could also, as circumstances demanded, be written in German or some other national language 'which will be used more frequently than Latin in the course of a person's life'.[52]

The above-mentioned quote from the *Ratio educationis* reveals the educational language policy that reflected the general trends in enlightened contemporary Europe and was not exclusively tied to the Imperial Court of Vienna as the author of laws. Educational policy of the eighteenth – the 'pedagogical' – century aimed at conciliating the tradition of humanistic education and its imperative of a knowledge of classical languages, two important requirements for educated individuals, with the usefulness of modern languages in further specialization in practical disciplines and/or in the education of wider strata of society. This atmosphere helped scholarship to gain social importance, and the proof of this scholarship was often the use of multiple languages. The language choice in correspondence, analysed in the previous section, emphasized the fact that the elites in

49 *Ratio educationis,* foreword, §§ III, LIV; *pars* III I 1.

50 *Ratio educationis,* §§ LXXXIII, LXXXIV, more precisely in §§ CI, CII. About the importance of the Latin language see also Shek Brnardić, 'The Enlightenment's choice of Latin'.

51 The Piarists held, for instance, the crafts or geometry school in Bjelovar: although it focused on the modern and useful technical and economic courses, teaching was conducted in Latin and German, the latter of which was particularly unfamiliar to the students. Cf. Novak, 'Zapadna Europa', 184.

52 *Ratio educationis,* §§ CIII, CVI, CXI, CXVIII, CXXXVII, CLVIII, CLXVIII, CLXXIII.

Croatian lands, almost without exception, mastered the use of a number of foreign languages. Here we can mention a few examples: during his studies of philosophy and law in Vienna, Bologna, and Eger, Nikola Škrlec Lomnički (1729-1799), the director of school administration in Croatia and Slavonia and the supreme count of the Zagreb County, mastered not only Latin, but also Hungarian, German, French, and Italian. Among the higher nobility we have the members of the aristocratic Drašković family, who directed their educational strategies toward the reformed higher schools of the Monarchy and were fluent in Latin, German, and French; or Baron Ignjat Magdalenić, who, during his studies – including at the academy for the nobility in Vienna – learned Latin, Italian, German, and French. As far as the coastal areas are concerned, members of high society similarly acquired knowledge of more than one foreign language. The aforementioned poet and scientist Ruđer Bošković knew Italian and French, besides his mother tongue, Croatian, and Latin; while Ivan Luka Garanjin, during his schooling and studies in economic and natural sciences in Venice and Padua, learned Latin, Italian, and French.[53]

Stimulated by educational policy and ever-increasing social significance, multilingualism had appeared among the poorer populace as well by the end of the eighteenth century. Sometimes they even over-invested in education, seeing it as a good investment, despite a lack of means. An excellent example emerges in the data for language use among the officials of the Croatian Royal Council in 1779. These officials generally came from the lower ranks of the nobility or the meagre number of citizens, and their educational path is usually unknown to us. Apart from the official Latin, they were proficient in German – only one out of ten officials stated that he knew 'scholarly [language, i.e. Latin] and Croatian, German so-so'.[54] There are many similar examples for the knowledge of foreign languages among other classes elsewhere. Matija Antun Relković (1732-1798), son of a Frontier officer and promoter of the ideas of the Enlightenment, knew Latin, German, French, and Hungarian; the aforementioned Josip Voltić used Latin, German, and Italian, while the library of a certain merchant from Osijek in 1765 contained around 100 titles in Italian, Latin, and German.[55]

However, the aim of educational policy was not to impose this multilingual imperative on everyone. On the contrary – the basic objective

53 Horbec, 'Javni službenik', 291; MNL OL, P-507, box 28-30, nos. 240-245; MNL OL, A1, 27 *ex* 1768; Bošković, *Pisma, pjesme i rasprave*, 312; Celio Cega, 'Patricij hrvatskoga juga', 69.

54 MNL OL, A39, 4389 *ex* 1779.

55 Biočić, 'Prosvjetitelj Slavonaca Matija Antun Relković', 542; Vitek, 'Građanstvo Osijeka', 34.

of state-controlled primary schools was to spread literacy in a national language. Moreover, enforcing the study of foreign languages often turned out to be unsuccessful – problems that surfaced in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Military Frontier can serve as an example. German was taught there as a compulsory language alongside the national one, because of its official character as the language of command in the Habsburg army. Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac witnessed the bad results of such practice: an extremely poor knowledge of German among the frontiersmen became a part of his childhood memories. He also recorded the impression that one of the soldiers had of his school days: 'For years we learned by heart, without articulating a single decent sentence', and the teacher justified this by saying: 'Caesar commands it, and so it must be!'[56] The *Ratio educationis* did not impose learning of a contemporary foreign language as an obligation – on the contrary, the funds for state schools were not sufficient to provide for the teaching of Italian or French.[57]

On the other hand, the Imperial Court of Vienna had, in parallel to the formation of state education, supported the development of national languages, thus playing an important role in the standardization of Croatian. In fact, the significance attached to education in national languages, and the education of the people in general in this period, led to a flourishing literary production in linguistics (multilingual dictionaries and grammars), popular and medical sciences, and religious works (both literary and scientific) in Croatian. The state was often the chief financier of such publications. The Imperial Court of Vienna seems also to have shown an interest in the standardization of Croatian, as in the example of its support for the publication of a well-known Croatian eighteenth-century dictionary. In 1782, Joakim Stulli (1730-1817), a Franciscan from Dubrovnik educated at the Jesuit college, brought a manuscript of his trilingual dictionary, *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum*, to the emperor Joseph II in Vienna, hoping to publish it with his help and patronage. The emperor agreed, but the project was delayed because of the decision to publish the dictionary in an orthography conventional in Slavonia, which extended over a wider area of Croatian lands than the one traditional in Dubrovnik, in which the dictionary was originally written. Therefore, the dictionary was published only after adaptation, in Buda in 1801. This work represented an important step in the standardization of the Croatian language, because the tendency of other

56 Tkalac, *Jugenderinerungen*, 141. On Habsburg language policy in the military cf. Ernst, 'Die Institutionalisierung'.

57 *Ratio educationis*, § CLXXXIV.

scholars at the time was to base this process precisely on this Slavonian orthography, and the dictionary itself compiled material from all three Croatian dialects, indicating the awareness of a unity of Croatian language.[58]

In Dalmatia and Istria in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, there were no reform decrees similar to the *Ratio educationis*. Therefore, some Croatian historians have stated that Venice had little care for education in Dalmatia and Istria, since these areas were supposed to serve only for the recruitment of soldiers. This was, however, only partially correct. The Venetian government founded or supported the foundation of the so-called *academias* in the cities and towns of Istria and Dalmatia. These societies fostered the development of the national language and composition of literary works in that language, and encouraged economic modernization under the influence of physiocracy, especially in agriculture, all in order to achieve the common good.[59]

In the eighteenth century, to enlighten people became an imperative for a developing state, and practical literature in a national language was of the utmost importance for this goal. This requirement directly defined the social, economic, and cultural role of public administration. The state of this period, therefore, especially supported those publications in the national language, which had the purpose of enlightening people in agriculture, animal husbandry, commerce, etc. For instance, the Imperial Court of Vienna in the 1760s aimed at motivating the Croatian nobility to cooperate with the Habsburgs' engineers in order to develop local economies. Maria Theresa therefore ordered that public officials were to be given books on agriculture and animal husbandry, and that people should receive 'excerpts from these books, printed in Croatian, and immediately distributed among the people free of charge'.[60] This is a period of copious publication of didactic works, such as the *Satyr; or, the Wild Man* by Matija Antun Relković (1732-1798), who aimed at instructing the Slavonians in modern economics, discarding the heritage of the Ottoman occupation. Among other didactic works, we can mention *The Basics of Wheat Commerce* by Josip Šipuš from Karlovac, written in Croatian, or *Instructions in Practical Agriculture for Farmers in Dalmatia* by Julije Parma from the Zadar academy (written in

58 Katičić, 'Hrvatski jezik u 17. i 18. stoljeću obuhvaćen jednim pogledom', 54-55, 58-59. See also Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 81-83; Shek Brnardić, 'Intelektualni razvoj', 200; Košutar, 'Hrvatsko jezikoslovlje 18. stoljeća', 66-67.

59 Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada Mletačke Republike*, 205, 208; Košutar, 'Hrvatsko jezikoslovlje 18. stoljeća', 58; Shek Brnardić, 'Intelektualni razvoj', 207-208.

60 Austrian State Archives, FHKA (Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv), Kommerz Litorale, Fasz. r. no. 720, fols. 1346-1348.

Italian and translated into Croatian as *Lore for the Peasants of Dalmatia*). The *Lore of Land Cultivation* (in Croatian) by Dinko Gianuzzi from the Trogir Academy, imposes on the parish priests the duty of teaching the people to read, write, calculate, and learn the basics of agriculture.[61] The works of Jean Baptiste Lalangue (1743-1799), physician of Varaždin County, originally from Luxembourg, belong to the same, didactic category. Although his mother tongue was French and he wrote professional treatises in Latin, he also published an array of popular medical works in Croatian (among them the first handbook for midwives), which represents a breakthrough in health education and medical terminology in Croatian.[62]

The eighteenth century in Croatia is also a period of ecclesiastical reorganization and intense efforts by the Catholic Church to educate its priests and its people. On the one hand, religious works are translated into Croatian: prayer books, catechisms, various compilations of liturgical songs and religious poems, manuals, such as textbooks of moral theology or canon law. This century would finally welcome the first published Croatian translation of the Bible, by Matija Petar Katančić (1750-1825), a Franciscan from Slavonia. On the other hand, the priests needed to be educated in order to suppress heresy and superstition among their people, and they were advised to read contemporary literature in various foreign languages (at the same time, for those who were not trained in Latin, special regulations were written in Croatian). Furthermore, priests were encouraged to become the facilitators of the perfecting of the national language, so that it could become an official language. One of the first ecclesiastical dignitaries to suggest this, within the Habsburg monarchy, was the archbishop of Zagreb, Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752-1827). He addressed his clergy in 1813 in an epistle, emphasizing the importance of a national language and of collecting the intangible treasures of the nation (linguistic, literary, etc.) in order to advance the future development of the language. Mirko Ožegović (1775-1869), Bishop of Senj, sent a similar epistle to the clergy a couple of decades later, at the time of the national revival in 1834. In Dalmatia, Vicko Zmajević (1670-1745), Archbishop of Zadar, Stefano Cupilli (1659-1719), Archbishop of Split, and Ivan Dominik Stratico (1732-1799), Bishop of Hvar and Novigrad, also held the national language in high esteem and supported

61 Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada Mletačke Republike*, 70-72; 185-196, 211-212; Šimunković, *Mletački dvojezični proglasi*, 68-69; Šimunković, *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri*, 32; R. Matasović, 'Hrvatski jezik i ostali europski jezici', 518; Košutar, 'Hrvatsko jezikoslovlje 18. stoljeća', 34, 85-86; Bertoša and Bertoša, 'Zapadna Hrvatska – Istra, Rijeka i Kvarner', 337; Shek Brnardić, 'Intelektualni razvoj', 213.

62 Horbec, *Zdravlje naroda*, 238.

it, for example, by giving sermons in Croatian too, as Vrhovac did. Cupilli's predecessor, Stefano Cosmi (1629-1707), did not speak Croatian himself, but he complained about needing an interpreter during his canonical visitations, and nonetheless encouraged the use of the national language in the education of priests and in the liturgy. At the end of the century, after the fall of the Republic of Venice in 1797, the desire to create a unified Croatian literary language and to unify the Croatian lands in one state were combined when a Franciscan, Andrija Dorotić (1761-1837), publicly advocates the joining of Dalmatia with Austria in a declaration written in the national language (*O, Glorious People*).[63]

The enlightening of people also enables individuals to achieve their social status. The educated, acting in a multilingual milieu and demonstrating their learning through the use of foreign languages in works or correspondence, are the ones who during the second half of the eighteenth century, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, increasingly took over the care of the national language, and developed their social status as educators of the people. In this manner, a Hungarian countess, Josephine Oršić (b. Zichy, 1725-1778), published a book in Croatian on the treatment of cattle,[64] and a Dalmatian scholar, Julije Bajamonti (1744-1800), although of Italian descent, praised the people of Dubrovnik for the cultivation of their 'Illyrian' language in his poem *Lode di Ragusa*.[65]

Conclusion: language choices in a multilingual milieu

The importance of learning for social status, as well as the trends implemented in the Croatian lands by the educational policy under Habsburg rule or by the spread of ideas of Enlightenment and physiocracy, significantly influenced the multilingual character of Croatian high society throughout the eighteenth century. The more educated layers of society used their multilingualism to demonstrate not only the success of their education, but

63 Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 169-171; M. Matasović, 'Svećenici između latinskog i hrvatskog jezika', 51-60, and '*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*'; Šimunković, *Talijansko-hrvatski jezični dodiri*, 18, 32-33; Čoralić, 'Hrvatski jug – Dalmacija', 358; Katušić, 'Hrvatski jug – Dubrovačka republika i Boka kotorska', 374-375, 385. Source material used: *Canonical visitations of the Diocese of Senj and Modruš or Krbava* under signature BAS I 46, 49, and 50 from the diocesan archives in Senj; an epistle by bishop Mirko Ožegović in 1834 under signature Copia N 419 in the *Otočac urbarium* from the archives of the parish office of Holy Trinity in Otočac.

64 Štefanec, 'Visoki vojni časnik', 160.

65 Vrandečić, 'Prosvjetiteljstvo u Dalmaciji', 130.

also the capacity to participate in high politics, and, finally, affiliation with European cultural circles. These standards, set in the eighteenth century, continued to influence educational strategies to such a degree that the whole nineteenth century remained strongly multilingual, even though the Croatian nobility deteriorated both in political status and economically. We find proof of this in information about the languages used by the pupils of the Institute of St. Augustine in Vienna, a doctoral institution devoted to the education of priests in the Habsburg Monarchy, a seminary of the educated ecclesiastical elite.[66] During the years from 1816 to 1918 when this Institute was active, there were 104 priests from Croatia, Slavonia, Istria, and Dalmatia among its pupils. They were usually from a humble background, had by that time already finished the theological faculties in the Monarchy and were ambitious to become members of the ecclesiastical elite. Information about the languages used exist for 70 pupils, all of whom claimed to be multilingual. Apart from Croatian (Illyrian, Slavonic) as their mother tongue, 64 of them knew German, 37 Italian, 20 French, 16 Latin, eight Hungarian, two Russian, and one each knew either Polish or Slovene or English.[67]

In such a multilingual milieu, the language choice itself represented a message, but the available data allow us to outline only the most general reasons for various choices. The first, and perhaps the most common reason throughout the eighteenth century, was a *practical* one. This choice is perhaps most obvious in the correspondence of individuals serving in the military and civil offices of the Habsburg Monarchy. A good example is the correspondence of Josip Drašković, who writes of military and private affairs exclusively in German, and of political issues in Croatia in Latin only. Not only does this reflect the difference between the official languages in military and in civil affairs, but also the different levels in availability of the appropriate terminology.[68] The letters of Count Drašković further reveal another reason for a specific language choice: it can be a *feeling of affiliation to a certain social and political circle.* An example of this is the

66 The full name of the institution was Das k. u. k. höhere Priesterbildungsinstitut für Weltpriester zum hl. Augustin; information on students and their language proficiency is preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese in Vienna, Archiv des 'Frintaneums', Institutsprotokolle, vol. I-VI.

67 It is worth noting here that not even one pupil after 1860 claimed to know Latin. Considering that a classical education remained important in Croatian lands, especially in the theology faculties, it is more likely that this simply was not registered, i.e., that a basic knowledge of Latin was taken for granted.

68 MNL OL, P-507, box 29, no. 244.

above-mentioned use of German in the correspondence among aristocratic families, who were socially, politically, and culturally more tightly linked to the Imperial Court in Vienna than to their Croatian estates. Nikola Škrlec Lomnički represents a contrasting example because he, who spoke and wrote Hungarian, German, French, and Italian, besides Latin, chose exclusively Latin in his correspondence and legal and economic treatises, demonstrating in this manner his social and political affiliation with the Croatian (and Hungarian) nobility.

Furthermore, the choice of language was often conditioned by the *purpose of the text*. Even the authors who write their private letters and professional works in a certain foreign language or languages, choose the national one when they aim to educate the people, and when they address them through didactic and popular works. We have already mentioned the works of Matija Antun Relković, Josip Šipuš, Dinko Gianuzzi, Jean Baptiste Lalangue, Josephine Zichy, and others. This kind of language choice is also found in the works of a Croatian poet, Tituš Brezovački (1757-1805): although writing in Croatian for the people, he expressed his political views to the Croatian nobility in his poems in Latin.[69] Josip Voltić, the author of the 'Illyrian'-Italian-German dictionary (*Ričoslovnik*), wrote the foreword in Latin, showing that, although his work was intended for the less educated as well, he wanted to share the problems of linguistic research with other educated men of his time.[70] When speaking of the reasons for language choice, we cannot disregard the *sentimental* one. Letters packed with emotions are almost always written in the mother tongue. A plea to the nobility of Zagreb County by Ivan Grdenić is that kind of letter. Although it was meant to be official, it is written in Croatian and is full of complaints of hard labour and lack of vital resources: 'I have but one hand, I have to prepare food for children, and provide for what we are going to eat in winter'.[71] The above-mentioned physician, Jean Baptiste Lalangue, although writing in Latin and German during his service in Croatia, and having his Latin work on popular medicine translated into Croatian, uses his mother tongue when writing to Ferenc Balassa, agitated by a petition denied, and emphasizes in French that he was '*extatié et confus*'.[72]

69 *Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae trium sororum recursus ad novum proregem comitem Joannem Erdoedy* (1790) and *Ode inclytae nobilitati Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae occasione secundariae in Gallum insurectionis generalis, dicata per A. R. D: Titum Brezovachky anno MDCCC*.

70 Voltić, *Bečka pisma: Ričoslovnik*.

71 HDA-34, box 6., *ex gen. congr.* 8.8.1770.

72 MNL OL, P-1765, box. 48, no. 1846.

Finally, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the language choice usually reflected an individual's *political attitude*. The Croatian nobility, as we have mentioned before, had to defend their political rights against German in the administration (especially between 1784 and 1790) and against Hungarian both in the administration and in education (since 1790) through the use of Latin, regarded as a part of their constitutional rights and proof of an autonomous language policy.[73] Even the political movement in Croatia that sought to abolish feudal society and create a civil state began in the 1830s with a language issue, and grew with it, establishing the right to use a language – first Latin, and then the national one. Furthermore, Latin – as argued by a Croatian poet, the noble Josip Kereszturi (1739-1794) – 'did not offend the feelings of any nation'.[74] The leaders of the national movement, seeking assistance from the Imperial Court of Vienna in publishing a Croatian newspaper, and in preventing the introduction of Hungarian into schools and the administration, did so under the Latin motto: *Aula est pro nobis*.[75] The affirmation of Croatian instead of Latin in politics, was strongly advocated by Count Janko Drašković (1770-1856), a descendant of that very Drašković family that predominantly used German in their private and official correspondence in the eighteenth century. Drašković chose to write his programme, *Dissertation, or Treatise*, designated for the Croatian delegates to the Hungarian Parliament in 1832, in Croatian, defending his position by saying: 'I have chosen our language for my treatise, wanting to prove that we have our own national language, capable of expressing anything your heart or mind demands'.[76]

It can be concluded that the Latin language, used in the administration of Croatian lands well into the nineteenth century, for political as well as practical reasons, represented an integrative factor for the Croatian elite in a politically turbulent period between 1790 and the 1830s, a period marked by the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the fall of the Republic of Venice, and by the complete political fragmentation of the Croatian lands. As a language of politics, Latin had united the political power necessary to preserve an awareness of the common identity of the Croatian lands. The national language had a special development here. On the one hand, perhaps the very fragmentation of the Croatian areas, although simultaneously hindering the

73 This topic is covered in many works; among more recent ones in English see Sikirić Assouline, 'The Latin speeches'; Šubarić, 'From the aftermath of 1784 to the Illyrian turn'.

74 Šidak *et al.* (ed.), *Hrvatski narodni preporod – ilirski pokret*, 17.

75 Šidak, *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX stoljeća*, 11.

76 Drašković, *Disertacija iliti Razgovor*, 48.

creation of a standard language, helped the survival of Croatian by preventing the introduction of a single foreign language.[77] On the other hand, in spite of the rather frequent use of the national language in the communication of the educated elites up until the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the rest of that century Latin would often be replaced by German, Italian, or French. The national language in this period remained an instrument for the enlightening of the people. This attitude towards the national language was the factor that contributed to its rethinking, changing, and improving, and, finally, to its standardization and terminological conformity to contemporary needs. In the end, it was state education, which in the second half of the eighteenth century affirmed the national language in schools, that decisively influenced its future development. The expansion of literacy among the wider population generated a precondition for the replacement of Latin by the national language in the administration; it was the time of the creation of civil society and the degradation of the political power of the estates, as well as the degradation of the role of Latin, which was a kind of a symbol of the estates' political prestige.[78]

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77 R. Matasović, 'Hrvatski jezik i ostali europski jezici', 513.

78 Even as late as 1891, despite the fact that Croatian was used in administration at the time, a young noblemen Emilij Laszowski applied for a job in the Legal Department of the State Archives in Latin, obviously thinking that his proficiency in Latin demonstrated his efficiency in dealing with public affairs. Petković, *Emilij Laszowski Szeliga*, 61.

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Introducing the teaching of foreign languages in grammar schools

A comparison between the Holy Roman Empire and the Governorate of Estonia (Estonia)

Michael Rocher

Rjéoutski, Vladislav and Willem Frijhoff, *Language Choice in Enlightenment Europe. Education, Sociability, and Governance*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018

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Abstract
During the eighteenth century, a change took place in the grammar schools of the Holy Roman Empire: while the ancient languages – Latin, Greek, and Hebrew – increasingly lost importance over the course of the century, the 'spoken' languages, mainly French, but also other foreign languages, were becoming more popular. The article will sketch the broad outlines of this tendency. Various 'higher' eighteenth-century schools will be considered, in two geographical regions: on the one hand, four schools in middle Germany; and on the other hand, two grammar schools in Reval (today's Tallinn). With the help of all these examples, the choice of the language studied and its acquisition by German-speaking students from wealthy families will be described in a wider context. This broad approach makes it possible to identify certain tendencies within the school system at the time. In addition, it will provide a deeper understanding of language acquisition in the schools of both regions; it raises the question of the extent to which the choice and study of languages in these two areas were similar or different. Finally, the choice of language and the subsequent professional activities of the students are compared. Data from the schools show the choice of languages made by the students, as well as their future career. This raises another question: was language choice made for practical use in the future, or was it made to confirm the affiliation of their family with a social elite?

Keywords: Latin, middle Germany, French, grammar schools, language acquisition, Reval (Tallinn), multilingualism

In 1788, at the end of the period under review, the inspector of the Royal Paedagogium in Halle (Saale), August Hermann Niemeyer, wrote the following lines about the introduction of foreign language teaching in this institution:

> Soweit wir nun entfernt sind, daß für jeden Nichtgelehrten, für den Kaufmann, für den Officier u.s.w. für schädlich zu halten – da selbst die Uebung des Verstandes in einer so gebildeten Sprache eine Bildung für denselben ist, […] so haben wir doch nur zu oft wahrnehmen müssen, daß für junge Leute, die es wissen, daß sie kein Latein zu lernen nöthig haben; die vielleicht von ihren Eltern selbst mit Verachtung davon reden hörten, und sich also unter einem harten Schulzwang fühlen, wenn man sie dazu anhält; die endlich oft kaum ein Paar Jahr bey uns bleiben, und dann zu ihrer ungelehrten Bestimmung übergehn; der Aufwand von Zeit gegen den Zweck, der erreicht wird, in einem gar zu geringen Verhältniß steht, zumahl sie oft in andern ihnen ganz unentbehrlichen Dingen noch so viel nachzuholen haben.
>
> Now, we are far from considering this harmful for every non-scholar – merchants, officers, etc. – because training in the understanding of a foreign language alone is important for intellectual development, […] and yet too often we have had to deal with young people who know that there is no necessity for them to learn Latin, who perhaps have heard negative comments about it from their parents, and therefore perceive it only as a difficult school drill when finally they are forced to learn it; they stay with us only for a couple of years and then return to their destiny, which has no connection with scholarly studies. The time spent compared with the object attained proves to be exaggerated, the more so as they have to make up a lot of lost time in other much-needed subjects.[1]

Latin lessons had been compulsory for all students since the Middle Ages, but for the first time it became optional in places that were supposed to prepare one for university. However, apparently, higher education no longer implied learning Latin, as other languages were gaining importance. The Paedagogium in Halle was no exception; the situation there was similar to that in other educational institutions attached to grammar schools in the German-speaking area.

1 Niemeyer, *Fortgesetzte Nachricht von den bisherigen Ereignissen und Veränderungen im königlichen Pädagogium*, 33-34.

In this article, we will first review the teaching of foreign languages in different grammar schools, with a particular focus on so-called middle Germany,[2] which includes the present-day federal states of Thuringia, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Brandenburg (the historical region Kurmark). At the same time, we shall examine the way some higher educational institutions in this region functioned; therefore the changing conditions of the schools will be outlined, focusing on the eighteenth century. We shall examine from which social strata people were sending their children to which schools; and what the hidden aims were behind the choice of languages studied.

Then, the results will be compared with the development of foreign language teaching in the Governorate of Estonia,[3] that is, in a multilingual milieu. Its population included members of the highest German strata, Swedish and Russian minorities, most of the Estonian population, and some small ethnic groups. What similarities and differences can be found in the development of higher education there? What influences did they have on the different language groups and which of them had access to higher education? Finally, the article intends to provide an opportunity for contextualizing the development of the higher education process in the northern Baltica against a background of global change in foreign language teaching in the German-speaking world.

Development trends and 'scholarly' and 'noble' traditions of foreign language teaching in the German-speaking world

The Latin language was one of the most important languages in the German-speaking world as in most European countries throughout the Middle Ages. Since the early Middle Ages, it had been the language of scholarship (it was already the language of the Church), and in the late Middle Ages knowledge of Latin was necessary to access the university. However, we should be aware that universities in the German-speaking world were founded much later than in French- and Italian-speaking regions.[4] The Reformation marked a meaningful turn in higher education in the Holy Roman Empire. The way of teaching Latin was based on changes on the basis of suggestions made

2 There is no clear definition of the term 'middle Germany'. In this article it refers to the territory within the Berlin-Magdeburg-Dresden-Eisenach polygon.

3 This geographical term will be described more precisely in the relevant section.

4 Fend, *Geschichte des Bildungswesens*, 63-94.

by the humanist reformers. This adaptation was first implemented in the new Protestant regions, and later also in the Catholic countries.[5] In addition, the humanists' languages, biblical Greek and Hebrew, had been added to the syllabus of the grammar schools.[6] Norbert Conrads uses the term 'scholarly' education, because according to this tradition, it was assumed that graduates from these schools would be able to study at any university.[7] So, the teaching of foreign languages had a specific function: every scholar needed Latin for attending the university, the theology students among them needed Greek too, and there was also a small group of scholars who studied Hebrew; therefore the latter language was not taught to everyone.[8]

Since the end of the seventeenth century, the study of French was traditionally part of a noble education, and became increasingly important. Other 'spoken languages' were usually learned individually with the help of a language tutor, hired for that reason. Another possibility for nobles was the 'grand tour' through Europe.[9] It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that other foreign languages were added to the curriculum of some grammar schools. Initially, this 'noble' educational tradition came from the highest strata of society, who needed to learn other foreign languages to enhance their reputation and habitus, and for diplomacy. Latin, unlike Greek, was still a part of noble education, because of its greater importance.[10] Moreover, there were elements of 'reality subjects' like history, geography, craft training, in addition to the classic noble skills, such as dancing, horse riding, and fencing.

From an historical point of view, this tradition concerned not so much the educational institutions as the foreign language teachers, who taught different foreign languages to individuals or small groups of young nobles. However, by the sixteenth century the requirement of studying foreign languages had increased for those nobles who did not belong to the higher ranks of the aristocracy; they needed them for the service of their sovereign. For these nobles, education and the prospects it offered in government or the military, had become more important as a way to secure status, prestige, and a livelihood.[11]

5 Fuhrmann, *Latein und Europa*, 46-74.

6 Bruning, 'Das protestantische Gelehrtenschulwesen', 282-283.

7 Conrads, *Ritterakademien der Frühen Neuzeit*, 185.

8 Hebrew was absent from the curriculum of most grammar schools. Bruning, 'Das protestantische Gelehrtenschulwesen', 279-283.

9 Sikora, *Der Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 112.

10 Müsegades, *Fürstliche Erziehung und Ausbildung im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, 229-250.

11 Blankertz, *Die Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 39-42.

Scholars, forms, and functions of grammar schools in middle Germany in the early modern period

There were different local development strategies for school education in the Holy Roman Empire, especially in Protestant regions like middle Germany. This applies to all forms and levels of government, the territorial princes and city councillors, as well as the church leaders. The noteworthy feature here is the scarcity of the various financial and organizational capacities in different places; this was often the reason why the claims formulated in the normative sources, for example in school regulations and in the curriculum, proved difficult to implement.[12]

In this article we can review only a few of the schools in middle Germany, but they demonstrate the range of local strategies at the time. Thus, many of these schools were part of a larger educational structure and performed specific roles in different localities. As mentioned before, the major turn in the German-speaking area of Europe was the Reformation. From this time on, there were tremendous changes in all these territories.[13]

In now Protestant lands under the House of Wettin, both the Ernestine and Albertine branches (corresponding to the modern federal states of Saxony and Thuringia), some monasteries were converted into schools, and town schools were reorganized or were founded anew.[14] In this case, we can speak of a territorial strategy to attract local children to the central grammar schools, to give them an education and prepare them for their respective universities.[15] In addition to these *Fürstenschulen* or princely schools (schools founded on the authority of the prince), there were smaller municipal Latin schools, but they had a more local importance. The principle of a princely and therefore quasi-state education system existed in most of the Wettin lands until the beginning of the eighteenth century; so, for example, three *Fürstenschulen* were founded in Saxony – in Pforta, Grimma, and Meissen – in addition to the *Gymnasia illustria* in Weissenfels, Coburg,

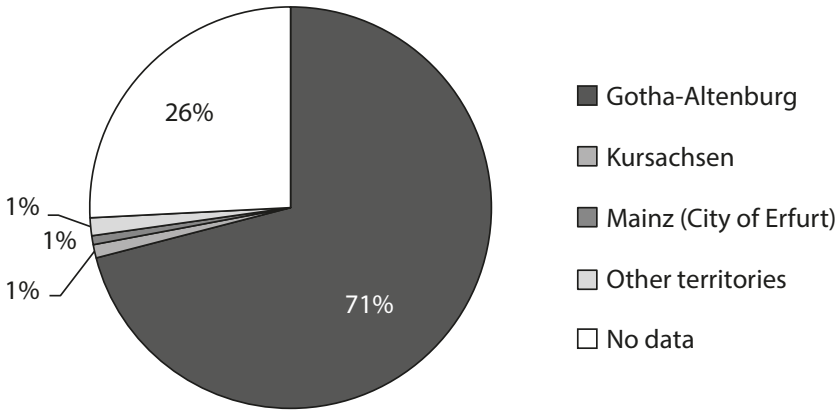
12 About local specificities in the educational system: Bruning, 'Das protestantische Gelehrtenschulwesen', 279-280. An overview is given by Schindling, *Bildung und Wissenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit 1650-1800*, 3-48.

13 Fuhrmann, *Latein und Europa*, 46-50.

14 Gehrt, 'Die Anfänge des protestantischen Bildungssystems in Gotha', 11-18; Wollersheim, 'Die sächsischen Fürsten- und Landesschulen', 16-24.

15 This refers to universities belonging to sovereigns from both dynastic branches: for the Ernestine duchies, the university in Jena; and for Albertine Saxony, the universities in Leipzig and Wittenberg.

Figure 1 Homelands of Gotha students



and Gotha founded in the seventeenth century.[16] But it is worth noting that all these schools were subjected to a continual fluctuation in the number of students; there were frequently different structural reforms, aimed at adapting the requirements of the curriculum. It cannot therefore be assumed that the *Fürstenschulen* were always exemplary and functioned well.[17]

This way of educating children for their future work in their homeland remained intact in the eighteenth century. A good example here is the *gymnasium illustre* in Gotha, which maintained this function until the end of the eighteenth century. I have analysed the list of pupils in this institution for the years 1774-1799.[18] The results are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

The records show that 71% of pupils were from the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg or from the Gotha region, and 60% of graduates returned there to work afterwards. All this information could be slightly disproved by missing data, which in both cases concerned nearly a quarter of the cases, but fewer than 5% were of a different origin, and fewer than 10% found employment outside their homeland. Most probably this was also the case for other schools in the Wettin lands, although it is difficult to prove without appropriate statistics.[19]

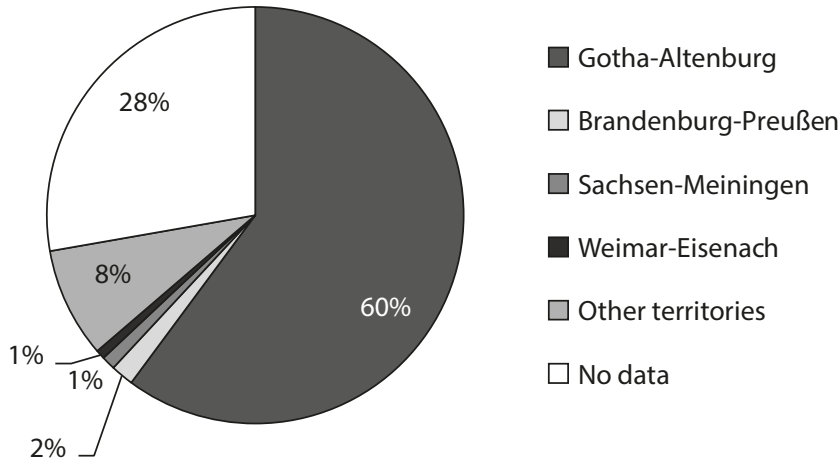
16 In 1641, the gymnasium in Gotha was expanded to become the regional gymnasium: Vogel, 'Die Elitenbildung in der "Fürstlichen Landschul" unter Herzog Ernst I. von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg', 81. For *Fürstenschulen* in Saxony, both in the Electorate and in the Ernestinian lands, see Wollersheim, 'Die sächsischen Fürsten- und Landesschulen', 24-28.

17 *Ibidem*, 24-29.

18 Lutzkat & Schneider, *Die Abiturienten des Gymnasiums Illustre zu Gotha seit 1524*, 156-167.

19 The Coburg Gymnasium was in the same situation: Ludovici, *Ehre des Hoch-fürstlichen Casimiriani Academici in Coburg* (1729).

Figure 2 Places where students' careers were pursued



For Brandenburg-Prussia, the second major administrative structure of middle Germany, although its entire area stretched, of course, far beyond this region, such a strategy is not apparent. A provincial *Fürstenschule*, the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium, appeared only at the beginning of the seventeenth century; the pupils who entered this school, came only from the Brandenburg-Kurmark territory. This place was not considered important in the region, and had fewer students than any other school in Saxony.[20] Other schools too recruited among the local elite, like the *Ritterakademie* (academy for the nobility) in Brandenburg/Havel.[21] But there was no comprehensive education strategy.

At the end of the seventeenth century, in 1694, the University of Halle was founded and became an important centre for all Protestant German-speaking areas.[22] Attending the university was made compulsory by the government for all future theologians.[23] Some schooling institutions were

20 In the sixteenth century all three princely schools in Saxony had 230 places, but in the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium there were just 120 places. Moreover, Winter refers to the later goal of this institution – to educate a new Reformed upper class in Lutheran Brandenburg, which certainly reduced significantly the recruitment of local students. Winter, 'Das Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium', 167-183.

21 Bussche, *Die Ritterakademie zu Brandenburg*, 91-93.

22 Blankertz, *Die Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 54-56. This university was also important for the Baltic States: Tering, 'Baltische Studenten an europäischen Universitäten', 141-143.

23 In 1717, the King of Prussia Friedrich Wilhelm I ordered that aspiring theologians would have to study at least two years in Halle: Wallmann, *Pietismusstudien*, 392.

added to the University of Halle, and situated in its vicinity, under the rule of theology professor August Hermann Francke (1663-1727); this educational aggregate became the largest of its kind in middle Germany. In addition to the numerous elementary schools, it included two grammar schools: the Latin school, with commoners, where pupils were prepared to become theologians; and the Paedagogium, a boarding school for wealthy students. The school's students, unlike those in Gotha's *gymnasium illustre*, came from different regions,[24] from as far away as America and India (of course, these were only the sons of rich planters or of colonial officials).[25]

This school had a permanent variety of pupils, which is why forms of both aristocratic and learned education were found together. In the seventeenth century, knighthood academies (*Ritterakademien*), which were only for nobles, reached their highest peak, but after 1700 their vitality decreased. Therefore, in the knighthood academies the study of 'reality subjects' like geography, history, and fortification was important. But horse riding, fencing, and dance lessons were also at the heart of the curriculum as the basis of a 'noble' education.[26] These subjects were not part of the curriculum of the Paedagogium as they were considered too courtly. Yet, this school was one of the first to include 'reality subjects' from the noble tradition in its education system. In addition to carpentry and mechanics, anatomy, natural history and experimental physics were also part of the curriculum. New standards were set for foreign language teaching. French became an integral part of the curriculum and was not any longer taught just by a single language master for a small number of students, as was the case in many schools in that period. Teaching methods were changed too; lessons in the lower elementary classes were in German, and only later exclusively in Latin.[27]

Due to this new concept, the numbers of aristocratic and commoner pupils became sensibly equal in the school.[28] During the eighteenth century, more schools of this type were founded, and still more opened at the end of the century.[29] For example, in 1784 one of the many so-called 'Philanthropi-

24 Menck, 'Das "Pädagogium" der Franckeschen Anstalten in Halle an der Saale', 34-35. Sources for this issue are the student matriculation registers: Archive of Francke Foundations, Halle (AFSt, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen): AFSt/S B, I, 1+2.

25 I have analysed data concerning the pupils until 1770, for some examples of students of supra-regional origin see AFSt/S B, I, 1+2.

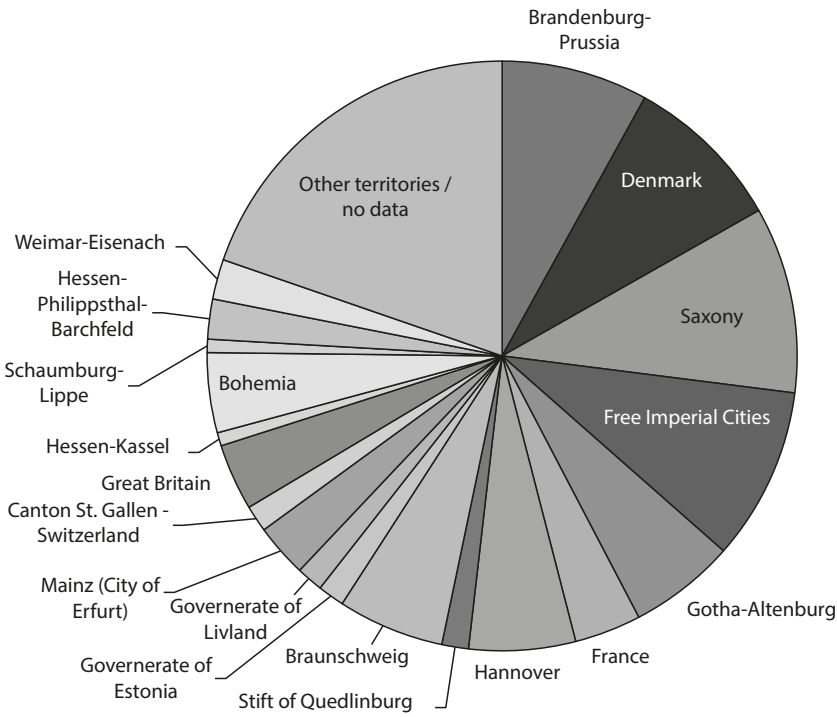
26 Conrads, *Ritterakademien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 23-325.

27 Kuhfuß, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Französischunterrichts in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 413-422; Freyer, *Verbesserte Methode des Paedagogii Regii zu Glaucha vor Halle*, 5-25.

28 Menck, 'Das "Pädagogium" der Franckeschen Anstalten in Halle an der Saale', 34-35.

29 This will be demonstrated with some examples in this article. An enumeration for this purpose can be found in Schikorsky, 'Hohe Schulen', 355-356.

Figure 3 Homelands of Schnepfenthal's pupils



nums' was founded in Schnepfenthal.[30] Figure 3[31] complements the above data and shows that boarding schools had no specific territorial educational function in the Duchy of Gotha-Altenburg, unlike the Gotha Gymnasium.

Until 1799, a total of 40% of the students in this school belonged to the nobility. Teaching courses were similar to those in Halle's Paedagogium, except that there were more physical exercises towards the end of the century.[32] The Philanthropinum founded in 1774 in nearby Dessau showed the same educational tendencies. In its brochures, the proximity to the court was emphasized in order to attract more noble students. But despite this, there was the same proportion of students as in aforementioned places.[33]

30 Schmitt, 'Die Philanthropine', 7.

31 The analysed data were obtained from the lists published in Müller, *Die Erziehungsanstalt Schnepfenthal*, 206-211.

32 Schmitt, 'Die Philanthropine', 270-272.

33 *3. Stück des Philanthropischen Archivs* (1776), 107-115. An evaluation of the students was made on the basis of the account book of the school: *Reliquiae Philanthropinae*, II, 2+5.

Elements borrowed from noble education were common to virtually all the above-mentioned schools. In Saxony, as mentioned earlier, schools borrowed these elements too. They extended the curriculum beyond the study of classical languages, by adding modern languages, such as French. This distinguishes them from the mostly urban Latin schools. Even though they expanded their curriculum through 'noble' subjects, they could offer modern language lessons only later in the eighteenth century. This evolution led to the establishment of an elite, which slowly, but gradually, equalized the differences between noble and non-noble pupils, as can be seen from the changing situation in foreign-language teaching in the eighteenth century.

The downside of this development was that the newly formed schools did not offer scholarships, as they did in the old Saxony schools.[34] Thus, these schools were closed to children from less wealthy families. Moreover, scholarships based on academic success were opposed to admission based only on financial assets.

Changes in school education with regard to study of foreign languages in the eighteenth century

These changes in the educational system can be clearly seen in different sources concerning the acquisition of foreign languages. First, we will focus on the changes at the end of eighteenth century. By then, Latin was the most important language in the grammar schools, which had been given a significant proportion of hours in the curriculum of the higher classes. Greek was not learned on a par with Latin; it was not compulsory, but most pupils still studied it. Hebrew had the smallest share within the lesson plans of these schools and was usually learned only by a few students. The only modern foreign language, which gradually found its place in eighteenth-century schools, was French. It is significant that German was not a language of instruction up to the rhetoric class.[35]

There were changes in the priorities for foreign language learning which led to changes in the teaching throughout the German-speaking world in the eighteenth century. These changes can be observed in the above-mentioned gymnasium in Gotha at the end of the century.

34 Wollersheim, 'Die sächsischen Fürsten- und Landesschulen', 16-28; Vogel, 'Die Elitenbildung', 81-82. In the sources about the Paedagogium and the Philanthropinum in Dessau and about the educational institution in Schnepfenthal, there is no reference to a system of stipends; sometimes rebates were granted for brothers.

35 Blankertz, *Die Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 18-20; Kuhfuß, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Französischunterrichts*, 63-67, 402-473.

In 1772 with the coming to power of duke Ernest II, the sovereign of the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg, an extensive reform of schools was started. In particular, it concerned language teaching. Ernest II requested information about the situation of the gymnasium; it was described as follows by the inspectors:

> Was nun die Ursachen des Verfalls des Gymnasii anbelangt, so ist 1.) bis hierher bey dem Unterricht der Jugend das vorangehenste Augenmerck blos auf ielateinische, griechische und hebräische Sprache gerichtet gewesen und die lebendigen, als die deutsche, frantzösische, italienische und englische Sprache, welche in die Erreichung der nützlichen Kenntniße einen viel wichtigeren Eintschluß haben, sind gäntzlich versäumt worden. 2.) Sind besonders die in allen Ständen so brauchbaren Wißenschaften und zu deren Erlernung das jugendliche Alter das vorzüglichste ist, als die allgemeinen politische Geschichte, die sächsische Geschichte, die Erdbeschreibung, die Geometrie, die natürliche Geschichte, die ersten Gründe der schönen Wißenschaften und Künste, theils gäntzlich ausgeschloßen, theils nicht mit dem Eifer und der Art gelehret worden, welche ihre Wichtigkeit erfordert. 3.) Ist bey den Lehrbüchern selber, nicht die schickliche Wahl getroffen worden und 4.) sind die Entsoldungen, welche mit den Lehrämtern in der Schule verknüpfet sind, von so geringem Betrag, auch der Platz, der den Lehrer in der Gesellschaft angewiesen ist, so niedrig daß Männer, welche in den Wißenschaften sich kaum über das mittelmäßige erhoben haben, sich ein nie haben entschließen können ein solches Amt anzunehmen.
>
> With regard to question of the decline of the gymnasium: 1) Until now, while teaching young men, particular attention was given to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew studies, neglecting the teaching of spoken languages like German, Italian, French, and English, which are more relevant in the development of useful skills. 2) Especially necessary for young scholars from all estates, world political history, the history of Saxony, geology, geometry, natural history, and fine arts were all excluded from the curriculum; some of them were thought to be unimportant. 3) The teaching books themselves were not well chosen. 4) Teachers get poor salaries and are held in low esteem in society, so low that men with mediocre achievements in study, would not even wish to have such a job.[36]

36 State Archive Thuringa, Gotha (ThSTAGo, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha), Geheimes Archiv Gotha, XX.IV.31, fols. 10-11a.

We shall pay attention here especially to the first point, which is strongly linked to the fourth item of this report. This point called for a fundamental reform of the teaching of foreign languages at the gymnasium. The sources show that this also concerned the former instruction in Latin and Greek. The six classes of Latin and Greek existing prior to 1772 were reduced to four for Latin and three for Greek. In general, all the pupils still learned Latin, but only about half learned Greek. In addition, in September 1772 the pupils of all levels had to take an *examen rigorosum*, where their knowledge of foreign languages was assessed. The result could be described as deplorable: in the former *selecta*, the highest class in the gymnasium, only two-thirds of all students were recommended for the new highest Latin class, the fourth grade, or as assistant staff in the gymnasium. The rest of the pupils were sent to the third grade, and three students showed so little knowledge they were expelled or had to go to the elementary Latin class. Similar differences were found in the other classes.[37]

Within the mandate of reduced teaching hours for classical languages, modern language learning had to be expanded. In addition to the appointment of a French teacher, which was already the case in Gotha's gymnasium, one Italian, an English, and even a German teacher had to be recruited.[38] In fact, data on the results of this reform show that there was still only one French teacher – the others weren't found. First, schools did not have enough money after all their attempts to raise the salaries for all former teachers, and at times almost doubling them.[39] Secondly, there may have been no suitable candidates, because many schools were being reformed at that time.[40] As shown in the quotation at the beginning of this article, Halle's Paedagogium tried to complement French foreign language learning with other modern languages, such as English or Italian:

> Vornehmlich gab es Unterricht in Französisch, Englisch wurde nur kurz versucht, es wurde aber befunden, dass es die Jünglinge nur verwirren würde. Des Weiteren gibt es für diejenigen, die studieren wollen Latein. Griechisch ist schon eine Seltenheit, da viele Eltern dies nicht wollen. Noch weniger Schüler würden Hebräisch lernen, maximal 2 bis 3 Schüler

37 ThSTAGo, Geheimes Archiv Gotha, XX.IV.31, fols. 35-41.

38 There is evidence of a teacher of French about 1700: Rieger, 'Eine pietistische Ausbildungsstätte?', 89-90.

39 ThSTAGo, Geheimes Archiv Gotha, XX.IV.31, fol. 42.

40 For further studies regarding language teachers of nobles at that time see Schröder, *Biographisches und bibliographisches Lexikon der Fremdsprachenlehrer des deutschsprachigen Raumes, Spätmittelalter bis 1800*.

> nur. Englisch und Italienisch werden auf der Akademie gelehrt und auf diese wird auch verwiesen.
>
> Mainly French is taught, we tried English for a short time, but discovered that it only confused the boys. There are also pupils who want to learn Latin. Greek classes have become rare, because many parents do not want it. Hebrew was studied by even fewer students, only two or three. English and Italian are taught in the Academy and this is also mentioned.[41]

At the end of the eighteenth century there was also an attempt to develop the teaching of foreign languages in Dessau's Philanthropinum.[42] Apparently, English and Italian was not taught in schools for a long time; the school offered the teaching, but it was not in demand or could not be funded. Anyway, in the last two decades of the eighteenth century Latin was not compulsory in many schools, because it was recognized that pupils did not necessarily need this language in the future: they did not plan to go to the university, and it was not required for any other study. Thus, Latin no longer had an important place in the grammar schools. It now had the same position as French, among other foreign languages, while the importance of German language lessons in the classroom had increased immensely.[43]

The City of Reval (Tallinn) and the Governorate of Estonia as multilingual regions in early modern times

Estlandia, considered in this article, is not synonymous with modern Estonia. The Governorate of Estonia stretched over the northern half of the present state. With the Danish conquest of the ancient Estlandia in 1219, a multilingual story began as a result of non-Estonian domination in this land. After the Danes, there were Knights of the Teutonic Order, then the Swedish King, and finally the Russian Tsar. The knights of the Teutonic Order had the strongest influence on the country and survived throughout the era, being part of the nobility and lords of manors. Besides, during the

41 Niemeyer, *Vollständige Nachricht von der gegenwärtigen Einrichtung des königlichen Pädagogiums zu Halle*, 5.

42 In the project of the Philanthropinum the possibility of an English and Italian class is mentioned, provided there would be enough students for this lesson: *3. Stück des Philanthropischen Archivs* (1776), 107-112.

43 That is why in the 1790s in the Paedagogium's curriculum new subjects such as 'German stylistics' or newspaper reading may be observed: AFSt/S A, I, 120.

Middle Ages, German-speaking merchants settled here, and later began to dominate in cities and the whole country.

Most of historical Estlandia's population was non-German: in majority Estonians, who since the Middle Ages and until the nineteenth century belonged to the lowest (serf) strata of society and lived mostly in the countryside. Furthermore, in the early modern period Swedish and Russian minorities lived in Estlandia too, as a result of the sovereignty of these countries.[44] Around 1700, the population of Reval consisted of nearly 40-45% Germans, 10-15% Swedes, and 40% of Estonians.[45] Nearly 70% of all Estlandia and Livonia populations were victims of the Great Northern War (1700-1721).[46] This was the reason for the serious renewal of the population of Reval, from the beginning of Russian sovereignty in 1710. The Swedish minority was reduced, and the Russian-speaking population increased, as a result of the changing of the garrisons.[47]

The historical town of Reval was not a city like modern Tallinn, but was restricted to the *Unterstadt* (the Lower Town), where citizens and merchants lived. The *Domberg* (Cathedral Hill), or *Oberstadt* (Upper Town) was a separate area until 1879; it was under the rule of the knighthood of Estlandia in early modern times. Here lived the nobility and their staff.

The development of the educational and school systems in the Governorate of Estonia until 1710

For a long time, the only school in Reval where Latin was taught, was the Cathedral school in the Upper Town. Towards the year 1600, other elementary Latin schools appeared in Reval, where the language was taught on a more modest level. However, the level of Latin-learning may be questioned, because the Cathedral school faced serious challenges, especially after the Reformation and until the beginning of the eighteenth century.[48]

After 1631, the educational system of Estlandia and its neighbour Livonia changed completely. The Swedish administration, under Gustavus II Adolphus, king of Sweden, ordered the founding of a series of higher schools, including the first regional university based in Dorpat (Tartu) and a

44 Mühlen, 'Die baltischen Lande', 15-26.
45 Brüggemann & Tuchtenhagen, *Tallinn*, 96-97.
46 Reimo, 'Das Druck- und Verlagswesen in Reval', 59.
47 Brüggemann & Tuchtenhagen, *Tallinn*, 108-124.
48 Tiisel, 'Die Bibliothek der Domschule zu Reval', 83-85.

gymnasium in Reval. This combination of grammar school and university functioned in a similar way to that of middle Germany considered above. However, this situation lasted only for a few decades. Because of the border position of Tartu next to the Russian empire, the town often felt directly the effects of warfare. The university was moved to Pernau (Pärnu) and, after the Russian conquest of Estlandia and Livonia, was finally closed in 1710. The reopening of Dorpat (Tartu) University took place only in 1802. Thus, during the whole eighteenth century, both Baltic governorates were destitute of a university. Young people from the nobility and commoners alike had therefore to travel to study in foreign universities.

The city gymnasium, however, was in existence throughout the eighteenth century, but it started to function fully again only after the 1720s. Yet, in the eighteenth century this was not the only grammar school anymore, because around the town of Reval and in Domberg district the local school system was expanding and being restructured. In all cases, these schools were intended to prepare for study at a university, situated at a great distance, in Königsberg, Rostock, or Jena, and at the beginning of the century, mainly in Halle. Furthermore, it should be noted that Baltic as well as German-speaking students were sent to Central Europe in the eighteenth century but also pupils to grammar schools in the Holy Roman Empire. However, the proportion of students from Estlandia was lower than that of pupils from Livonia or Courland.[49]

Changes in foreign language teaching, particularly in Reval and its region in the eighteenth century

The teaching of foreign languages in the Reval Gymnasium, like in other Latin schools, was initially similar to that in the grammar schools of the German-speaking regions. After all, many students from Reval wanted to continue studying at a university in a German-speaking region. In the seventeenth and until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Latin primarily was taught there, and this language had a central position in the curriculum. Similarly to schools in middle Germany, Greek came second, and Hebrew studies remained marginal.[50] The pupils in Reval Gymnasium pertained mostly to German-speaking families of rich merchants, craftsmen and even some noble families. It is uncertain whether Swedish or Russian-speaking children could

49 Tering, 'Baltische Studenten an europäischen Universitäten', 125-130.

50 Willigerod, 'Das Gouvernements-Gymnasium zu Reval', 92-101.

attend. In earlier times, around 1720, there was a Russian language teacher; this was certainly useful for those German-speaking pupils who wanted to serve the Russian crown.[51] Representatives of low social origin were left out of the institution, whether they were Estonian-, Russian-, or German-speakers.

In fact, the poorer classes had already been able to study in the Cathedral school of the Upper Town at the end of the sixteenth century. Probably, Latin was taught here only on an elementary level, other ancient languages were not included, and we have no information in our sources about further foreign language teaching, except three books from that time introducing the Estonian language for Germans.[52] However, children from all language groups living around Reval Cathedral went to this school, including young people from non-German families in Domberg and Domvorstadt.[53]

After 1710, there were several important changes in the educational system, concerning foreign-language teaching too, in Reval and its district. The heavy population losses during the Great Northern War also affected the school system in Estlandia. In both higher schools in Reval normal teaching conditions could not be resumed until the 1720s. The losses among teachers and priests were enormous, but they were compensated by newcomers from the Holy Roman Empire, more precisely from northern and middle Germany. Most of them had studied at Halle University, and we may assume that the intention behind this movement of teachers and priests was to spread ideas from Halle to the Protestant regions and more deeply into Orthodox Russia.[54]

In 1717, not far from Reval an orphanage was established at Alp, based on the Halle model.[55] This orphanage was just one part of a bigger education facility. A correspondence between the local priest and director of the orphanage, Heinrich Christoph Wrede (1691-1764), and August Hermann Francke lasted seven years and is now preserved in the archives of the Francke Foundation in Halle. In his first letter, Wrede clearly asked for a plan for the organization of the orphanage as well as for teachers from Halle for the new educational institution. Francke sent concrete plans as well as teaching staff for Wrede's orphanage.[56]

51 *Ibidem*, 92.

52 Glück & Pörzgen, *Deutschlernen in Russland und in den baltischen Ländern*, 3-4.

53 Tiisel, 'Die Bibliothek der Domschule zu Reval', 84.

54 Tering, 'Baltische Studenten an europäischen Universitäten', 125.

55 Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert*, 267-275. Winter is not correct in all his conclusions and he does not refer to all available sources.

56 The correspondence is stored in different archives; all the letters are on microfilm in the archive of the Francke Foundations. See the database: http://192.124.243.55/cgi-bin/gkdb.pl. The

In addition to questions concerning the connections with Halle, it is interesting to see how foreign language teaching was designed in Alp. The orphanage was situated on the estate of Baron Magnus Wilhelm von Nieroth (1663-1740), who at the same time was vice-president of the Kammer-Collegium (Ministry of Taxes) under Peter I in St. Petersburg. Wrede and von Nieroth had planned to open a school, similar to the institutions of the Francke Foundations, which would attract representatives of all strata of society and all language groups. At the same time it would be interregional, where pupils from the high society of the Baltic provinces and neighbouring Russia could study. As in the Paedagogium attached to the Francke Foundations, this institution should take on the role of a higher boarding school, needing teachers from Halle:

> Ich erfreue mich hertzlich mit dem H. Landrath Nieroth, daß Eu. Hochehrw. die liebe den ihm haben, und geneigt seyn wollen, um tüchtige Informatores zu diesem Werck sich zu bemühen, von welchen requirieret wird, daß sie von allen Dingen wahre Nachfolger Christi seyn, und in solchem Zustande die Kinder in diesem Waysenhause im Christenthum, und in der lateinischen Sprache, auch denen dazu gehörigen studiis, ohngefähr wie es in dem Paedagogio in Halle tractieret wird.
>
> Together with Mr. Landrat Nieroth I am sincerely glad that you, revered sir, have shown us your favour, and are inclined to aim for this work by sending skilful *Informatores*, which requires that they in all respects be since refollowers of Christ and teach children in the orphanage in this spirit, also attending to a study of the foundations of the Christian faith and Latin, as in the Paedagogium in Halle.[57]

Certainly, this school had to educate not only German-speaking noble pupils, but children from the Russian nobility too should come to the Alp school. This was the result of Baron von Nieroth's work, who ordered the distribution of a brochure, whose promises, however, exceeded the capacities of the new school, thus causing displeasure among the teachers from Halle. According to one of the first teachers from Halle, Johann Friedrich Koch (1692-1772), the brochure concluded in Russian:

first letter from Francke to Wrede: AFSt/H A, 170:165.

57 Response from Wrede to Francke, 2.9.1717. AFSt/ Mikrofilm Nr. 20 184-185 (Stab/F, 28/43: 12).

> (1) Ich [Nieroth – M.R.] habe zu Gottes Ehre eine Schule gebaut, in welcher 120 vornehme Kinder russischer Nation über die schon da sind, können unterrichtet werden. (2) Mehrere Praceptores kann ich bald aus Teutschl. haben. (3) Leute sind genug daselbst bey der Schule zur Information, Aufwartung und anderes. Es ist ein Doctor daselbst, wie auch ein Apotheker, mit voller Apotheke (4) Die Kinder werden unterrichtet in teutscher, Lateinischer u. frantzösischer Sprache, in der Geographie, Historie, Philosophie, Arithmetica, Geometrie, Fortification, Architektur, Mathesia, Politica, Moral, höfliche Sitten, und auch in Tantzen, Reiten und Fechten.
>
> (1) I, [Nieroth – M.R.], built this school in honour of God, where 120 of the best children from the Russian nation can be taught, as well as those already there. (2) Soon, I will have many *praeceptores* from Germany. (3) There are enough people for teaching, serving, etc. in the school. We have a doctor and a pharmacist with a full pharmacy. (4) Children will learn German, Latin, and French, geography, history, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, mathematics, fortification, architecture, politics, ethics, etiquette, and also dancing, horse riding, fencing.[58]

The interesting point of teacher Johann Friedrich Koch's complaint is that teachers from Halle could teach in German, Latin, and some of them in French, but nobody knew Russian. This event clearly demonstrates an attempt to compensate for the lack of educational institutions both in the Baltic provinces and in the neighbouring Russian lands. In his letters, Koch openly recalled that the educational level of German- and Russian-speaking pupils was not the best. For example, Koch informed Halle that some German-speaking scholars from the nobility of this 'higher' educational institution could not read or write at the age of sixteen.[59] He also wrote about the education of the local population, who only received an elementary education in this orphanage and did not learn any foreign language:

> Sonst ist auch schon vor einem Jahr eine unteutsche Schule angestellet, darinnen die Kinder in Estnischer oder Liefländischer Sprache dociert werden, welches meist Bauers Kinder oder aus Finnland sind, die der H. Baron aus der Gefangenschaft erläßet […].

58 Johann Friedrich Koch to August Hermann Francke, 10.7.1720, AFSt/H C, 382:33.
59 Johann Friedrich Koch to August Hermann Francke, 13.8.1718, AFSt/H C, 796:13.

> The non-German school had been opened a year earlier, in which the children were learning in Estonian or in the Livonian language; they are mostly peasant children, or from Finland, they were liberated from captivity by Mr. Baron [...].[60]

In Koch's letters as well as in other sources, the situation of the peasants of Estlandia and Livonia, similar to serfs, seems to have been extremely difficult.[61] Due to the long-running confrontations between Wrede, Halle's teachers, and Baron von Nieroth, the school was only in existence until 1724, and there are no letters from Alp in the archives of the Francke Foundations after that year. However, the Alp orphanage was an example of the sort of school that appeared in Reval, in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral parish in 1724. In the same year, Christoph Friedrich Mickwitz (1696-1748) came from Halle to become pastor of the Cathedral parish. He transformed the school along the lines of the Francke Foundations, as had been done in Alp. After its inauguration, apart from the Cathedral school, an orphanage, a school for girls, and a hospital were founded in the Domvorstadt. The nobility from the Upper Town supported this institution, henceforth known as the Knights and Cathedral School, but it is not known how frequently they sent their children to this school.[62] Many sources have been lost, but it may be assumed that pupils from different language groups studied here, as in the former Cathedral school. It seems also to have been possible for some pupils from the orphanage to study at the higher school in the Upper Town.[63] However, we are no longer able to reconstruct the situation of foreign language teaching there. No doubt, Latin was taught, possibly Greek and Hebrew too, because many teachers were educated in Halle.[64] French was probably excluded.

60 Johann Friedrich Koch to August Hermann Francke, 10.7.1720, AFSt/H C, 382:33.

61 *Ibidem*. For example, he wrote that the farmers had already cried bitter tears because of their hard work on the estates for the needs of the orphanage.

62 Tiisel, 'Die Bibliothek der Domschule zu Reval', 85-86. I recently published an article on this question: Rocher, 'Pietistlik koolikorraldus Baltikums?', available online as 'Pietistische Schulpraxis im Baltikum?' at: http://www.academia.edu/15807974/Pietistische_Schulpraxis_im_Baltikum.

63 Some references in Pabst & Croessmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ehstländischen Ritter- und Domschule*, 25. These data seem to be reliable because I found in the Tallinn City Archive still unstudied vestry books from the fund of the Cathedral parish community, which contain the Estonian names of the examinees; apparently, this refers to the examination of pupils from the orphanage for their admission to the Cathedral school: Tallinn City Archive (TLA, Tallinna Linnaarchiv), 237.1.21, 'Privat Kirchen-Buch von besondern Umständen der Gemeindezureigenen Nachrichtangefertigt. Reval, anno 1724 (1724-1831) – begonnen von Christoph Friedrich Mickwitz'.

64 A list of lecturers in Pabst & Croessmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 77-82; Rocher, 'Pietistlik koolikorraldus Baltikums?', 114-118.

After 1765, the former Cathedral school became a school for children of the nobility and other wealthy citizens. In 1768, the better-funded Knights and Cathedral School started its lessons in the same building on the Domberg. The school fees were now much higher. A boarding school for noble pupils was added, and French, Latin, Russian, even Hebrew supplemented other languages.[65] Innovations from German-speaking countries were also adopted. The students did not attend the school primarily for the study of language. Mere rote learning was discouraged; instead, the language of instruction had to be connected with other subjects.[66]

Thus the insistence on Latin was abandoned; but unlike in the middle German area, Latin teaching remained compulsory in Reval. Again, in the higher classes, there was no special teaching in German, beyond writing and speaking skills. The complete range of classical languages clearly shows that the curriculum of the Knights and Cathedral School was still based on the old ideal of humanistic scholarship, more so than in similar boarding schools in middle Germany.[67]

A new school curriculum at the Reval Gymnasium, dating from 29 February 1769, was intended to give a better structure to the course than in the former Cathedral school. However, we cannot assume that the new program brought about fundamental changes. Latin remained the focal point in education, as before: 'Many lessons had to be translated from Latin, and the Latin class was the main class of the gymnasium'.[68] After that came Greek, as in many similar schools in Germany. Thus the grammar school was in sharp contrast, for example, to the *gymnasium illustre* in Gotha. If the old curriculum was strengthened in Reval, in Gotha on the contrary, Latin teaching was reduced and more attention was given to modern foreign languages; it also paved the way for German teaching. But French did not become a regular part of the curriculum until the end of the century.

Conclusion

In comparing middle Germany and the Governorate of Estonia, it should first be emphasized that these are two very different regions. The middle German territory really exceeded the smaller country both economically

65 Göbel, *Grundsätze der Erziehung*, 47-48.
66 *Ibidem*, 46.
67 *Ibidem*, 47-48.
68 TLA 230.1.Bp 14, 'Verordnung für das Gymnasium vom 29. Februar 1768', 53-54.

and in population. The Governorate of Estonia was located on the periphery of Europe, while middle Germany was situated, in a sense, in the eastern part of its centre. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the ideas on education of western Europe had been adopted in middle Germany; from there, they spread to the east, especially into the Baltic regions, where the higher strata of the nobility were German-speaking.[69]

Taking all this into account, it is clear that the grammar schools of the Baltic region were smaller in size and fewer in number. Initially, the Protestant and humanistic school tradition had a defining influence in Estlandia, although the tendencies developed there more slowly than in middle Germany. At the beginning, there were attempts to create a functional education system for the northern Baltic, but the devastating outcome of the Great Northern War in the eighteenth century prevented this. Until the end of that century, mostly commoners attended the higher schools in Estlandia, although under Halle's influence schools were founded there, which adopted in their curriculum subjects belonging to the old educational system of the nobility. However, until the end of the century the Baltic nobility had primarily recourse to private educators and language masters, and French was not a regular teaching subject in the schools of Estlandia.

It was only at the end of the century that in Reval the first boarding school was founded that explicitly addressed the nobility and offered skills taken from the canon of noble education. However, in comparison to middle German boarding schools, it remained for foreign language teaching mostly oriented by the old scholarly tradition. Thus, changes in language teaching became barely visible in the Governorate of Estonia schools, although since the beginning of the eighteenth century the teaching of 'reality' subjects had already been strengthened under the influence of Halle. Altogether it can be assumed that in the Estlandia schools teachers and pupils were not influenced by changes in language teaching in middle Germany in the late eighteenth century.

As a last point, attention should be drawn to the multilingual situation, which, in this case, was strongly correlated to social inequality. While the highest strata of society were almost exclusively German-speaking and had financial access to higher education, this was impossible for the Estonian population of cities and villages. Nevertheless, teachers having come from Halle tried to ensure an elementary school education to the poorer stratum of the population; in exceptional cases, the latter could then be given an opportunity for further improvement. Nevertheless, the long-standing

69 Tering, 'Baltische Studenten an europäischen Universitäten', 125.

proximity of the poorer strata to these higher educational institutions is surprising. Regrettably, the scope of this article has allowed us neither to show the importance of the Russian language in Estlandia schools nor the relevance of the Estlandia school system to Russian-speaking children.

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Latin in the education of nobility in Russia: The history of a defeat[1]

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Abstract
Exploring interest in Latin in the milieu of the Russian nobility could seem at first glance a question whose scope is rather limited and which would be of interest for specialists only. However language learning reveals a lot about the culture of a particular social group and about cultural and social oppositions and rivalries existing in a given society. Latin, not being part of a long-lasting cultural tradition in Russia, offered some possibilities for enhancing one's cultural capital. However, its position in Europe was rapidly changing at the end of the seventeenth century, when Russia started to open up to Europe, and the Russian nobility were able to see what Latin could bring them compared with other languages such as German and French. Even if we find hardly any meta-discourse about Latin in this milieu, the history of Latin learning among the nobility in Russia gives us insight into the image of this language forged within this social group and into its cultural and social strategies linked to the usage of different languages.

Keywords: Russia, nobility, clergy, Latin, French, German, language choice

Exploring interest in Latin in the milieu of the Russian nobility could seem at first glance a question whose scope is rather limited and which would be of interest for specialists only. However language learning reveals a lot about the culture of a particular social group and about cultural

1 The research was supported by the Deutsches Historisches Institut Moskau, project on the history of language learning in the Russian Empire.

and social oppositions and rivalries existing in a given society. Latin, not being part of a long-lasting cultural tradition in Russia, offered some possibilities for enhancing one's cultural capital. However, its position in Europe was rapidly changing at the end of the seventeenth century, when Russia started to open up to Europe, and the Russian nobility were able to see what Latin could bring them compared with other languages such as German and French. Even if we find hardly any meta-discourse about Latin in this milieu, the history of Latin learning among the nobility in Russia gives us insight into the image of this language forged within this social group and into its cultural and social strategies linked to the use of different languages.[2]

I will show how important the role of Latin was in relation to other languages, with particular focus on the education of the nobility.[3] Public schools for the nobility were among the main purveyors of teaching of modern foreign languages and Latin. I will examine the state of Latin learning in some of these institutions, namely the Academy of Sciences, the Noble Cadet Corps and the schools depending on Moscow University, before casting an eye on the place of Latin in the domestic education of the nobility. Finally, I will examine the ways used by the Russian nobility to access Latin literature.

Latin in Russian education before Peter I

Eighteenth-century Russia was characterized by an increasing interest in foreign languages. Before Peter the Great (1696-1725), only a few people knew the rudiments of foreign or classical languages in Russia. At the end of the

2 The situation in Ukraine and White Russia, however, was different. In the reigns of Catherine II and Alexander I, Jesuit colleges in White Russia offered a curriculum, in which Latin was central. For many nobles living in White Russia (and in St. Petersburg, where Jesuits also taught in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century), Latin was a pathway to the study of ancient history and literature. Orthodox colleges in Ukraine which were strongly influenced by the Jesuit model of education offered a similar curriculum. Unlike Russian Church seminaries, which were never attended by nobles, colleges in Ukraine were not professionally closed institutions, and the Ukrainian elite regularly sent their children to them. Cf.: Rouët de Journel, *Un Collège de Jésuites à Saint-Pétersbourg*; Блинова, *Иезуиты в Беларуси*; Инглот, *Общество Иисуса в Российской империи*; Посохова, *Православные коллегиумы на пересечении культур, традиций, эпох*. We are grateful to Denis Kondakov for drawing our attention to the studies by Blinova and Inglot.

3 The case of Latin in Orthodox Church seminaries is discussed in the article by Ekaterina Kislova. See this article also for discussion of the place of Russian in church education in Russia.

seventeenth century, there were four foreign church schools in Moscow[4] and some Russians learned ancient or modern foreign languages there (essentially Latin, Dutch, and German). However, their number was scarce and apart from rare individuals belonging to the highest stratum of the nobility who knew Latin, most of the people with some knowledge of foreign languages were concentrated in the Department of Foreign Affairs, the so-called *Posolskiy prikaz*. These were translators, the majority of whom were of foreign origin.[5] Greek and Latin were taught at the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, Italian at the school founded by the Greek monks Leichoudes, however the number of students in these schools was relatively small.[6] The lack of knowledge of modern foreign languages affected the development of general knowledge and scientific studies, the transfer of technological knowledge, diplomacy, printing, etc. With the acceleration of exchanges with Western countries under Peter the Great, it became vital for the Russian people to have a command of foreign languages. Latin occupied a special place in this landscape.

Latin in the schools attached to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg

Latin was one of the important languages learned in all teaching institutions of the Academy of Sciences founded in St. Petersburg in 1725: a secondary school and a university attached to the Academy. Many courses at the university were taught in Latin, but this was also the case of some courses at the Academy's secondary school: for example geometry was taught in Latin in higher classes. The students of the university were not of noble origin, they came from families of commoners, clergy, and soldiers, however there were some nobles in the secondary school. The list of the pupils in the school for 1726-1727 shows that there were some representatives of the Russian and Baltic nobilities among them (the latter were generally German-speaking). Some noble Russian pupils came from families of bureaucrats and from those of Russian officers (major, captain, lieutenant-colonel, lieutenant of the guard regiment, sea captain, etc.); there were also some representatives of foreign nobility. But at the same time this was not a school reserved only for the nobility: there were, among the pupils, boys from the families of clergymen and merchants, soldiers and

4 Ковригина, *Немецкая слобода Москвы*, 297-299.
5 Куненков, 'Переводчики и толмачи'.
6 Сменцовский, *Братья Лихуды*; Рамазанова, *Братья Лихуды*.

craftsmen. We find young Russian nobles among the pupils of this school later as well, but their number was smaller after the departure of the court to Moscow in 1727. At the same time, among newly recruited students in 1727 there were sons of carpenters, blacksmiths, peasants, etc.

One of the academicians Gerhard Friedrich Müller proposed to teach the noble students separately from the students of other estates considering that the Academy's school was passing through a crisis because of the pupils of low social origin who were admitted there.[7] In 1735 the new president of the Academy, Baron Korff, wanted to found a school for boys from aristocratic families and to educate noble and non-noble pupils separately.[8] According to a project of the new Statutes of the Academy written in 1739 by one of the members of this institution, Georg Wolfgang Krafft, all pupils should be divided into two groups: the Latin and the German classes. In the Latin class boys were prepared for attending the lectures of the professors of the Academy at the Academy's university; these lectures were delivered in Latin. In the German class, Latin was learned less intensively, but the main languages were still Latin and German. However, Krafft made an exception for those who did not want to 'exercise in sciences'; they could learn alternatively other subjects such as French, dance, and drawing.[9] Even if Krafft did not specify for whom this exception was envisaged, one can think that it was done for the boys from some noble families because usually such subjects were part of the education in noble families. This possibility obviously should have been a sort of enticement for noble families who were not seeking Latin erudition but instead were willing to acquire qualities which were considered important for noble identity. Among the subjects learned at the school, we can sometimes find 'architecture', 'military architecture', 'fortification', which were of interest to the nobility. It is obvious that the Academy wanted to take into account the needs of its noble clients who were mostly from the families of military officers.

From the very beginning of the Academy's secondary school, most Russian pupils, among whom there were boys from noble families, did not learn Latin and definitely preferred modern languages, German, and French,[10] though one cannot say that in that sense there was a clear division between social and national groups. The commoners who learned Latin did it through

7 Толстой, *Академическая гимназия в XVIII столетии*, 33-34.

8 Костин & Костина, 'Регламент Гимназии', 224.

9 *Ibidem*, 241.

10 Сухомлинов, *Материалы для истории императорской Академии наук*, I, 226-230, 330-343.

German because the teachers were mainly of German stock and used the translation method in teaching languages. This system complicated the process of learning Latin for Russian-speaking students and led to poor results, while the students of Baltic origin, whose mother tongue was German, were at an advantage. In 1742, one of the Academy's officials complained that whereas the German pupils took about three years to complete the course in Latin, the Russian pupils could take up to fifteen years to complete it! In 1748, Fischer, the head of the Academy's secondary school, noted the same problems: some of the boys stayed seven or more years in the German class, and 'yet they know not much German and nothing at all of Latin'.[11] Fischer noted in particular that Russian students did not apply themselves to the study of Latin while, as he put it, 'without the knowledge of this language a student is and forever remains a miserable creature'.[12]

Latin in the schools attached to Moscow University

A similar relationship existed between noble and commoner students at the schools depending on Moscow University, which was founded in 1755. There were preparatory schools attached to the University, called 'gimnaziia', one for noble pupils and another for commoners. All students were either state-funded or were paying their fees themselves. Here too linguistic choices depended hugely on the social origin of students, at least when students could choose what language to learn.

In 1776 state-funded students (who probably did not have much choice), generally learned Latin (86% of noble students and 93.5% of commoners) and Ancient Greek (86 and 85% respectively). However not so many state-funded students learned modern languages: French was learned by 21% of noble students and 13% of commoners. The situation was different among self-funded students who paid their tuition fees themselves: among the commoners, 65% chose to learn Latin, but only 22% of noble students did so. The relation was exactly the opposite for modern languages: among the commoners paying the fees, only 35% learned German and 21.5% learned French, while among the nobles paying the fees the figures were much higher: 65 and 55% respectively.[13]

11 Quoted from: Buck, 'Imperial Academy of Sciences', 199.

12 *Ibidem*.

13 Data obtained on the basis of the following lists: Russian National Library (RNB, Российская национальная библиотека), Manuscript Department, Erm., 500-1. М.В. Приклонский, директор Московского университета. 'Всеподданнейший рапорт из Московского университета об успехах, понятии, прилежности и поступках, обучающихся в

These data are revealing. Many commoner students obviously wanted to continue their studies at the University where a knowledge of Latin was compulsory. Modern languages were of much less interest to these students, probably because not so many courses were taught at the University in modern languages at the time, but probably also because these students did not attach so much value to modern languages in a professional perspective as to Latin. German however seems to have been slightly better appreciated by them than French. It is the other way round for noble students. Obviously most of them did not think about continuing their studies at the university (and we know indeed that the number of noble students at Moscow University was small) which explains why they did not want to learn Latin. However they appreciated modern languages. German and French were indeed greatly used in various domains of social life among the Russian nobility, such as correspondence, social gatherings, and occasionally professional life.[14]

Latin in the curriculum of the Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg

Let's look finally at the most important public school for the nobility in Russia, the Noble Infantry Cadet Corps founded in St. Petersburg in 1732. This was what we would today call a 'secondary' school for the nobility of the Russian Empire, including the German-speaking nobility of the Baltic provinces which Russia invaded under Peter the Great and a small group of foreign nobles. The acquisition of foreign languages was from the start considered to be of the utmost importance in this institution. Incidentally, if the Cadet Corps was opened in St. Petersburg and not in Moscow, among the main reasons mentioned was the presence of numerous foreigners in the Russian capital which could be beneficial to language learning at the Corps.[15]

From the sources at our disposal, it is difficult to understand if the subjects taught to the students were adapted to their age. In the first years of the existence of the Cadet Corps we find Latin mentioned starting from pupils aged 13. The latter were learning grammar most of the time but sometimes they had a more advanced level: Johann Hermann von Keyserling could 'analyse Latin authors in German' and could write in Latin well, but it was certainly the result

Университете студентов и в гимназиях учеников по экзамену сего 1776 г. (июня?) со 2-го по 22-е число' [M.V. Priklonskii, Director of Moscow University, 'A most loyal report from Moscow University on the successes, diligence and conduct of the students studying at the University according to the results of the exam from (June?) 2 to 22, 1776'], 1776, 41 fol.

14 See Offord *et al.* (eds.), *French and Russian in Imperial Russia.*

15 Лузанов, *Сухопутный шляхетный кадетский корпус*, 16.

of education in his family.[16] For the pupils aged 15 and over we find the following comments: 'he is learning declinations', 'he can analyse Cornelius Nepos in German well', and 'can translate directly from Latin into German and vice versa' (pupils aged 15), 'he can read in Latin well', 'can analyse Latin authors in Russian and in German' (pupils aged 16), 'can compose Latin letters very well' (pupils aged 19), 'translates from German into Latin well' (pupils aged 20 and 22), etc.[17]

If we compare the situation at the Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg with the situation at its German model, the Corps des Cadets in Berlin,[18] some similarities as well as some striking differences are evident. Latin was probably first introduced into the curriculum of the Corps des Cadets in Berlin in 1771. The initial exclusion of the language from the curriculum at the foundation of the Corps in Berlin can be attributed to the personal antipathy to Latin of the 'Soldier-King' Frederick William I. He forbade his son, the future Frederick the Great, to learn Latin.[19] Like the St. Petersburg school, Berlin's Cadet Corps was conceived as a school for the nobility (in Berlin, French, dance, and fencing, together with military training, were among the most important subjects). However, the Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg seems to have been conceived with a broader scope. Indeed, not only was its curriculum targeted at nobles preparing for careers as army officers but also at those seeking to become civil servants. The inclusion of Latin in the curriculum was an indication of this orientation: Latin was the key to accessing knowledge in some subjects such as civil law, which was not taught in Berlin. Indeed, books in Latin were used for this subject.[20] This broad definition of the curriculum of the Russian school for nobility and the inclusion of Latin in particular were probably the result of the influence of the Academy of Sciences. In the 1730s, the relations between the Academy of Sciences and the Cadet Corps were very close: the administration of the Corps reported to the Academy about the subjects taught at the Corps and the books used in classes; some teachers from the Academy came to the Corps, and the Academy was generally thought to be a source of qualified teachers for the new institution; the Academy actively participated in discussions of the organization of exams at the Corps, and several academicians attended them.[21]

16 Russian State Archives for the History of the Armed Forces (RGVIA, Российский государственный военно-исторический архив), f. 314, op. 1, d. 643, fol. 353r.

17 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 643, fols. 112r, 149r, 153r, 318r, 336r, 338r, 351r-353r, etc.

18 Федюкин & Лавринович, 'Сухопутный кадетский корпус в Санкт-Петербурге'.

19 See for example Böhm, 'Huguenots précepteurs du Prince Frédéric'.

20 Сухомлинов, *Материалы для истории Императорской Академии наук*, 445.

21 See for example the Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, Moscow (RGADA, Российский государственный архив древних актов), f. 248, op. 1, d. 396, fols. 17v, 71r-76r,

The first charter of the Corps specified that only those who were willing to learn Latin should do so.[22] The number of pupils learning Latin was however small. Russian pupils were the least enthusiastic about Latin. This confirms Max J. Okenfuss's conclusion about the unwillingness of the Russian nobility to learn the language.[23] The proportion of foreign pupils learning Latin in 1734 was extremely high (65.5%) compared with that of Baltic nobles (22.5%) and with that of Russian pupils (1.5%). In the case of foreign pupils (and certainly partly in the case of Baltic pupils) we are very probably dealing with people influenced by western models of education in which Latin still occupied an important place.

The low scores for Latin among Russian pupils in the first years of the existence of the Corps can be explained by the advanced age of the first pupils and their general level of knowledge, which seems to have been rather poor, with a proportion of illiterate cadets. However other factors certainly played a more important role: there was hardly any tradition of learning Latin in Russia among the nobles, and the language was progressively associated with the clerical estate (because Latin was taught to future Orthodox priests)[24] or the medical profession. Despite the obvious failure of Latin at the Corps, it was included in official ceremonies during the exams. In October 1738, in front of selected guests, cadets made speeches in Latin, French, and German (but significantly not Russian). Latin speeches were probably included as an indication of the thoroughness of the education provided at the Corps and as a courtesy to the professors of the Academy of Sciences present in the audience.[25]

One can observe a slight progression in the proportion of Russian pupils taking Latin over the period of 1732-1764. In 1748, out of 257 Russian pupils 5% learned Latin (interestingly, out of 63 pupils from Baltic families only 1.5% were learning Latin that year). In 1764 out of 120 Russian pupils finishing their studies at the Corps, 6.75% had learned Latin, out of 53 pupils from Baltic families – 18.75%.[26] However, this progress is not significant enough to change our view of the Russian nobility's general lack of interest in Latin.

543r-545v; Сухомлинов, *Материалы для истории Императорской Академии наук*, 462-466.

22 *Полное собрание законов*, VIII, 558-559, no. 5881.

23 Okenfuss, *The rise and fall of Latin*.

24 See the article by Ekaterina Kislova in this volume.

25 RGADA, f. 248, op. 1, d. 396, fols. 543r-557r.

26 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3213 (1764). See these and other data on language learning at the Cadet Corps in my article: Rjéoutski, 'Native tongues and foreign languages in the education of the Russian nobility' (forthcoming).

Language learning and social origin of students

It is not clear how many nobles learned foreign languages at home (which was then the most frequent form of education in Russia). However, some idea of language learning in home education in Russia at the time can be grasped from the following figures.[27] Out of 714 young Russian nobles who were present at the general inspection of nobles in 1736, 164 (24%) were illiterate, and most of these were poor (they possessed no more than 20 serfs); only 17 (2.5%) out of 714 said that they had learned German, one French, and one Latin. However, it is not clear whether they had been asked to indicate the languages they had learned or if doing so was their own initiative. On the basis of these figures, one might think that the vast majority of the Russian nobility neglected foreign languages and Latin in particular. According to the *ukaz* of 9 February 1737, all young nobles had to learn arithmetic, geometry, reading and writing (in their native tongue), and foreign languages (which their parents could choose). It seems that the situation did not change considerably in the years after this *ukaz*. In 1745, at a new general inspection of the nobility, the state of play was quite similar to that in 1736.

If we compare these figures with the level achieved by the boys who entered the Cadet Corps in the years 1732-1762, it turns out that their level was higher than the general level achieved by young nobles present at the 1736 inspection. Among some 1760 cadets who studied at the Corps over the period, 28 (1.5%) learned Latin prior to their studies at the Corps. The difference between the 1736 figures of the general inspection of the Russian nobility and the 1732-1762 figures for the Cadet Corps can be explained less by the progress of education among Russian nobles over three decades than by differences of wealth among these groups of nobles. Indeed, while the poorest nobles (with fewer than 20 serfs) never constituted more than 17.6% of all the cadets prior to the 1760s, they made up between 51 and 60% of all Russian nobles over the same period.[28]

However, this conclusion is somewhat relativized by the data from 1764. There were many representatives of the petty gentry among the pupils of the Cadet Corps that year, far more than in previous years, probably because the number of pupils increased considerably in the 1760s. The pupils whose families possessed no more than 20 serfs constituted then about 38.5% of the pupils of the Corps, those whose families possessed from 21 to 100

27 Fedyukin, 'Literacy and learning among noble "minors"'.
28 *Ibidem*.

serfs – 42.5%. Both categories can be considered as belonging to the lower nobility.[29] It is difficult to see any direct connection between the social origin of students and their linguistic choices: as far as Latin is concerned, there was the same tendency starting from the foundation of the Corps even if some slight progress in Latin learning can be observed over the period 1732-1764, as I said. We can probably assume that, if the choice of languages to learn was free at the Cadet Corps (and it seems that was the case over the period), there were no considerable differences in the attitude of different strata of the Russian nobility towards Latin.

The documents of the commissions formed in the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University in 1757 and mandated to test the teachers willing to teach privately show that fewer than a quarter of all private teachers who passed the exam in St. Petersburg that year had Latin, most of the latter being of German origin.[30] However it does not mean that even these sixteen teachers taught Latin. In fact, from what we can see from these documents, hardly any of these teachers taught Latin, most of them taught German and French.

It would be an exaggeration to pretend that Russian nobles did not learn Latin at all. Over the eighteenth century we find some cases of Russian noblemen who learned Latin, but it seems that most of such cases were to be found among the highest stratum of nobility. Peter Alexeevich, the future emperor Peter II (1727-1730), not only learned Latin, but even learned French through Latin, as paradoxical as it might seem. Peter learned Latin three mornings per week, which is an exceptionally large amount of time for Russia.[31] It is symbolic that at the end of the eighteenth century, another heir to the Russian throne, the future emperor Alexander I (1801-1825) did not learn Latin, because one of his teachers, the Swiss Frédéric-César de Laharpe, considered Latin to be a mere waste of time and Catherine II fully agreed with him on this point. Some aristocrats learned Latin. In 1755, the family of the counsellor of the College (ministry) of trade Samarin in order to teach his nephew Latin, German, and mathematics engaged the student Iakov Kozelskii.[32] The young Baron Grigori Stroganov learned Latin in Strasbourg

29 Based on a list of 156 pupils finishing their studies at the Corps in 1764. RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3213 (1764), fols. 89r, etc. See the detailed statistics in my article: Rjéoutski, 'Le français et d'autres langues dans l'éducation en Russie', 28.

30 See detailed data in Rjéoutski, 'Le français et d'autres langues dans l'éducation en Russie', 33.

31 RGADA, f. 2, op. 1, no. 26, fols. 10r-11v. I am grateful to Olga Kosheleva for this information.

32 St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SPbF ARAN, Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской Академии наук), f. 3, op. 1, d. 202, fols.

starting from 1785, at the initiative of his French tutor Jacques Démichel.[33] A Franco-German tutor Paul Bigot de Morogues taught Latin to his pupils in Poland and in Russia at the end of the century.[34] Yuri Vorobiev mentions a certain number of examples of this kind in his book.[35] Among them, we find diplomats (Prince Ivan Mikhailovich Dolgorukov, Prince Ivan Andreevich Shcherbatov, Iakov Ivanovich Bulgakov), however it is certainly wrong to link their knowledge of Latin to their professional activity,[36] because Latin was hardly used in Russian diplomacy in the eighteenth century, except at the beginning of the century. A prominent Russian diplomat in the reign of Catherine II, Iakov Bulgakov knew Latin because he studied at Moscow University. Latin was often learned by young Russian aristocrats when they prepared for their 'grand tour' or during their grand tour because this educational trip usually comprised a long period of studies at one or another western university. Ignorance of Latin could jeopardize such studies as was the case with the young Baron Alexander Stroganov in the middle of the eighteenth century when he took lessons in Geneva from university professors but outside the university, and not in Latin but either in French or German. In the reign of Catherine II, Latin was learned by Princes Boris and Dmitri Golitzin, sons of a well-known Russian aristocrat Princess Natalia Golitzin, the prototype of the old countess in Pushkin's 'Queen of Spades'. The young princes learned Latin when they were in Strasbourg, though they took their courses outside the university and not in Latin. For Natalia Golitzin, Latin was associated with good education. Dmitri Golitzin wrote to his mother: 'je crois qu'il nous sera d'une grande utilité, d'abord pour avoir soin de notre bibliothèque, et puis pour lire ensemble quelques auteurs latins que nous n'avons pas encore lu'.[37] These examples show that the negative attitude to Latin was not so general. Yuri Lotman noticed that Latin was used more among the Russian nobles at the beginning of the nineteenth century: many 'Decembrists' who were to participate in the uprising against the monarch in 1825 had learned Latin.[38] This could probably be partly explained by the arrival in Russia, at the end of the

18r-18v. I am grateful to Andrey Kostin for this information.

33 Rjéoutski, 'L'Idéal d'éducation du jeune aristocrate', 119.

34 Mervaud & Rjéoutski, 'Les sociétés prussienne et russe', 300.

35 Воробьев, *Латинский язык в русской культуре*, 102-124.

36 As indicated by Воробьев, *Латинский язык в России*, 107.

37 Letter from Prince Dmitri Golitzin to his mother Princess Natalia Golitzin, undated [1791], Russian State Library, Moscow (RGB, Российская государственная библиотека), Manuscript Department, f. 64, k. 94, d. 31, fols. 3r-4r. I am grateful to Stefan Lehr for this information.

38 Лотман, *Пушкин*, 554.

eighteenth century, of a certain number of French Catholic priests who fled from the French Revolution. Many of them were hired as teachers in noble Russian families and often taught Latin to their pupils.

If Latin was generally an unknown language for the Russian nobility, it was better known to the clergy and to some intellectuals who were not of noble origin. Intellectuals not belonging to the gentry assimilated Latin as a sort of cultural code the way the nobles did with French. A prominent member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Mikhail Lomonosov, accused one of his enemies, the British John Truscott, of ignoring Latin which was considered by Lomonosov to be highly important for a scholar.[39] At the same time, the writer Nikolai Grech, recalling the time of his studies at the Junkers' Institute attached to the Senate at the end of the eighteenth century, attested that Latin was considered by his comrades to be a 'medical' language, improper and even shameful for a nobleman.[40]

Latin and classical heritage

Most of the noble boys and certainly nearly all the girls from noble families of the time ignored Latin. How then did nobles have access to the classical heritage? Some Latin texts had been translated into Russian by the end of the eighteenth century. However, Russian was certainly not the most important channel through which Russian nobles got acquainted with Latin literature. They used modern languages, first and foremost French, to read Latin authors. Not only the boys: the girls in some noble families also read Latin authors in French translation (for example in the family of the Princes Bariatinsky).[41]

A relevant example of this intermediary role of French can be found in the documents of the Cadet Corps of the end of the eighteenth century. At the time all the cadets had, on a regular basis, to copy quotations from the books they were reading, in the three languages they were learning at the Corps: Russian, French, and German. These quotations were copied in special volumes and several dozen such volumes have been preserved and

39 *Ibidem*.

40 Греч, *Николай Греч,* 154. I am grateful to Yuri Vorobiev for this information.

41 RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 19 (Princess Bariatinsky), k. 284, d. 2, 5, 6, etc. Later, in the nineteenth century, some girls in noble families even learned Latin which was absolutely exceptional for the eighteenth century. See for example copybooks by A. Stroganova (Naryshkina?) entitled 'Россиiская перевода' [Russian translations] containing translations from Latin, German, and French, 1832, RGADA, f. 1278, op. 4, d. 34.

are now kept at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.[42] We can also find in these volumes numerous quotations from Latin and ancient Greek authors. Among the most quoted are Cicero, Aesop, Seneca, there are many quotations from Plato, Socrates, Virgil, some from Diogenes, Juvenal, Anacreon, Horace, Plutarch … Latin and Greek texts are nearly always quoted in French while at the time the cadets had an excellent command of German too. This makes me think that French and not German was the main channel for classical heritage in the education of the Russian nobility.

If we look at the quotations, it becomes obvious that the cadets were choosing quotations on more or less the same subjects that were chosen by them from French or German literatures. These were maxims on military valiance, morality, responsibility before their country, and before their family, etc. Some examples:[43]

> [fol. 15r] Il est plus difficile de se vaincre soi-même que de vaincre l'ennemi; le plus grand effort de la vertu, est de se relever de l'adversité sans trop d'empressement, et de recevoir la prospérité sans trop de joie.
> Valère-Maxime
> Apouchtin

> [fol. 17v] Le plus dangereux des animaux sauvages, c'est le médisant; et des animaux privés, c'est le flatteur.
> Diogène
> Jean Kavetsky

> [fol. 18r] Le devoir d'un bienfaiteur est d'oublier le service qu'il a rendu, comme le souvenir ou la reconnoissance est le devoir de celui qui a reçu le bienfait.
> Martial
> Jasnikolsky

> [fol. 70v] Tu prêtes une oreille crédule à la calomnie; tu as un méchant cœur, ou la simplicité d'esprit d'un enfant.
> Ménandre
> Glinskoy

42 RNB, Manuscript Department, f. 1059 (Noble Cadet Corps).

43 RNB, Manuscript Department, f. 1059, *La pratique journalière*, 1793, 2 âge.

[fol. 71r] L'espérance est le seul bien qui soit commun à tous les hommes: ceux qui n'ont plus rien la possèdent encore.
Thalès
Zinoviev

[fol. 72v°] Redoute la volupté; elle est mère de la douleur.
Solon
M. Krukowsky

These quotations obviously come from the following books:

– *Collection des moralistes anciens, dédiée au roi: caractères de Théophraste, et pensées morales de Ménandre, traduit par M. Levesque* (Paris: chez Didot l'aîné, imprimeur du clergé, et De Bure l'aîné, 1782), 168 (Solon, 'Redoute la volupté […]'); 151 (Ménandre, 'Tu prêtes une oreille crédule à la calomnie […]').
– *Pensées morales d'Isocrate, de Phocylide, de Pythagore, des Sages de la Grèce et de Ménandre* (Dresde: chez les frères Walther, 1786), 129 (Thalès, 'L'espérance est le seul bien qui soit commun à tous les hommes […]'); 168 (Solon, 'Redoute la volupté […]'); 215 (Ménandre, 'Tu prêtes une oreille crédule à la calomnie […]').
– [Blaise-Louis Pelée de Chenouteau], *Esprit des meilleurs écrivains françois; ou recueil de pensées les plus ingénieuses, tant en prose qu'en vers*, II (Paris: chez Nyon, aîné, Mérigot jeune, Bastien libraire, 1777), 482 (Valère-Maxime, 'Il est plus difficile de se vaincre soi-même que de vaincre l'ennemi […]').
– [Nicolas Jamin], *Le Fruit de mes lectures, ou Pensées extraites des anciens profanes, accompagnées de quelques réflexions de l'auteur relatives aux différents ordres de la société* (Paris: J.-F. Bastien, 1775) (re-edited in 1825), 103 (Martial, 'Le devoir d'un bienfaiteur est d'oublier le service qu'il a rendu […]').
– *Bibliothèque universelle des dames, morale*, II (Paris, Rue d'Anjou, 1785), 233 (Thalès, 'L'espérance est le seul bien qui soit commun à tous les hommes […]').

If the assumption is correct, we can hardly speak of a thorough knowledge of ancient texts. In some books (for example, by Nicolas Jamin), the Latin text follows its translation in French, but most of the time there is only the translation. If we look at these books, it is obvious that we are dealing with collections of maxims on different subjects. The aim of such books was mostly educational: to educate the 'heart' and train up a citizen, to give children

some idea of morality and sometimes some elements of social identity suitable for a nobleman such as nobility, virtue, merits of ancestors, etc.

If it was known to Russian nobles mostly in a reduced and expurgated form, could Latin literature still be an example of patriotic or even republican virtues? It certainly was so to some extent. One Russian man of letters, Sergey Glinka, who studied at the Cadet Corps, testified: 'I did not know under which government I lived, but I knew that liberty was essential for the Romans'.[44] Prince Boris Golitzin expressed, in one of his writings composed when he was aged ten, some very critical ideas about modern societies and Russian society in particular (even if he cautiously did not mention it directly). These ideas were inspired in him by Cato.[45] Such ideas of republican virtues can be found in the copybooks of Grand Duke Alexander, the future Alexander I, who learned French and history with Frédéric-César de Laharpe. In September 1785, Laharpe dictated to his pupil, in French, texts about the life of the young Scipio, the future Roman commander who decided to sacrifice his life for his motherland.[46] However such examples seem to be exceptional in a long series of extracts on Roman history dictated to Alexander from the works by Titus Livius, Ferguson, Gillies, etc.[47]

Conclusion

The Russian nobility stayed resistant to Latin throughout the eighteenth century. They opted for modern languages and particularly for French, which to a certain extent replaced Latin as a means to access classical literature. This was not merely a practical choice which made it possible to avoid the long and tedious acquisition of a dead language, but I think this choice corresponded to a model of education in which French was the main element, both a language of public and intimate sociability of the nobility. Latin corresponded to another model, also professionally and socially connoted, at least in the eyes of the Russian nobility. It is significant that, while

44 *Золотой век Екатерины Великой*, 71, quoted in Любжин, *Римская литература в России*, 29.

45 RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 64, k. 79, d. 11, 'Boris, Vie de Caton', fol. 4r.

46 RNB, Manuscript Department, Erm., 576-2, fols. 46r-48r.

47 I give the dates of possible editions in parentheses: Tite Live, *Histoire de Rome depuis sa fondation* (1738-1740, in 10 vols.; or 1741-1742, in 3 vols.; or 1770, in 10 vols); Ferguson Adam, *Histoire des progrès et de la chute de la République Romaine* (1784-1791, in 7 vols); Gillies John, *Histoire de l'ancienne Grèce, de ses colonies et de ses conquêtes, depuis les premiers temps, jusqu'à la division de l'Empire Macédonien, dans l'Orient* (1787).

Latin was supported and promulgated among the Russian nobility by the Academy of Sciences in the 1720s and 1730s (rather modestly, it should be noted), in the 1760s, Ivan Betskoy, de facto Russian minister of education, strongly opposed the view that Latin was necessary to nobles.[48] Betskoy was part of the Russian aristocracy, so his position certainly corresponded to the model of noble sociability which was adopted in this milieu; but it also was based on new Western ideas, which were strongly in opposition to Latin education. However, I would not speak about a state or institutional opposition to Latin, even if Betskoy was a Russian statesman. I think that it was his personal position which reflected his personal views and which probably did not have any serious influence on the Russian nobility, who had already by the time made their choice in favour of modern languages, not Latin.

This situation was not completely at odds with what was going on in other European countries. In the eighteenth century in France, as in many other parts of Europe, Latin was progressively losing its hegemonic place at the schools we would qualify as 'secondary' today. Scholars do not agree on the pace of this process. Some assume that Latin ceased to be spoken in university colleges at the end of the seventeenth century and persisted in Jesuit colleges until the 1730s.[49] Others assert that Latin maintained its role as the language of teaching in France until the middle of the eighteenth century and in Jesuit colleges until the expulsion of Jesuits from France in 1764,[50] but in any case it was losing its former influence. Institutions for the nobility were also replacing Latin with vernacular languages, inspired by the idea that teaching should be quick, practical, and more focused on professional skills. Latin authors were not excluded from studies, but they were progressively read in the native languages of pupils or in other vernacular languages. Vernaculars also facilitated the noble boys' access to the 'sciences' because Latin was considered to be a difficult language.[51]

Latin would return in the public education of the Russian nobility in the nineteenth century with the foundation of a network of 'gimnazii', secondary schools with a clear focus on classical languages. These schools would later become the only possible way to enter university studies which was a precondition for some public positions.[52] Latin would also be taught in the Lyceum

48 Бецкой, *Устав императорского шляхетного сухопутного кадетского корпуса*.

49 Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français*, 36.

50 Waquet, *Latin, or the Empire of a Sign*, 9.

51 See for example the programme of the proposed Academy of Richelieu in France: Le Gras, 'L'Académie Royale de Richelieu, à son Eminence'. I am grateful to Andrea Bruschi for this information.

52 Максимова, *Преподавание древних языков в русской классической гимназии*, 16-17.

in Tsarskoe Selo, a prestigious secondary school for noble boys. Alexander Pushkin, who studied in this school, was able to read Latin authors in the original. The focus on classical languages and on Latin in particular would be strengthened over the nineteenth century, a reaction of the government to the widespread trend of 'French' education which was considered as harmful, particularly in the wake of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

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Latin as the language of the orthodox clergy in eighteenth-century Russia[1]

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Abstract

The clergy in eighteenth-century Russia had experienced enormous changes over two or three generations adapting to a new post-Petrine reality. That is to say the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church remained committed en masse to the pre-Petrine culture, and it was they who were the main focus of the most radical measures of 'top-down' Europeanization. Sociocultural changes in the life and manners of the clergy have been studied repeatedly, but specialists have usually ignored the impact of these changes on the linguistic practices of the clergy. Church Slavonic, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French and German a little later, were all languages that had become irrelevant or gradually fallen into disuse among the clergy throughout the eighteenth century. Each of these languages was a symbol of a certain sociocultural type or lifestyle, a marker of the education received (or not), a sign of the family, career, and personal aspirations of the individual clergyman.

Keywords: church education, eighteenth-century Russia, Latin, Russian, Church Slavonic, Russian Orthodox Church

The clergy in eighteenth-century Russia experienced enormous changes over two or three generations adapting to a new post-Petrine reality. That is to say the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church remained

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committed en masse to the pre-Petrine culture, and it was they who were the main focus of the most radical measures of 'top-down' Europeanization. This consisted in the creation of a mandatory system of seminaries – public education, supported by regular 'appraisals' after which illiterate or half-illiterate clergy were drafted into the army or became peasants. Sociocultural changes in the life and manners of the clergy have been studied repeatedly, but specialists have usually ignored the impact of these changes on the linguistic practices of the clergy. Church Slavonic, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French and German a little later, were all languages that had become irrelevant or gradually fallen into disuse among the clergy throughout the eighteenth century. The same applies to the languages of the peoples intended for missionary activities: Tatar, Kyrgyz, Chuvash, Mongolian, and others. Each of these languages was a symbol of a certain sociocultural type or lifestyle, a marker of the education received (or not), a sign of the family, career, and personal aspirations of the individual clergyman.

My research considers how exactly the position and status of particular languages were changing among the clergy of central European Russia in different periods of the eighteenth century. This article focuses on the relationship between the various languages used for the education of the clergy: Russian, the mother tongue of the clergy; Church Slavonic which used to be the liturgical language as well as the literary language of pre-Petrine Russia; Greek, which was considered the 'model' language of Orthodox Christianity; and Latin which spread as the 'professional' and 'corporate' language of the clergy after Peter the Great's reforms. What changes happened within the Christian Orthodox Church after the reforms of Peter I? What was the status of Church Slavonic, Russian, and Greek prior to the Petrine reforms and what was the penetration of Latin in Russia at that time? What used to be its status in the early eighteenth century, and why could it overtake Greek so quickly as a 'school' language for clergymen and a language of church education? How were these changes in the languages' status related to the dissemination of regular clerical education, and what educational models were relevant to the children of the clergy in the eighteenth century? What was a 'Latin' clerical educational model like, and what was the status of the Russian and Church Slavonic languages in seminaries? To what extent was the clergy involved in the new 'Latin' model of education? How was Latin used in the private practice of the clergy, and what can we say about the clergy's attitude to Latin? These are the questions I will try to answer in this article.

The Orthodox Church in Russia before and after Peter the Great

The Petrine epoch has become pivotal in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. Prior to the Petrine reforms the Russian Church acted as a powerful financial and ideological organization which, in some situations, was almost beyond the control of the state. Since 1461 the metropolitan had been the head of the Orthodox Church, and from 1588 till 1700 he was the patriarch. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church was quite often actively involved in political opposition and possessed such power and authority that in some cases he could become a political competitor of the monarch; this was the case, for example, of Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century. Church property had been targeted by the state authorities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; attempts were made to limit the Church's power and impose state governance. The Church enjoyed huge privileges, while monasteries owned not only the lands but also the peasants working on them. Thus, in the sixteenth century the Church possessed one third of all privately owned lands. The Church had huge influence in book publishing: until the early eighteenth century the one and only permanent Russian printing house was Moscow Print Yard, which was a state organization. The Church, however, controlled a number of its fundamental activities: editing, the appointment of censors, the publication of liturgical books, etc.[2] Educational issues were also under the supervision of the Church: children were traditionally taught to read by church books 'from vergers', while schools of a higher level were established in the second half of the seventeenth century in Moscow, also under the control of the Patriarch.[3] The state was virtually unable to control the number of priests, of those in minor orders, or even the number of established monasteries and the number of people having taken vows or residing there as novices. Conflicts related to ideological and economic matters occurred from time to time between the priesthood (*sacerdotium*) and the tsardom (*imperium*) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Since the early seventeenth century, the tsars had sought actively to limit the financial, legal, and economic power of the Church. Although this trend had already begun under the grandfather and father of Peter I, the main and most radical changes are associated with his reign. The very principle of Church governance was changed too: after the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1700, no new patriarch was elected. Stefan Yavorsky, Metropolitan of

2 Поздеева *et al.*, *Московский печатный двор*, 130-131.

3 Фонкич, *Греко-славянские школы*; Рамазанова, *Братья Лихуды*.

Ryazan, was appointed as *locum tenens* (replacement), and the Holy Synod was established in 1721 as a collective governing body of Church affairs; it included the highest Church authorities (metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops). The property and legal status of the Church changed: following a number of reforms the Church was deprived of huge land holdings and in fact was increasingly transformed over time to become a Ministry of the Russian Empire. The number of priests was limited: while before Peter I there could be two priests per fifteen farm houses and rich churches could afford six and even eight priests,[4] in 1721-1722 a fixed ratio of priests and parishioners was set and regularly revised, while 'supernumerary' churchmen were reassigned to other estates (predominantly tax-paying) or drafted into the army.[5] The functions of monks were rethought. They were henceforth considered in terms of utility for the state; therefore the very possibility of taking vows was sharply restricted.[6] During the eighteenth century the clergy became a closed estate with its own hereditary duties and rights; the creation of a specific clerical education system played a fundamental role here.[7]

The languages of the Orthodox Church before Peter I: Church Slavonic, Russian, Greek

Church Slavonic was the language of the liturgy in the Orthodox Church. This language had been developing since the tenth and eleventh centuries from Old Slavonic, in constant interaction with the Old Russian language. The same language, in its different forms, was the literary language of Russia until the late seventeenth century. As a result, although Church Slavonic had a number of differences with Russian in grammar, vocabulary, and syntax, overall it was intuitively quite comprehensible for native speakers of Russian without any special training. By the early eighteenth century this language had all the formal attributes of both a literary language, and a 'professional' language of the Orthodox Church. There were recognized grammar descriptions and dictionaries with Greek and Latin parallels for Church Slavonic words, which brought Church Slavonic up to the level of

4 Кедров, *Духовный регламент*, 138.
5 Миронов, *Русский город*, 86, 142-143.
6 Кедров, *Духовный регламент,* 214.
7 Владимирский-Буданов, *Государство и народное образование*, 88-118.

classical languages; there were a number of manuscripts as well.[8] However, these sources were only known to a narrow community of intellectuals, as well as censors and editors related to the Moscow printing house. The bulk of the population learned to read with Church Slavonic texts and later on saw them only during liturgies.

As a result of the changed language situation under Peter I, Church Slavonic ceased to be the literary language of Russia. Since the early eighteenth century, a new type of literary language was beginning to take shape on the basis of Russian, already opposed to Church Slavonic; the latter kept its status as the language of the liturgy and sacred texts, and remained in the form of set phrases, quotations, and some words.[9] The most explicit sign of the separation of Church Slavonic and Russian was the Petrine alphabet reform of 1710, which visually separated the books written in both languages: from then on, church books in Church Slavonic had to be printed in Church Slavonic letters and secular books in Russian – in civil fonts.

The distinction between the Russian and Church Slavonic languages in spelling, grammar, and vocabulary was becoming an important point for secular society in terms of constructing the linguo-stylistic concepts which shaped the Russian literary language. In contrast to the secular, in Church discourse Russian and Church Slavonic were complementary as regards distribution until the late eighteenth century. The languages appear without distinction in the clerical documents where they are named 'Slovenian', 'Slavonic Russian', and 'Russian' and differ only in their use: Russian is used for speaking and reading secular books, Church Slavonic is used for holding services and reading church books. Even the mandatory teaching of reading secular letters in seminaries was highlighted separately by the Synod in 1783, motivated by the sustainable non-distinction between the Russian and the Church Slavonic languages: 'children of priests and minor orders in the eparchies[10] and students in seminaries initially are taught *reading Russian alphabet by ABC-books only in church* [Slavonic] *print*' (emphasis is mine – E.K.)[11]

8 *Грамматика* [*Grammar*, 1648], *Лексикон греко-славяно-латинский* [*Greek-Slav-Latin lexicon,* manuscript, 1664-1675], by Epifany Slavinetsky, *Славенская грамматика* [*Slavic grammar*, 1721, by Melety Smotritsky, ed. by Fedor Polikarpov], *Лексикон треязычный* [*Lexicon in three languages*] by Fedor Polikarpov (1704), etc.

9 Живов, *Язык и культура*, 125, 376-402; Кислова, *Проповедь 1740-х годов*, 33-52.

10 A province in the Orthodox Church.

11 'в епархиях священно- и церковнослужительские дети и в семинариях ученики при начале учения *чтению российской грамоты обучаются по азбукам одной церковной печати*'. Розанов, *История Московского епархиального управления*, 145.

By the end of the seventeenth century Greek played the role of a 'model' language for the Orthodox Church. Translations of Holy Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers had been made from Greek ever since the ninth century. Theological treatises, lives of the saints, historical writings, etc., were regularly translated from Greek, and Slavonic church books were corrected based on Greek texts. The Russian Orthodox Church used to have close relations with Greek metropolitans in the seventeenth century.[12] The Greeks played a leading role in establishing the first regular schools in Moscow in the seventeenth century: the Greek-Latin School of Arseny Greek in 1649, the Typography School in 1681, and the Bogoyavlenskaya (Epiphany) School in 1685. Greek was deemed to be the language uniting Russian Orthodox Christians with the Eastern patriarchates of Constantinople, Jerusalem, etc. Besides, the Church Slavonic language was regarded as being close to Greek in its grammar.[13]

At the same time, Greek in the seventeenth century was known only in the narrow circles of non-secular intellectuals. Greek language experts in Moscow were often natives of Kiev (such as Epiphany Slavinetsky) or born Greeks (the Likhud Brothers), which entailed the creation of regular schools with Greek taught first of all for clergymen and the future censors of the Print Yard.[14]

Thus, as far back as in the late seventeenth century, the Greek-Slavic model of clerical education was likely to become the main model for the clergy. The Likhud Brothers' Typography School was working successfully: many students of the Slavic schools were taught Church Slavonic, and some of them changed for the Greek school. The Greek model especially, with its emphasis on the Greek language, served as a basis for the Bogoyavlenskaya (Epiphany) school which gradually became the Slavic Greek Latin Academy.[15]

The attitude to Latin before the Petrine reforms

However, by the mid-eighteenth century Latin had already become the language of ecclesiastical education. How did this happen? Latin was quite a well-known language in Moscow and Russia around the seventeenth

12 Фонкич, *Греко-славянские школы*, 16-17.

13 Фонкич, *Греко-славянские школы*, 245; Кузьминова & Ремнёва, *Предисловие*.

14 Фонкич, *Греко-славянские школы,* 63, 143-160.

15 *Ibidem*; Рамазанова, *Братья Лихуды*.

century: translations were made from it and it was taught in the ambassadorial and pharmaceutical *prikazes* (ministries or offices).[16] Moscow Greek-Slavonic schools also taught Latin in some courses – predominantly rhetoric.[17] The perception of Latin varied from complete intolerance as a 'heretical' language – to the use of Latin texts for book censorship, broadly practised by the censors of the Moscow Print Yard, who were natives of Ukraine, and Russians who sympathized with them.[18] There was no unanimous rejection of Latin among clerics; their attitude can be characterized rather as the marker of belonging to different ideological and cultural currents. The language had become a symbol of theological and ideological disputes between 'Grecophiles' and 'Latinists' in the late seventeenth century, and a symbol of orientation towards an 'Orthodox' or 'Western' type of culture.

The attitude to Latin at the turn of the century was described by Fedor Polikarpov in the introductions to the *Three-Language Lexicon* (*Лексикон трязычный*) (1704). Greek was described as a 'reference' language of Orthodox Christianity and the Church; Church Slavonic was in the same position as the 'holy' Ancient Hebrew language, and Latin happened to be an international 'state' and 'secular' language: 'Latin is the language of undivided authority'[19] (fol. *в*) (*Imperia* – in the Latin version of the preface; and βασιλεία – in the Greek one). The spread of Latin in other countries especially justified its knowledge by educated Russians: 'now this dialect is being globally used more than others in civil and educational matters. It was also used in various sciences and arts necessary for human life. Many books were translated and composed in this language'[20] (fol. *s* v°). Therefore 'Latin education' appears to be quite logical for educational institutions, where children from all the estates of the realm could study, such as the Mohyla Academy in Kiev which was designed as – and remained for a long time – the Slavic Greek Latin Academy in Moscow.[21] But these institutions always remained under Church control. Private and government secular institutions (such as schools of the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University, the

16 Соболевский, *Переводная литература*; Цветаев, *Медики в Московской России*, 11-16, 20.

17 Фонкич, *Греко-славянкие школы*, 63, 168, 207; Рамазанова, *Братья Лихуды*, 181.

18 See Бобрик, *Представления о правильности*, 73-78.

19 'латинский язык есть язык единоначалствия'.

20 'ныне во кругу земному сей диалект паче иных во гражданских и школьных делех обносится. Такожде и о всяких науках и художествах ко человеческому жительству нужных, книги премноги с иных языков преведены, и вновь сочинены на сем языке обретаются.'

21 Рогов, *Новые данные*, 142-145.

Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg, etc.) had Latin in their curricula and students could study it, but its position and status were different.[22] In noble society hardly anyone recognized Latin as the key to accessing civic knowledge, this was the role of modern European languages (French and German); Latin was recognized as a professional language – the language of science, medicine, and the Church.

In ecclesiastical educational institutions Latin had displaced Greek by the end of the 1730s.[23] Only in the 1778 Synod and then in 1784, Catherine the Great in her edict imposed the compulsory teaching of Greek in seminaries. This decision was related rather to Catherine's Greek projects (the idea of conquering Constantinople and creating a Greek empire headed by her grandson Constantin),[24] than to the real need of the clergy for this language or to the interest in it on the part of seminary students. The edict of Catherine the Great required that graduates from the seminaries should be able not only to read and write in Greek but also to speak and translate it. In provincial seminaries, however, the teaching of Greek was often merely formal due to the lack of teachers, and its knowledge by the clergy generally unsatisfactory. For example, Greek had been a school subject in the Voronezh seminary since 1773, but by 1784 there were no experts there skilled enough to teach the subject, except for the hieromonk (priest-monk) Tranquillin who 'was recognized to be incapable of teaching due to his insobriety'.[25]

Why then did Latin banish Greek so quickly from the clerical education environment, and just after the blossoming of 'Greek literacy' in the first decade of the eighteenth century? The proliferation of Latin was hindered at that time by deeply rooted beliefs about its 'heretical' character, which 'distorted the content of Christian teaching'.[26] These beliefs were most loudly expressed in the Old Belief community, but were also characteristic to a certain extent of the public consciousness of the late seventeenth-century clergy. We cannot disregard confessional contradictions between orthodoxy and the fundamental texts of school theology based on which

22 See the article by Vladislav Rjéoutski in this volume.

23 *Описание документов и дел* [*Description of documents*], 616-620. Though Greek could figure nominally on the list of subjects in the seminaries when there were lecturers capable of teaching this language (Колосов, *История Тверской духовной семинарии*, 14-18).

24 Зорин, *Кормя двуглавого орла*, 33-45.

25 'признанного неспособным к учительской службе по своей нетрезвости'. Никольский, *История Воронежской семинарии*, 153.

26 'по своей природе искажающем содержание христианского учения'. Успенский, *Раскол*, 341.

it had been studied by the students of seminaries. Latin was perceived as a sheer waste of time due to its complete uselessness in the daily life of the vast majority of graduates from the seminaries serving in the villages, settlements, and small towns of Russia.[27] It could even be regarded as an obstacle to education because it could 'trouble the minds and thus damage the desire for further exercise in sciences'.[28]

However, despite all the affectation and impropriety of Latin education in Orthodox educational institutions, the 'Latin model' had spread everywhere as the basic model for the clergy by the middle of the eighteenth century. The success of Latin in ecclesiastical education is traditionally explained by the correlation of 'Latin literacy' with the Latinophile leanings of Peter I and his closest associates, particularly Feofan Prokopovich.[29] Latin was favoured by its common perception as a language of education and literacy in the secular society of the early eighteenth century, as well as an opportunity for contacts with the European clergy, regarded as important by Russian hierarchs even in the early nineteenth century.[30] Latin provided seminary students with an opportunity to migrate to a 'secular state' through medicine and science (Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1724) and later Moscow University (1755)),[31] as well as an opportunity to travel to European universities. The authority of the Kiev Academy (1632) also played an important role: its graduates, who were the majority among church hierarchs in the first half of the eighteenth century, perceived the educational model of the Academy as a 'benchmark' and deployed it automatically in the seminaries established in the central regions of Russia.[32] Baroque courses in poetics and rhetoric existed predominantly in Latin; courses in philosophy and theology were available only in Latin until almost the very end of the eighteenth century, and teaching these disciplines using the relevant textbooks and manuals of the eighteenth century required good language skills.

27 It was the practical uselessness of 'Latin education' for the ordinary (especially rural) clergy which used to be declared as reason for its reforms in the 1830s (Смолич, *История русской церкви*, 426-429). However, it should be noted that even under these circumstances the educated monkhood was trying by all means to protect the Latin model, which had become by that time a symbol of Church scholarship.

28 'умы утрудить и чрез то охоту к дальнейшему в науках упражнению попортить'. Колосов, *История Тверской духовной семинарии*, 148.

29 Живов, *Язык и культура*, 88.

30 Смирнов, *История Троицкой лаврской семинарии*, 340.

31 And in these spheres young clergymen could compete with the graduates of non-religious schools, because their proficiency in Latin was often better.

32 Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 117-121; Смолич, *История*, 392 *et seq*.

Historians of the nineteenth century and, relying on their studies, contemporary scholars considered 'Latin education' a synonym of the progress, Europeanization and enlightenment of the clerical community.[33] A negative assessment of Latin emerged only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it was related to confessional contradictions and the rejection of the eighteenth-century divinity school as 'Protestant' and alien to Orthodoxy. The post-Petrine educational model for the clergy was declared the reason for the elimination of the Church Slavonic and Russian languages, the spread of 'Latin-Protestant scholastics' and also the reason for the alienation of 'theological wisdom' (богословская ученость) from 'church experience' (церковный опыт).[34] Okenfuss explains the proliferation and further decline of 'Latin education' with the change of national groups of intellectuals. The 'Ukrainian humanists' were replaced by ethnic-Russian graduates of secular and clerical educational institutions.[35] However the national struggle in the eighteenth century could not shake the status of Latin as a universal, supranational, and non-denominational language of the clergy. Its decline is related to complex processes of sociocultural and sociolinguistic changes in Russian society and happened only after the reform of 1839.

The spread of the Latin rather than the Greek model can be explained also by the pragmatism of the Petrine epoch. Unlike Latin, Greek did not have any practical application beyond the quite narrow sphere of Black Sea and Balkan diplomacy, theology, and the translation of the Church Fathers' texts. Even in these areas, however, Latin was competing with Greek, for it was a universal diplomatic language and a language of theology.

Church Slavonic was all the more unable to compete with Latin as a teaching language, for it did not have any practical use apart from the publishing of church books.[36] As a result of the Petrine reforms it was preserved as a liturgical language; in the education of the children of the clergy it shifted to pre-seminary level and was reduced to the reading skills of the Psalter and *Horologion* (Book of Hours).

33 Смирнов, *Славяно-греко-латинская академия*, and *История Троицкой лаврской семинарии*; Чистович, *История Санкт-Петербургской духовной академии*; Титлинов, *Правительство Анны Иоанновны*, etc.

34 Флоровский, *Пути*.

35 Okenfuss, *The rise and fall*.

36 There is only one known attempt from the 1720s to create a model of clerical education based on Church Slavonic – 'grammatical learning' by Feodosy Yanovsky (Кислова, 'Языки русского духовенства'). However, it was not viable, since the complex Church Slavonic graphical and orthographic system based on grammatical categories seemed an obvious anachronism after the Petrine reform of the alphabet.

Thus, the choice of Latin as the language of instruction in seminaries might at first glance seem unexpected for the Orthodox clergy, yet it had been predefined by the logic of the times – Russia was focused on integration with European cultural and educational traditions. How was this model implemented?

Educational models for the children of the clergy in the eighteenth century

Prior to Peter the Great's reforms, the education of the children of the clergy was the responsibility of their fathers. Although there was no state system of school education for the clergy, the collection of judgments of the Great Council (*Stoglav* – The book of one hundred chapters – 1551) required the establishment of 'schools' for teaching the basics of reading and writing to all children, and the appointment of literate priests only as teachers.[37] Such 'schools' were established and functioned quite actively, yet they differed from our modern understanding of school education due to their irregularity, their optional character, their lack of a single unvarying curriculum and their leaning on tradition alone. Their main task was teaching children to read in Church Slavonic; therefore Church Slavonic books, notably a Primer, a Psalter, and a Book of Hours were used, and learned by heart.[38] Since Church Slavonic is quite close to Russian and relatively easy to understand, such teaching did not have to be supported by grammar, therefore grammar often meant graphical and orthographic descriptions – the application rules for different letters, reading rules for abbreviated words, etc.[39] Proficiency in writing was regarded as a higher skill, and it was taught separately. Some of these 'schools' could also teach arithmetic. Such a 'traditional model' was common among the peasant and Old Belief communities even in the early twentieth century.[40] There was no systematic or professional ecclesiastical education either at this or at any higher levels; studying various languages, reading theological works, etc., depended rather on the personal initiative of individuals.

37 Стоглав, *Д.Е. Кожанчикова*, 91-94.

38 Кравецкий, *Литургический язык*, 230-231; Миронов, *Социальная история*, I, 98-100. There was a parallel memorization of *Horologion* and Psalter 'by ear during sacred service'. Surprisingly, the knowing by heart of these two books did not necessarily involve the skills of reading any other texts fluently (Зольникова, *Сословные проблемы*, 122).

39 Кузьминова, *Типы бытования*.

40 Кравецкий & Плетнева, *История церковнославянского языка*, 26-30; Кравецкий, *Литургический язык*, 228-242; Успенский, *Старинная система*, 250, 263-267.

Since the seventeenth century, educational establishments of the new European type were deployed across future Ukrainian and Belorussian territories, being parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They made access to systematic education possible: they were for all estates of the realm and were modelled on Polish and western European *collegia* (especially Jesuit colleges).[41] Latin was widely used as the language of teaching; Polish was taught too, separately, based on the European system; Church Slavonic was taught with an emphasis on grammar.[42] Kiev Academy, founded by Petro Mohyla in 1632, was a model of such educational institutions by the end of the seventeenth century.

This late seventeenth-century educational model was extremely important for Russia, because church hierarchs of Ukrainian origin virtually headed the Russian Orthodox Church up until the mid-eighteenth century. Until the 1760s, 'Malorossy' (natives of the future Ukrainian and Belorussian territories, who graduated from *collegia* of the Ukraine) were holding positions of abbots, of confessors of Imperial family members, were teaching Great Russian students in seminaries, were church examiners, preachers, etc. Their influence can be explained by a number of reasons. The Ukrainian clergy, with no connections to the Russian population, without 'roots' or any support in Russia, was ideal for executing Peter the Great's will to reduce the influence of the Russian Church.[43] His distrust of the Russian clergy was important; he regarded it as 'unenlightened' compared with the Ukrainians who were proficient in Latin and acquainted with high ecclesiastical eloquence. Ukrainian hierarchs, considering themselves enlightened, rose to the upper echelons of the Orthodox Church in Russia and, prior to the Petrine reforms, often attempted to educate the local clergy by establishing schools on their territories modelled on 'Kiev schools'.[44] Teaching the international language of science, i.e. Latin, to the children of the clergy was the most vivid sign of the Enlightenment in their eyes and in those of secular society.

The 'Ecclesiastical order' of 1721 prescribed the establishment of diocesan schools meant to be primary educational establishments as opposed to the higher ones which were not yet supposed to be established seminaries

41 Посохова, *На перехресті культур,* 19-52; Сухова, *Духовные школы*, 4-16; Суториус, *Источники по истории*, 11-14.

42 Посохова, *На перехресті культур*, 64-65; Кузьминова & Ремнёва, *Предисловие*, 4-5.

43 Харлампович, *Малороссийское влияние*, 459-461.

44 Thus, as early as 1702-1705 there was a school in Rostov established by Dmitry, Metropolitan of Rostov, based on the western model, where Latin and Greek were taught along with Church Slavonic.

with the eight-year science course. Eight institutions of this kind were established in Russia by 1723: the Alexander Nevsky school in St. Petersburg, schools in Novgorod, Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Suzdal, Kolomna, Vyatka, and Kholmogory. The education in these schools was mostly limited to teaching within the 'traditional model'; however, some of these establishments started to teach Latin.

Already under Anne of Russia (r. 1730-1740), the basic education for the clergy had been raised to seminary level.[45] Old episcopal schools, where reading and writing in Russian and Church Slavonic were taught, were turned massively into seminaries with the introduction of Latin classes;[46] sometimes they were considered the primary stages ('Russian schools') of the newly established seminaries. Often they were simply closed, and the basic education of the children of the clergy became once more the responsibility of their parents.

After the mid-1730s the seminary became an exemplary educational establishment modelled on the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* and comprising the following range of classes: primary (grammar), secondary (poetics and rhetoric), and higher (philosophy and theology).[47] The success in establishing this type of educational institution was inevitably influenced by many factors: geographical proximity to the capital, the wealth of the diocese and the material security of the seminary, the possibility for fast delivery of textbooks from the capital cities, the level of education of the ruling bishops, their willingness to address seminary issues, etc. Gregory Freeze dates the settling of the Latin model in the 1760s.[48] However as early as 1739 Latin was present in most schools; it was absent from the school curriculum in only four dioceses: Ryazan, Suzdal, Tobolsk, and Irkutsk. Other eparchies had more or less successfully established Latin classes.[49]

The goal of the various types of primary classes (*fara*, *analogia*, *informatoria*) was to give basic knowledge to pupils. They usually taught illiterate children to read and write in Russian and Church Slavonic, and improved these skills in literate children. Talented pupils already began studying Latin grammar at this stage. After the primary classes Russian and Church Slavonic were not considered as teaching subjects any more.

45 Титлинов, *Правительство Анны Иоанновны*, 383.

46 *Ibidem*, 381-400.

47 Суториус, *Источники по истории*, 44, 56; Смолич, *История русской церкви*, 409.

48 Freeze, *The Russian Levites*, 94.

49 *Описание документов и дел*, 616-620.

These were followed by two grammar classes: the lower (the *grammar class* as such) and the higher (*syntaxima*), where Latin was taught more seriously. In these classes students were supposed to come to grips with Latin sufficiently to be able to study 'science' in this tongue alone.[50]

The primary classes of seminaries were inevitably bilingual, since Latin teaching had to be based on the native tongue. The classical textbook was the *Institutiones linguae Latinae* by Emmanuel Alvar, supplemented in the second half of the century by various Russian grammars, such as *Сокращение грамматики латинской, в пользу учащегося латинскому языку российского юношества* […] (Abridgement of Latin grammar for the benefit of Russian youths studying Latin […]) by Vasily Lebedev, *Латинская грамматика* (Latin grammar) by Nikolai Bantysh-Kamensky, and others. Handwritten textbooks, of which very few still exist, were used in the first half of the century.[51]

Students of the grammar classes studied Latin in more depth: they passed to more complex sections of Latin grammar, learned 'Latin vocables' (mostly common words) by heart, read relatively simple Latin and neo-Latin authors (Julius Caesar, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Aesop's and Phaedrus's fables, etc.), translated from Russian into Latin and back, and learned by heart exemplary dialogues in Latin by Renaissance authors: the *Colloquia Scholastica* by Maturinus Corderius, the *Colloquia* by Desiderius Erasmus, and the *Dialogorum sacrorum libri quatuor* by Sebastian Castellio. Students also started to compose Latin poems in preparation for the poetics class.[52] Teachers had to communicate with students mainly, and sometimes solely, in Latin. At the very end of the eighteenth century they could also study Russian grammar at the same time;[53] sometimes studying Russian grammar merely meant memorizing Latin grammar (e.g., that by Bantysh-Kamensky) – not only the Latin but also the Russian.[54]

The secondary classes – poetics and rhetoric – perfected their Latin skills. The poetics class was often regarded as an additional course within

50 Никольский, *История Воронежской семинарии*, 147-148; Агнцев, *История Рязанской духовной семинарии*, 114-115.

51 Rare example – Р. Заборовский, 'Трактаты окупаций домашних и ексерцицей школьных' [R. Zaborovsky, 'Treatises of home occupations and school exercises'], Russian National Library, St. Petersburg (RNB, Российская национальная библиотека), Manuscript Department, f. 577, d. 77, parallel Latin and Russian training texts of *infima*, grammar, *syntaxima* and poetics classes of the Moscow Slavic Greek Latin Academy, 1714-1716.

52 Надеждин, *История Владимирской духовной семинарии*, 104-105.

53 Надеждин, *История Владимирской духовной семинарии*, 105.

54 Агнцев, *История Рязанской духовной семинарии*, 114-115.

the rhetoric class; it could be reduced to one day a week or separated as an additional class for students 'good at versification'.[55] This class was often required to 'retain' students: the students who studied rhetoric had the right to become priests and they used this right until almost the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore the students could not go to the rhetoric class at too young an age.[56] Those who continued their studies in the poetics class received an opportunity to improve their general Latin skills by 'reading proper books'.

The issue of language choice in these classes was not considered relevant for a long time. Although a number of rhetorical writings in Russian/Church Slavonic were already available at the turn of the seventeenth century (works by Mikhail Usachev, Stefan Yavorsky, Georgy Danilevsky),[57] they were not common in seminaries, and the rhetoric course was regarded as exclusively Latin. Until the mid-eighteenth century, textbooks for these disciplines were mainly handwritten, containing both Latin theory and practical examples. The 'native language' of students could appear in rhetoric in the form of translated examples, illustrations of Latin tropes and figures, or even as additions to the main rhetoric text.[58] It was obviously the heritage of Polish and Ukrainian traditions.

Printed textbooks were spreading as early as in the second half of the century. These were predominantly in Latin: *Elementa oratoria* by Johannes Fridericus Burgius, *Rhetorica Ciceroniana* by Gabriel Franciscus Lejay, *Commentariorum rhetoricorum sive oratoriarum institutionum libri VI* by Gerardus Joannes Vossius (published as early as 1606), etc. The tradition of teaching 'rhetoric by Burgius' was the strongest: the Burgius textbook was published under the editorship of Nikolai Bantysh-Kamensky 'nunc vero juventutis rossicae revisa, aucta et emendata' ('now revised and corrected for Russian youth') in 1776 in the Moscow University publishing house and was in use until the 1830s.[59]

55 Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 444-445, 747-748.

56 Надеждин, *История Владимирской духовной семинарии*, 101.

57 Вомперский, *Риторики в России*.

58 E.g., *Praecepta de arte rhetorica* […], read by Parthenius, bishop of Kolomna, in Kolomna Seminary in 1761, do not contain any examples in Russian (Russian State Library, Moscow (RGB, Российская государственная библиотека), Manuscript Department, f. 173.1, d. 357). While *Archius Tullius junior's informer* (textbook of Moscow Academy 1706, RBN, Manuscript Department, f. 577, d. 70) and *Phaebus poeticus* (textbook of Moscow Academy 1748, RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 173.1, d. 529) contain separate examples in Russian and Polish.

59 The fact that Burgius was reprinted by the Synod publishing house in 1811 and 1823 proves the stable popularity of these textbooks. The textbook by Lejay (1730), recommended by the Commission on Common Schools in 1785 as the main book on this subject (Чистович, *История*

Handwritten 'student collections', widespread at the time, comprised their own and borrowed exemplary texts – excerpts, quotations, collections of facts, verses, speeches, sermons, plays, etc. It is telling that such collections contain fewer Latin texts than Russian: they had been compiled by students for further use in post-seminary life, mainly as a set of materials for the creation of their own sermons and congratulatory verses.[60]

Textbooks on poetics and rhetoric in Russian began to be more common in the second half of the eighteenth century. Despite the fact that the 'Rhetoric' by Mikhail Lomonosov was published in Russian in 1748 and was extremely popular in secular society, its distribution in seminaries dates only to the late 1770s, initially as a supplementary source to Latin textbooks.[61] In 1778 Amvrosy Serebrennikov's *Short guide to Russian oratory* (*Краткое руководство к оратории российской*) was introduced into the Trinity Seminary, but soon teaching switched back to the Latin rhetoric by Burgius.[62] At the end of the century, rhetoric could already be taught in Russian; for example, the *Rules of Higher Eloquence* by Mikhail Speransky (*Правила высшего красноречия*) were written for a course he was giving in Alexander Nevsky Seminary in 1792, but they were only published in 1844.[63] Even in the early nineteenth century the clergy preferred to publish their oratories in Latin.[64] The language was still a model for the clergy.

Санкт-Петербургской духовной академии, 77), was published in St. Petersburg in 1797. The Synod recommended substituting it for Burgius, but in vain (Знаменский, *Духовные школы в России*, 750). On the subject of the use of Burgius' textbook in seminaries in the nineteenth century see Freeze, *The parish clergy in nineteenth-century Russia,* 120-121.

60 For example, the training collection of the student of Moscow Academy Semyon Pavlov (RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 173.II, d. 49 – after 1779) contains his own training speeches in Russian and Latin with teachers' marks, an analysis of the sermons from *Собрания лучших сочинений* [*Collection of best works*] by Gavriil Petrov and Platon Levshin, a large collection of borrowed draft sermons from the 1750s, as well as two printed sermons – *Слово на погребение Петра Великого* [*Peter I funeral speech*] by Feofan Prokopovich (1725) and *Слово благодарственное в день пресечения заразительной болезни в Москве* [*Thanksgiving on the day of the suppression of contagious disease in Moscow*] by Aleksandr Levshinov (1772).

61 Смирнов, *Славяно-греко-латинская академия*, 302. Thus, only one copy of this book is specified in the inventory of the Trinity Seminary Library of acquisitions after 1761 (RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 171.1, d. 585, fol. 104v).

62 Смирнов, *История Троицкой лаврской семинарии*, 313.

63 Луковская, *Михаил Михайлович Сперанский*, 11-12.

64 *Rhetoricae sacrae de inventione argumentorum et moendis affectibus libri duo: conscripti in usum studiosorum Seminarii Petropolitani Alexandro-Nevensis* by Innokenty Dubravitsky (1790); a church eloquence textbook by Anastasy Bratanovsky *Tractatus de concionum dispositionibus formandis im usum juventutis, ad sacra Graeco-Russicae Ecclesiae munia ambienda formandae, adornatus* (1806) (Чистович, *История Санкт-Петербургской духовной академии*, 78-79).

Throughout the century, the seminaries used the classic works of Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, Titus Livy, Pliny the Elder, Sallust, Tacitus, and others, as educational texts for 'exercises and imitations'.[65] One of the popular neo-Latin authors was Marcus Antonius Muretus. Although works of 'the best Russian writers' (Lomonosov, Sumarokov, Derzhavin, etc.) were widely used in the second half of the century, it is worth pointing out the attitude to the texts in Russia: Ilya Minyaty's sermons in Russian translation were analysed in the Novgorod Seminary 'in a logical and rhetorical manner with an explanation of errors against the rules of eloquence'.[66] The latter were defined by Burgius' rhetoric.

Thus, Latin was still a model of eloquence in these courses; however, Russian was gradually gaining in importance during the whole of the eighteenth century. The increase in Russian material was caused by the need to compose speeches, sermons, and greetings not only in Latin, but also in other languages – and first of all in Russian. Latin gradually became a language of theory and model, and Russian a language of writing practice.

Not all educational establishments had higher classes (philosophy and theology) and only a minority of students continued their education there. They were 'professionally theological', and the teaching in these classes was only in Latin; for quite a long time it was, on principle, impossible to choose Russian there. Philosophy courses were initially designed with a focus on Aristotle; the ideas of Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, Wolff, and other European authors were used somewhat later.[67]

Theology was given in courses based on previous lecturers' courses.[68] In the first half of the century they were based on the traditions of school divinity and Thomas Aquinas; after the mid-1750s, on the 'system' of

65 Compare with the pupils of the Noble Cadet Corps, who acquired their classical heritage through French translations and volumes of quotations – see the article by Vladislav Rjéoutski in this volume.

66 RBN, Manuscript Department, f. 599, d. 209, fol. 93v.

67 Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 452. Since the 1760s the most popular basic writings were *Elementa Philosophiae recentioris* by Friedrich Christian Baumeister, supplemented by the philosophical treatises of Feofan Prokopovich and J.F. Budde (Buddeus), the physical works of Petrus van Musschenbroek, *Institutiones philosophiae Wolfianae utriusque contemplativae et activae usibus academicis accommodatae* by Johann Heinrich Winkler, *De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem* by Samuel von Pufendorf, passages from the history of philosophy *Historia critica philosophiae a mundiincunabulis ad nostram usque aetatem deducta* and *Institutiones historiae philosophicae usui Academicae iuventutis adornatae* by Johann Jacob Brucker, etc. (Надеждин, *История Владимирской духовной семинарии*, 102-103).

68 On the specifics of these training courses, their composition, textology, existence, and their reconstruction problem see Суториус, *Источники по истории*.

Feofan Prokopovich, who in turn was guided by Protestant (including Pietistic) theological treatises.[69] The Holy Scriptures and writings of the Fathers of the Church were read in class and interpreted with the help of Latin works by Andreas Osiander, Johannes Franciscus Buddeus, and Francis Turretin. In addition, the *Institutiones Hermeneuticae Sacrae* […] by Johannes Jacobus Rambachius, as well as the comments on the Bible by Antoine-Augustin Calmet in Latin translation, were used together with other works.

Despite the fact that there were attempts in some seminaries to give theology courses in Russian[70] – and there were even some theological treatises written in Russian[71] – they were not as widely read as those in Latin and were used in the seminaries in a specific way.

The idea of 'theology in Russian' appeared marginal to the educated clergy of Russia. Even in the second half of the century such writings were considered as scholarly theological narratives for secular individuals not proficient enough in Latin,[72] or as supplementary manuals for those seminary students who were not good enough in Latin – 'for the sake of human failure' (ради человеческой слабости). They could also be used as catechesis manuals for students and parishioners; in Ryazan Seminary the catechesis was directly called 'Russian theology' (русская богословия), apparently different from Latin 'theological sciences' (богословские науки).[73] It is worthy of note that in 1785 the Synod decided that there would be no rhetoric, philosophy, or theology textbooks in Russian, and recommended Latin textbooks as the basic ones for these subjects. These included Lejay for oratory, the *Institutiones philosophiae*

69 *Theologia didactico-polemica sive systema theologicum in duas sectiones didacticam et polemicam divisum* by Johann Andreas Quenstedt, *Examen theologiae acroamaticae* by David Hollatz, works of Johann Gerhard, Joachim Justus Breithaupt, *et al.* (Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 452-454, 760-761).

70 In 1759 in Kiev Academy, in 1768 and 1775 in Pskov Seminary, in 1764, 1768, and in the early 1780s in Tver Seminary.

71 *Orthodox confession* by Pyotr Mogila [Petro Mohyla] (translation into Church Slavonic, Moscow, 1684); *Orthodox teaching or the abridged Christian Theology* by Platon Levshin (Moscow, 1765 and later), *Reading guide for the Holy Books of the Old and New Testament* by Amvrosy Podobedov (first editions – Moscow, 1779, Kiev, 1781), *On true Christianity* by Tikhon Zadonsky (1776, published in St. Petersburg, 1785), *Teaching of the Eastern Orthodox Church, containing everything which a salvation-seeking Christian must know and do* by Makary Petrovich (published in St. Petersburg, 1778).

72 Thus, *Orthodox teaching* […] was written by Platon Levshin as a learning book for the heir to the throne Pavel Petrovich (1754-1801); though it was deemed mandatory for seminaries too, in some seminaries it was translated into Latin to be used in theology classes (Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 745).

73 Агнцев, *История Рязанской духовной семинарии*, 117.

Wolfianae by Johann Heinrich Winkler, *Christianae orthodoxae theologiae* by Feofan Prokopovich, and *Institutio theologiae elencticae* by Francis Turretin.[74]

Presumably, theological texts in Russian were opposed to those in Latin, as secular versions versus professional ones. It is not surprising therefore that theological works were written and published in Latin, although by Russian and Ukrainian authors, throughout the eighteenth century.[75]

Such a regard for Latin was caused by the lack of development of theological and philosophical styles in the Russian literary language, as well as a lack of adequate terminology to express essential ideas and thoughts. It is revealing that Samuil Mislavsky, describing the content of theology and philosophy as school subjects in his instruction *Мнение чему именно в какой школе и как обучать должно* (Opinion on what, in which school, and how it should be taught, 1763), instantly switched to Latin: 'On believers in particular I shall show the following. 1. de Deo ad intra, ubi de Dei essentia, existentia et attributis communibus, de personis […] [on God from the point of view of intrinsic properties: on essence, existence and general properties, on persons […]]'.

Obviously theological terms just did not have Russian equivalents:

> due to the fact that Theologia would be called dogmatico or didactico polemica […]. Canones or as per an ancient denomination axiomata cum variis distinctionibus, quae recentiori aetate maxime in rebus philosophicis adhibentur [axioms with various definitions, which have been used lately in the philosophical sphere], unless ordinary teaching would be an obstacle hereto, having collected from different authors, shall be copied and familiarized by pupils in their free time,[76]

and so on.

74 Чистович, *История Санкт-Петербургской духовной академии*, 78.

75 *Christianae, Orthodoxae, Dogmatico-polemicae Theologiae, olim a clarissimo viro Theophane Procopowicz eiusque continuatoribus adornatae* by Ireney Falkovsky (1782), *Compendium theologiae dogmatico-polemicae* by Iakinf Karpinsky (1786), *Compendium theologiae classicum didactico-polemicum, doctrinae orthodoxae christianae maxime consonum, per theoremata & quaestiones expositum* by Sylvestr Lebedinsky (St. Petersburg, 1799; Moscow, 1805), and others.

76 'В части о веруемых должен показать следующая. 1. de Deo ad intra, ubi de Dei essentia, existentia et attributis communibus, de personis […]', Голубев, 'Инструкция', 513; 'чрез что она Theologia назовется dogmatico или didastico polemica', *ibidem*, 515; 'Canones или по названию древному axiomata cum variis distinctionibus, quae recentiori aetate maxime in rebus philosophicis adhibentur, ежели не будет ординарное учение тому препятствием, собрав из разных авторов, велеть списывать и свободнаго времени ученикам внушать', *ibidem*, 516. From this point onward the author thanks A.E. Belikov for consulting and assisting in translation of Latin passages.

In the early nineteenth century philosophical and theological terminology was developing actively in the Russian language. However, the power of tradition was strong, and even in 1808 the draft reform of ecclesiastical education implied that the teaching of 'verbal sciences' (словесные науки) (rhetoric) in seminaries should be in Russian, whereas the teaching in the philosophy and theology classes should still be in Latin.[77]

'Natural' language (Russian and Church Slavonic) in seminaries

Despite the fact that the foundation edicts of seminaries often declared the teaching of Russian as one of their goals, in practice this task became the responsibility of fathers as early as the 1740s; they were obliged, under penalty of a fine, to teach their children reading and writing before matriculation to a seminary.[78]

Since the parish was actually a hereditary tenancy,[79] until the late eighteenth century the clergy without a seminary education were mainly taught according to the 'traditional model': reading, writing, divine service and church singing. 'Russian schools' under seminaries gave a slightly broader education in the second half of the century; they were also engaged in educating those who were absolutely incapable of learning Latin.[80]

Initially, in the 1720s the 'traditional model' was regarded by church hierarchs and secular society as forming illiterate and ignorant pupils.[81] However it was considered as appropriate at the initial stage of the dissemination of ecclesiastical education in diocesan schools; for example in

77 *Доклад*, 72-73.

78 There are rare cases of home teaching of Latin: e.g. a priest of the Kremlin Assumption Cathedral, the well-known preacher Stephan Levitsky witnessed in 1750 that his son Ivan, having been sent to the Slavic Greek Latin Academy, 'was proficient in Russian and Latin reading and writing' (обучен российскому и латинскому чтению и писанию) (RGB, f. 277, d. 2, fol. 20).

79 Матисон, *Православное духовенство*, 5-6.

80 See in detail: Kislova, ''Latin' and 'Slavonic' education'.

81 E.g., Feodosy Yanovsky opposed regular schools of 'grammarians' to teaching of children 'from ignoramus' (Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), f. 796, op. 4, d. 440); compared with clergy education assessments from foreigners: 'In the beginning of his [Peter's] reign [...] the clergy was much ruder than it used to be in Europe in the darkest years of Vatican rule [...] Those who could read and write, and were good in churching, possessed all the required qualities not only of a priest but of an archbishop [...]' (В начале его [Петра] царствования [...] духовенство было гораздо грубее, чем оно было в Европе в самые темные столетия папской власти [...] Кто мог читать и писать, да умел точно соблюдать церковные обряды, тот имел все нужные требования не только для священника, но даже и для архиерея) (Tregubov, *The religious life*, 184).

the 1720s, the teaching there was often based on a Primer, a Psalter, and a Book of Hours.[82]

In the 1730s, the State and the ruling archbishops began to consider 'traditional teaching' as the lower stage designed exclusively for the preparation of the children of the clergy for 'sciences' which had been taught in the seminaries in Latin[83] – and this situation remained until the early nineteenth century.

After being taught reading with a Primer, a Book of Hours, and a Psalter, the children of the clergy came across Church Slavonic mainly during regular visits for services in church. They also met it in the poetics and rhetoric classes, where they studied Church Statutes, and in the theology classes, where they studied Computus (the Paschal calendar), Kormchaia Book (ecclesiastical law), and, from 1776 onwards, *The Book on the Status of Parochial Elders*[84] (written in Russian but with multiple Church Slavonic words, and printed in Church Slavonic font). Holy Scripture and the writings of the Fathers in Church Slavonic were used increasingly for reading and interpreting by the end of the century (although Latin publications were also in use at that time). In this way seminary students achieved a passive knowledge of Church Slavonic. But ordinary eighteenth-century clergymen had almost no need to compose texts in this language: prayers and services were under the control of the Synod; sermons have switched to Russian by that time with rare intrusions of Church Slavonicisms,[85] and since 1776 an 'uneducated' priest or one incapable of composing a sermon could read sermons from the books written by Gavriil Petrov and Platon Levshin *Collection of Various Readings for All Sundays and Feast Days*.[86]

Russian was an auxiliary functional language in the seminary model: first it was necessary for pupils to study Latin; then it was needed to ensure that Latin was understood correctly, and could act as the second language in

82 Титлинов, *Правительство Анны Иоанновны*, 376-377; Князев, *Псковская семинария*, 5.

83 Thus, Alexey Pereslavsky, sending off the Synod's edict on establishment of schools under pontifical houses to his diocese, commented it as follows: 'we command: [...] that all priests and church vergers shall do their utmost to teach their children in their homes, or wherever possible, Russian language and grammar, and to prepare them for Latin learning which *Deo volente* shall be established in our pontifical house' ([...] повелеваем: [...] дабы все священники, и церковные причетники, как найприлежные, старались детей своих въ домах, или, где возможно, при церквах обучати на российском языке грамате, и приготовляли их к латинскому обучению, которых, как устроим, за божией помощию, при доме нашем архиерейском училища) (RGB, Manuscript Department, f. 138, d. 199, fol. 2v).

84 Парфений Сопковский, Георгий Конисский, *О должностях пресвитеров приходских*.

85 Живов, *Язык и культура*, 399-402; Кислова, *Проповедь 1740-х годов*, 33-52.

86 Платон Левшин & Гавриил Петров, *Собрание разных поучений на все воскресные и праздничные дни*.

practising translation – and in this role it sometimes became the responsibility of the seminary management.[87] Since sermon-making was a must for all students, they had to learn the principles of its composition in Russian, which entailed the wider distribution of Russian texts in seminaries.

Therefore, seminary students continued to master Church Slavonic, but they also developed their command of Russian. Because of their deeper immersion into the world of Church Slavonic texts, the 'uneducated' clergy could apprehend Church Slavonic even better than seminary students, yet they had neither rhetorical skills in Russian, nor knowledge of Latin.

Clerical school enrolment

At the turn of the century, the full science course was available only in the Kiev and Moscow Academies. In 1764 there were already 26 seminaries, and in the late eighteenth century, 4 academies (in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, and Kazan), and 46 seminaries, not including the diocesan primary schools.[88] Gregory Freeze gives the following data on the number of seminary students: in 1766 – 4673; in 1778 – 6012; in 1783 – 11,329; in 1796 – 16,951; in 1799 – 20,393; and in 1808 – 29,000.[89] However, it would be sufficient to point out that in 1744 for instance there were approximately 57,000 serving parochial urban and rural clergy in Russia.[90] Hence, till the late eighteenth century only a relatively small fraction of the children of the clergy had access to a 'Latin' seminary education, and even fewer of them could complete the full training program.

The concentration of educated clergymen was uneven across the dioceses, cities, and villages. For example, even in the 1750s and '60s the graduates of higher seminary classes in the Tobolsk Diocese were quite few in number;[91] in 1756 three higher classes of the Pskov Seminary were closed due to a lack of students 'until new recruitment' (до нового пополнения).[92] At the same time in Tver, where one of the best seminaries of Russia was located, only 2

87 It was prescribed in Ryazan and Saint Trinity seminaries to control the quality of pupils' translations (Агнцев, *История Рязанской духовной семинарии*, 115; Смирнов, *История Троицкой лаврской семинарии*, 310); Russian spelling and correctness of Church Slavonic reading were monitored in Voronezh (Никольский, *История Воронежской семинарии*, 168-170), correct Russian pronunciation was taught in South Russian seminaries and in the Alexander Nevsky Seminary (Чистович, *История Санкт-Петербургской духовной академии*, 126).

88 Смолич, *История*, 402, 395, 397.

89 Freeze, *The Russian Levites*, 88.

90 Миронов, *Русский город*, 143.

91 Зольникова, *Сословные проблемы*, 126-127.

92 Князев, *Псковская семинария*, 10-11.

out of 205 clergymen in the second half of the eighteenth century were 'not in schools' (не были в школах) (vicars and sextons); 18 graduated from primary classes, 39 from secondary, 82 from higher,[93] while individuals without a full seminary education were not allowed to hold the position of priest in Tver.

The notion of 'scholarship' was changing as well: in the middle of the century those who graduated from the rhetoric class, but did not study philosophy, were regarded as 'educated' clergy. At the end of the century only those who had completed the full seminary education were called 'educated', and those who had just graduated from rhetoric were put in the 'uneducated' category. The level of education of the clergy in the big cities was growing at the time too. For example, in 1775, 303 clergymen were attached to 295 churches in Moscow; only 108 of them were 'educated' (82 of them graduated from theology classes, and 26 from philosophy), yet already in 1811 there were 392 'educated' clergymen at 291 churches (388 graduates from theology classes, and four from philosophy) and another 270 were employed in district churches of the Moscow Diocese.[94]

It is important to note that 'literacy' and 'education' enabled the clergy to preserve their status in the course of regular appraisals and revisions which were conducted several times during the century. Thus, the appraisal of 1736-1738 was also organized with the purpose of replenishing the army with clergymen aged between 15 and 40. Only those who were on the staff of churches or studied in seminaries, could keep their positions.[95] Reading and/or writing skills acquired within the 'traditional model' could also help them to remain on the staff, yet this was an exception. Everything else being equal, staff positions had to be given to seminary graduates ('educated'). Given the need to reduce the estate of the clergy, upgrading its 'education' level seems quite logical. Viewed in this way, teaching in a foreign language in seminaries seems to be another element of rather strict selection, and the spread of this type of seminary precisely in the late 1730s corresponds to the goals of the state.

Latin as the 'professional' and 'corporate' language of the clergy

During the eighteenth century, Latin gradually became not only a 'professional', but also a 'corporate' language of the educated clergy, widely used

93 Матисон, *Православное духовенство*, 113-124.

94 Розанов, *История Московского епархиального управления*, 272-273.

95 Зольникова, *Сословные проблемы*, 30-31, 105-108.

even in private life. In general terms, relations between languages were as follows: official and business letters and personal letters of official character were written predominantly in Russian; rhetoric-type letters, whose goal was to demonstrate the author's wisdom (e.g. various congratulations of Church hierarchs), may also have been written in Latin and other languages (Greek, French, German). Personal, friendly, and expressly unofficial letters to near and dear ones were often written in Latin in the first half of the century, while by the second half they were drafted in Russian, but with many Latin insertions. For example, in the 1730s Feofan Prokopovich wrote congratulations to Illarion Rogalevsky 'on his arrival among his new congregation'[96] and a reprimand to 'the bishop of Ryazan' on behalf of Anne of Russia[97] in Russian, but he used Latin to reproach another correspondent who was close enough to him to ask for financial help: 'Your pleading committed to paper (I just wonder why not in Latin) overwhelmed me with a double grief [...]'.[98]

In 1768 Sylvester Krutitsky addressed his 'points' on the new draft constitution to Gavriil Petrov in Russian, but attached a private letter on it in Russian with plenty of Latin phrases:

> а молитва веры даст благодать и крепость во всяком деле блазе, ut experientia edocti tradidere Patres [как сообщают опытом наученные отцы]. в причислении к мещанству духовенства, de quo olim obiter et paucis [о чем прежде было сказано походя и немного], труда много, чтоб отстоять [...] а как духовные мещанских выгод по указам не имеют, и иметь правилами возбраняется, так и в тягостях общества соучастны быть или ex natura status sui [по природе своего положения] не могут, какова поставка рекрут в салдатство, складка рекрутская и прочая: или что и могут, vi facultatum suarum [по мере сил своих], от всего того по правилам и примеру всех веков церкви, да и самих иноверческих держав свободны [...].
>
> and prayer of faith would give benevolence and strength in any good deed, ut experientia edocti tradidere Patres [as experienced fathers say] [...] there are a lot of efforts to vindicate assigning clergy to the lower-middle class, de quo olim obiter et paucis [which was said casually and briefly],

96 *Письма Феофана Прокоповича*, 273.

97 Кислова, 'Письмо архиепископа Феофана Прокоповича', 33-43.

98 'Прошение твое, изложенное на бумаге (удивляюсь только, почему не на латыни), поразило меня двойным горем [...]'. Quoted from: *Письма Феофана Прокоповича*, 266.

> [...] and since clergymen don't have the benefits of the lower-middle class according to orders, and since rules forbade them to have any, they cannot be part of society cumbrances ex natura status sui [because of the nature of their position], such as recruitment as soldiers, recruitment pooling, and others: and if they happen to be part of any, vi facultatum suarum [as much as they are able], so they shall be exempt of all that by rules and model of all ages of the church, as well as of rules of heterodox powers [...].[99]

In 1778 Amvrosy Serebrennikov, as a teacher of Trinity Seminary, wrote flowery holiday greetings to Platon Levshin in Latin. He wrote another private letter in Russian about corrections which he had made on the advice of Platon, in his oratory planned for publication.[100] Such a combination of languages seems quite stable, although European languages, chiefly French, were becoming the unofficial means of communication of the highest clergy by the second half of the century.

Such 'corporate' language of the educated clergy provoked a negative reaction from secular society in the early nineteenth century. Thus in 1835 Count Nikolai Protasov (who in 1836 will become chief procurator of the Holy Synod), laying a number of claims against the clergy of previous epochs, mentioned among other things the special language of the clergy, as their 'own' language different from the common Russian and not clear to lay people:

> you are our teachers in faith. But we cannot understand you [...]. You don't have a vulgar tongue [...] You have invented a sort of a language for yourselves like physicians, mathematicians and sailors. It is impossible to apprehend you without interpreting. It is no good at all. Speak to us a language which we know, teach us the law of God in a manner that every peasant can understand you at once![101]

The students' attitude to Latin is very poorly presented in the sources: there were almost no personal texts of this kind left by clergy without a

99 RBN, Manuscript Department, f. 573, d. 415, fol. 204r-v°.

100 RBN, Manuscript Department, f. 573, d. 152, fols. 21v-23r.

101 'вы наши учителя в вере. Но мы вас не понимаем [...] У вас нет народного языка [...] Вы изобрели для себя какой-то свой язык, подобно медикам, математикам, морякам. Без толкования вас не поймешь. Это тоже не хорошо. Говорите с нами языком, нам понятным, поучайте закону Божию так, чтобы вас понимал с первого раза последний мужик!' Никодим Казанцев, *О Филарете*, 38.

complete seminary education. A rare example is a request from merchants' and bourgeois children to the Metropolitan Platon to organize teaching for them in Russian (1770), where 'many seminary students' are cited as an example of the negative impact of Latin on students. These seminary students 'being taught Latin and sciences suddenly felt bored, and therefore, having lost their willingness for learning, graduate after the proper exercise with insufficient skills of the desired kind'.[102] Indirect signs of an unwillingness to study Latin and resistance to Latin education were: the mass escape of students from seminaries, the unwillingness of parents to send children to seminaries, a significant surplus of pupils in 'Russian schools' and their decreasing numbers in the primary classes of 'Latin', etc.[103] But if the 'Russian school' provided an opportunity for a comprehensive 'practical' education, it had become a serious competitor for the seminary. The 'Russian school' under the Kazan Seminary in the early nineteenth century, for instance, had to be closed as a result, 'because [...] clergymen, instead of enrolling their children into the academy to make sure they would become exalted church ministers with time, enrol them in Russian classes'.[104]

Whenever we find the ideas of the representatives of clergy educated on the 'Latin model', we see what is considered to be the most significant distinctive feature of their estate, raising seminary graduates over the 'uneducated'. The most significant remark here would be Platon Levshin's opinion in 1800 concerning the proposal to deliver a theology course in Russian: 'I would not advise giving lectures in Russian in our school. Our clergymen are regarded by foreigners already as almost illiterate, unable to speak either French or German. Our honour is supported by the fact that we can speak and write Latin'.[105] Despite his multiple demands to pay attention to Russian in various seminary courses, Latin for him was a particular symbol of ecclesiastical education and of the literacy of the clergy in general.

102 'обучаясь латинскому языку и наукам, вдруг почувствовали в себе скуку и оттоле, лишась к наукам охоты, по довольном упражнении выходят не столь знающими, как бы желать должно'. Колосов, *Тверская семинария*, 148-149.

103 Знаменский, *Духовные школы*, 322-345.

104 'ибо [...] духовные, вместо того, чтобы записывать детей своих в академию для окончания академического курса, и тем сделать их со временем достойными служителями церкви, записывают их в русские классы'. Можаровский, *Казанская академия*, 45-46; see also Kislova, '"Latin" and "Slavonic" education'.

105 'чтоб на русском языке у нас в училище лекции преподавать, я не советую. Наши духовные и так от иностранцев почитаются почти неучеными, что ни по французски, ни по немецки говорить не умеем. Но еще нашу поддерживает честь, что мы говорим по-латыне и переписываемся'. Смирнов, *История Троицкой лаврской семинарии*, 340-341. While French, German, and Greek were all already taught in seminaries (see Kislova, 'Le français et l'allemand').

The report to the Synod by Arseny Matseevich, the Church hierarch who actively clamoured against the secularization of Church lands by Catherine the Great, is usually mentioned as the only example of the negative attitude of a hierarch towards Latin education. However, pointing out in his report the harm of a comprehensive seminary education based on the Latin model, he did not challenge its principal advantages:

> Schools and academies are truly needed, but in a proper way as it used to be in Greece and is now in the West, namely in noble locations, in capital cities, funded by the State. Such academies, where St. Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom studied [...] Likewise theological and philosophical academies shall not be in mud and swamps but in honourable regnant cities [...] And archbishops shall hold schools for clergy children supposed to become priests, to make them proficient in reading and understanding what they read. And such schools under archbishops should be only Russian, because neither Latin, nor any other languages are used in our churches for reading and singing, and for the sacred service, only Russian. These schools are still rather scarce, yet not abandoned, and future clergymen are properly taught and acquire reading skills there to be aware of the power of reading and their calling.[106]

As a matter of fact, Arseny Matseevich was returning to the ideas of Feodosy Yanovsky expressed in the Synod's edict in 1722: the goal of the comprehensive education of the clergy shall be the teaching of correct reading in Church Slavonic ('Russian') and a comprehension of what was read. But 'regnant cities' should have academies, where theological and philosophical subjects should be studied, i.e. educational institutions based on the Latin model.

106 'Нужны суть воистину и школы и академии, но надлежащим порядком, как издревле бывало в Греции, а теперь на Западе, сиречь, по местам знатным, в царствующих градех, на коште государственном, в каких академиях и св. Василий Великий, Григорий Богослов, Иоанн Златоуст училися [...] подобне и академиям богословским и философским и прочих наук не надлежит быть по грязям и болотам, но по знатным городам царствующим [...] А при архиереях быть школам нужным для священнеческих детей, к произведению в священство, дабы могли исправно читать и разуметь, что читают. И таковыя школы при архиереях не иные нужные, токмо Русскии, понеже в церквах у нас не по латыни, ниже другими иностранными языками читается, и поется, и служба Божия совершается, но по-русски, которые школы аще и крайнею скудостию, однако у нас не оставляются, и преходящии в священство довольно обучаются и отведываются в чтении, и дабы силу знали чтения и звания своего.' Попов, *Арсений Мацеевич*, 742-745.

Even in 1808 pointing out the disappearance of Greek and Slavic scholarship due to the dominance of Latin, the authors of the *Report of the Committee for the improvement of clerical schools* keep recommending the 'study of ancient languages and above all Greek and Latin' as a priority; only then did they recommend 'substantial learning of the Slavonic and Slavonic Russian language, the study of ancient history, especially holy and non-secular, studying the best examples of ecclesiastical literature and finally theology in all its aspects'.[107]

In this way Latin education acted as the main feature of a corporation as a whole (the spiritual estate), and within the corporation as a characteristic of the most educated part of it. Proficiency in Latin had virtually become the marker of an 'insider' in the community of hierarchs, as was a command of French in secular society. Latin was regarded as the equivalent of a noble honour – an 'honour' of the clergy distinguishing them from lay people. Another group of insiders were scholars and physicians, whose professional language was also Latin, and naturally there were many former clergymen among them. At the same time Latin was almost unknown in noble society and was taught very rarely in educational institutions for the nobility.[108] Latin in this system was left only for specific denominations and was regarded as the international language of scholarship, including theology.

We can assume that Latin as the basic teaching language was not rejected by the eighteenth-century clergy, because an ecclesiastical education was not considered as specifically professional (training especially Orthodox priests and monks), but rather as a wide humanitarian education, which would make the clergy true mentors for all the estates, including the educated nobility. This explains the introduction of French and German in the best seminaries.[109] In 1808 the idea was formulated as follows by the authors of the *Report of the Committee for the Improvement of Clerical Schools*: 'The main goal of establishing Clerical schools has initially been and still is the substantial and hard learning of subjects belonging to a clerical title: therefore all the disciplines taught in these schools shall belong to this type of teaching and discover its true sources everywhere'.[110] And Latin was the key to such an education in the eighteenth century.

107 'основательное познание языка славянского славяно-российского, изучение древней истории и особливо священной и церковной, познание лучших образцов духовной словесности и наконец учение богословское во всех его отделениях'. *Доклад*, 17-18.

108 See the article by Vladislav Rjéoutski in this volume.

109 Kislova, 'Le français et l'allemand'.

110 'Главная цель учреждения Духовных училищ первоначально состояла и ныне есть основательное и твердое учение предметов, к духовному званию принадлежащих: посему все науки, в училищах сих преподаваемые, должны относиться к сему роду учения и открывать во всем пространстве истинные его источники.' *Доклад*, 17.

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