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Magister Peregrinus et Discipuli Sinenses Latinitatis: A Personal Look at Latin and Teaching Latin in China

David Quentin Dauthier (杜大伟)

*“Salvete, omnes! Hodie, incipiemus discere...”*¹

This is how I usually begin my Latin classes, and each time I do, I feel a rush of excitement. Two of the greatest fascinations in this world for me are China and the ancient Mediterranean. Teaching one about the other has been my life’s work and privilege for the last 17 years, and I have enjoyed every single minute. Recently, I was asked if I might contribute a personal essay to this journal concerning my experiences and my views on teaching Latin in China, and what follows is my best attempt to share this very special part of my life.

Latin: My Personal Perspective

I don’t like to view Latin as simply a tool for understanding the Romans. That’s a bit short-sighted in my opinion. The thing that makes Latin very important, and indeed very beautiful, is the fact that, during the Roman Empire and for more than a thousand years after it fell, it gave the diverse peoples of Europe, separated both geographically and temporally, a common voice, a common way of explaining the world to each other.² In many cases, the writings produced by these peoples were not merely separated by hundreds of kilometers but by hundreds of years and despite the amount of time separating them, the student of Latin today has very little difficulty interacting with these texts due to Latin’s remarkable constancy.

Hold Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 AD – 1536 AD) in one hand and Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC – 46 BC) in the other, and one would have no difficulty moving from one Latin text to the next despite their having been written by

¹ Hello, everyone. Today, we will begin studying...”

² For an excellent book on the subject, see Jürgen Leonhardt’s *Latin: Story of a World Language*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013

men with 15 centuries standing between them. Compare that to English; for example, put *The Hobbit* (1937) and *Beowulf* (cir. 8th-11th Cent.) side-by-side. Both are in English, but without a considerable amount of training, one would scarcely even be able to recognize *Beowulf* as English, much less would one have the ability to move effortlessly from one text to the other even though they are in the same language and separated by roughly the same amount of time as our previously mentioned Latin texts.

Any long-established archive in Europe is a testament to the fact that Latin was not just the private property of a few ancient Romans. If one were to dig in these archives a mere 200 years into the past, one would be confronted by a mighty wall of Latin, impenetrable to the uninitiated.³ There is not a single field of scientific inquiry in Europe, having its foundations earlier than the 19th century, that did not have those foundations laid in Latin. Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Euler, Gauss all wrote in Latin! Their respective *De Revolutionibus* (1543), *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610), *Principia Mathematica* (1687), *Mechanica* (1736) and *Demonstratio Nova Theorematis* (1799) are among the most important scientific texts of the Renaissance and, indeed, of all history, and not one of them is directly accessible without high-level proficiency in Latin.

The language of Ancient Rome, though, was not just used in the sciences; it was also used by those who traveled far from their native lands during the Age of Exploration and the Renaissance. It was in Latin that they made their discoveries known to those remaining at home. Matteo Ricci, for example, and those like him who came to Ming Dynasty China and continued here throughout the Qing Dynasty and beyond, reported in Latin the many things they experienced here in China. Indeed, Latin was the medium through which we Westerners first became acquainted with the Chinese people and the unique ways in which they dealt with their world and with each other. The very name Confucius is after all the Latin name of 孔夫子.

It was through the book *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), the work of Jesuit priests Philippe Couplet and Prospero Intorcetta, that the Western world was made aware of the great philosophical traditions of China. It was through Latin that these seeds of Confucian thought found such fertile ground in the minds of people like Voltaire⁴ and Leibnitz. But it wasn't just Westerners making use of Latin.

³As a matter of fact, the National Archives of the United Kingdom offers an award-winning (and free) online course in Latin for those wishing to access the archive. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/latin/> (NB: It isn't Classical Latin.)

⁴ Speaking of Voltaire, I cannot resist to note here that, according to Joseph Lewis in his book *Voltaire: The Incomparable Infidel*, when Voltaire was asked about his childhood education with the Jesuits, he is said to have replied "that he learnt little besides Latin and nonsense." For an online edition, see: <http://www.positiveatheism.org/hist/lewis/lewvolt.htm>

As a matter of fact, it was 黄嘉略⁵ (Huáng Jiālüè), better known in the West as Arcadius Huang, who used Latin as a medium for teaching the West about the Chinese language. Although he died before its publication, and had his great work stolen by the thief and liar Etienne Fourmont,⁶ he wrote the foundations of what would become the *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae Hieroglyphicae Grammatica Duplex, Latine, et cum Characteribus Sinensium* (1742), one of the earliest books about the Chinese language to be published in Europe. So, you see, even our first Chinese lessons in Europe were taught in Latin!

Latin is, therefore, not merely a bridge between countries, like many modern languages are today. Latin was and is a language that bridges diverse cultures over vast oceans of both space and time. Marcus Tullius Cicero writes to us, through his many works, from Italy in the 1st century BC to tell us how to run a country and what happens when his advice is not followed.⁷ Isaac Newton writes to us from England in the late 17th century AD to tell us that “*Corpus omne perseverare in statu suo quiescendi vel movendi uniformiter in directum, nisi quatenus illud a viribus impressis cogitur statum suum mutare.*”⁸ Now, where in the world would we be without that bit of information? Arcadius Huang writes from Paris in the 18th century AD to inform us that “*homo* (est) 人; *equus*, 馬; *manus*, 手; *os*, 口; *aer*, 氣; *puer*, 子; *filius*, 兒.”⁹ Most relevant, to me at least, is this short sentence written to me just a couple of weeks ago in WeChat (微信), “*Hodie te invito ad cervisiam bibendam.*”¹⁰ An Ancient Roman 2000 years ago, an Englishman 400 years ago, a Chinese man 300 years ago, and my dear friend in Rome just recently all expressed themselves *to me* across space and time in the Eternal Language of Ancient Rome: Latin!

As I said in the beginning, Latin is more to me than just the language the Ancient Romans spoke. It is a living, breathing thing that still has the power to move and affect us. The Humez brothers, in their lovely little book *Latin for People: Latina pro Populo*,¹¹ said something about Latin and language that

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arcadio_Huang

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Étienne_Fourmont

⁷ See this wonderful book, which contains both English and Latin texts to find out just what Cicero had to say: *How to Run a Country: An Ancient Guide for Modern Leaders* by Marcus Tullius Cicero, selected, translated, and with an introduction by Philip Freeman, Princeton University Press, 2013

⁸ Newton’s 1st Law of Motion: “Every body perseveres in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a right line, unless it is compelled to change that state by forces impressed thereon.” For more information about the *Principia*, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophiæ_Naturalis_Principia_Mathematica

⁹ *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae Hieroglyphicae Grammatica Duplex, Latine, et cum Characteribus Sinensium* (1742), Liber Secundus, Sectio Prima, De Nominibus Sinicis.

¹⁰ Today, I’m inviting you to have a beer.

¹¹ *Latin for People: Latina pro Populo*, Alexander and Nicholas Humez, Little Brown and Company, 1976

really impressed me when I read their book in my mid-teens. They said, “In [our book] we sought to present the fundamentals of Classical Latin grammar together with some idea of the ways in which the language could actually be used as a tool for shaping reality. What else, after all, is a language for?” Wow! Latin is a tool for shaping reality? You’d better believe it. Reading that blew me away then, and it blows me away right now.

When I was a kid, there was a little poem that the ne'er-do-well children who hated studying Latin would recite. It went something like this: “Latin is a language, | as dead as dead can be. | First, it killed the Romans, | and now it’s killing me!” While I will not admit the general rule of that little piece of doggerel, I will say that it is evident to me that the language of the Romans has done more to “shape reality,” as the Humez brothers put it, than the Romans themselves did. And although the works of the Romans are rightly placed at the very center of any decently designed course of Latin, it is very important, I believe, to bear in mind that Latin outlived the Ancient Romans and continued to play a very important role for centuries and centuries long after their end—and in some quarters, it plays a role right up to the present day! If you ever feel the need to read the daily news in Latin, just have a look at *Ephemeris*, an online Latin newspaper.¹²

In summary, to my way of thinking, Latin is not just the language of Ancient Rome; it is much, much more than that. It is for most of us in the Western World a major part of our cultural heritage; it is the language of our ancestors’ hopes, songs, poems and prayers, and I think of it as such, and I teach it as such. For me, Latin is not simply a medium through which a Chinese student may learn about the Romans; it is, in fact—and perhaps more importantly, a means by which they may not *only* come to know the Romans but it is also a means by which they may come to understand us and themselves.

The Aim of Learning Latin: My Opinion

Whenever a student approaches to me with a request to learn Latin, I usually ask why. If a student only needs to know *about* Latin, as opposed to the language itself, I will usually recommend a relevant book or website where that student can get the necessary information quickly and efficiently. Likewise, if a student’s only interest is some vestige of the language, like the Latin phrases used in International Law, I will typically suggest a good glossary instead of learning the whole language. This may come as a surprise. Providing options for *not* studying Latin seems an odd activity for a Latin teacher, but learning a language like Latin requires a great deal of energy from both the student and teacher. It’s not for the light-hearted or uncommitted and, therefore, should not be taken lightly. If a student is not really interested in learning the language, it’s

¹² ephemeris.alcuinus.net

often best for the student to simply stay clear.

It may shock the unaware to discover that an average Latin verb has around 200 forms; a typical adjective, 36; a simple everyday noun, 12. Mastery of these things is a monumental task but elementary. With that basic step done, one is then expected to master the fine points of syntax and style, the intricate dance between form and meaning, and this, in and of itself, is quite a bit more difficult than handling the many inflected forms, which many introductory-level students seem to consider the most daunting task—until they venture beyond it. For me, there can be only one justification for such an extraordinary expenditure of effort, and it is not to achieve the mere ability to poke at the odd Latin phrase. The only justification, to my mind, for such an outlay of time and energy is to achieve the fluent ability to interact with the incredible body of literature that has been created using Latin, that body of literature that spans the ages from the foundations of Ancient Rome to the present day!

Of course, I am a realist, and I understand that many students are just not interested in going that far with the language. Some simply need to fill a certain requirement, and two terms of Latin will do the trick. Others are interested in what we might call “Latin for Special Purposes”—they might only be interested in reading the Latin Bible or reading a particular author or even a particular text, so they may wish only to focus their energy on that, and they couldn’t care less about what color robe Trimalchio’s doorman wore in the *Satyricon*.¹³ I can understand. I’m sympathetic. I get it!

However, when it comes to course design and to determining what the student should achieve by the end of a particular course, I maintain that the best approach is to prepare the student for the next step that ultimately leads toward full mastery of the language. If, for example, I were to design an introductory course, it would be very important for me to ask this question when choosing a book or deciding how much of a particular book to cover in the space of a term: how much closer will this course move the student toward fluency in reading the classics? If the answer is “nowhere near it!” Then, I would go back to the drawing board. If the answer is “a quarter of the way,” then I think that is acceptable. In my opinion, a well-planned, two-year course is just about what is required to get a student to a place in their knowledge of Latin grammar and vocabulary where they will have achieved an ability to deal with authors of both the Golden and Silver Age of Latin literature.¹⁴

That said, the modern day 方便面-just-add-water-and-don’t-think-about-it

¹³ For the curious: In aditu autem ipso stabat ostiarius prasinatus, cerasino succinctus cingulo, ... In the entrance itself, a doorman stood, dressed in leek-green, wearing a cherry-red belt, ...

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Classical_Latin#Authors_of_the_Golden_Age

approach to education makes it very difficult to teach any subject comprehensively with a view toward full mastery. Our contact hours are often limited; term lengths are often short. Not to mention the fact that students' attention spans aren't exactly what they used to be. Combine all this, and you get an environment that is not so amicable toward the teaching and acquisition of a classical language. It is tempting in this environment to dumb things down a bit: make the tests easier, make the course content lighter, give the students ever higher grades for ever lower achievements. Don't think for a second that this hasn't crossed my mind.

Nevertheless, I hold myself to this standard though it is often very difficult to do so; here is the question I ask; this is how I judge my work: Are the students, who have reached the end of my two-year Latin course, able to read authentic Latin texts by sight without relying too heavily on a dictionary? If the answer is yes, then I have achieved my goal. If the answer is no, then I have to double my efforts. There were a few years in the beginning of my career when I didn't reach the mark, but now I can say that if a student is willing to dedicate the time and study diligently the things I require, then that student will be able to reach this level of proficiency by the end of two years.

That said, most of my students are only interested in a one-year study. They are satisfied with a complete introduction to the grammar and an opportunity to gain a sizeable vocabulary—whether or not that seize that opportunity is another question. When the course is done, they take this knowledge with them along with a fond memory of the texts we covered in class. A few continue building on this foundation in their spare time, and many I would expect, as the years pass, forget the Latin they once knew. Nevertheless, it is not for me to ponder what students eventually do with their Latin. It is my place to make sure that I have provided each and every student the opportunity to reach the ultimate end: mind to mind contact with those who wrote their thoughts throughout the ages in *Lingua Latina*.

Teaching Latin

I have been very fortunate when it comes to Latin students. Since my Latin courses are electives, no one is ever there because they have to be. This means that the student is motivated from the outset for a number of personal reasons; in other words, they come equipped with that most desired of attributes: *intrinsic motivation*. In the early days, I experimented with a number of different books, but in the end, I settled on a series created by Danish educator Hans Ørberg. This series is called *Lingua Latina per se Illustrata*.¹⁵ It comes in two parts: *Familia Romana* and *Roma Aeterna*. In this final section of my essay,

¹⁵ *Lingua Latina per se Illustrata, Pars I: Familia Romana*, Domus Latina, 2003; *Pars II: Roma Aeterna*, Domus Latina, 2003 (Edizioni Accademia Vivarium Novum) ISBN 978-88-95611-46-4, ISBN 978-88-95611-48-8, respectively.

I would like to discuss these materials, and also I would like to offer a few thoughts on the classroom.

I have nothing against traditional textbooks, but I will twist a line of Shakespeare to express my general feeling. The line comes to us originally from no less a person than Marcus Iunius Brutus himself, but I will say this “it is not that I love traditional textbooks less, it is that I love Ørberg’s books more.”¹⁶ The reason I love Ørberg more is that unlike traditional books, he espouses what can be called a modified natural approach. The book contains only Latin, and the first book in the series begins with very simple sentences that the student can be coaxed into understanding via pictures and context. The meaning and function of words can be guessed by the student through a process which Hans Ørberg called *contextual induction*.

Because the book is in Latin only, and the student is encouraged to understand the text in Latin without much recourse to translation. The Ørberg books are ideal for not only teaching the student to read Latin but to speak and write it as well. Be that as it may, most teachers, and I am no different, mainly use Ørberg as a reader and make reading the main focus of their course. I will however say something more about speaking Latin later on, but first let me give you an idea of how the book works.

In the very first chapter of the first book, the student reads a continuous text in Latin of about 1000 words constructed from a vocabulary of approximately 42 basic words along with another 25 or 30 proper nouns to supplement. In that chapter, from the point of view of grammar, the student learns something about singular and plural, antonyms of several words, adjectives and substantives, interrogatives: *num* and *quid*, a few numbers, including *mille*, and a few points of Latin style. Also, by the end, the student can answer in Latin several basic questions asked in Latin concerning the text. Not too bad for the very first hour and a half of Latin study.

The first book progresses in this way through 35 chapters. Along the way, the student learns all of Latin grammar, about 1800 words of essential vocabulary and is introduced to small amounts of authentic Latin, particularly in the form of poetry. The second book, *Roma Aeterna*, is a seamless continuation of the first book (book 1 ends at chapter 35; book 2 begins at 36). In the second book, the student is introduced to the Latin language in all its glory: in the first chapter, the student reads 20 pages of Latin that gives a beautiful description and explanation of *Roma Aeterna*. Here are the section headings: *Palatium et*

¹⁶ Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 2, Brutus, trying to explain his simultaneous love for and assassination of Caesar, says, “If there is any in this assembly, any dear friend of Caesar’s, to him I say, that Brutus’ love to Caesar was no less than his. If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Caesar, this is my answer: Not that I loved Caesar less, but that I loved Rome more. Had you rather that Caesar were living and die all slaves, than that Caesar were dead, to live all free men?”

Capitolium, Forum Romanum, Urbs Marmorea, Urbis Incendium et domus aurea Neronis, Imperatores Flavii, Trianus et Hadrianus, Orbis caput. Once this chapter is done, the student is expected to work through several exercises to cement comprehension and usage. Here are a few of the review questions that the student is then able to answer in Latin:

| | |
|--|---|
| Num homines pauperes in Palatio habitant? | Poor people don't live on the Palatine hill, do they? |
| Quis templum Iovis Capitolini aedificavit? | Who built the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus? |
| Templumne Iovis a rege dedicatum est? | Was the temple dedicated by a king? |
| Quid facit imperator post triumphum? | What did a commander do after a triumph? |
| Quid significat ignis Vestae? | What did the fire of Vesta signify? |
| Quid est negotium sacerdotum? | What is the job of a priest? |
| Quot senatores in senatu Romano sunt? | How many senators are there in the Roman Senate? |
| Quis fuit M. Tullius Cicero? | Who was Marcus Tullius Cicero? |
| Ubi C. Iulius Caesar necatus est? | Where was Gaius Iulius Caesar killed? |
| Cur Caesar Divus Iulius appellatur? | Why was Julius Caesar called divine? |
| Ubi templum Divi Iulii aedificatum est? | Where was the temple of Divine Caesar built? |

As you can see from these few questions, the student not only learns Latin with Ørberg. History, culture and ancient geography are covered as well, but that is just a warm-up for book II. Over the next four chapters, we are treated to a 55-page selection of a prose version of Vergil's *Aeneid* (the student also reads a few hundred verses of the original poem). Once that is done, the student begins a careful reading of authentic Latin texts selected from Golden and Silver Age Latin literature. The list of authors is as follows: Livius, Ovid, Cicero, Eutropius, A. Gellius, Cornelius Nepos, Sallustius and Horatius. One of the main functions of the second book is vocabulary acquisition; the student enters book two with approximately 1800 words and leaves it with around 5000.

In addition to the two main Ørberg texts, there are a great many supplementary texts available which the student may read independently as a way of gaining more experience with Latin and additional vocabulary. Here are a few titles: Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Cicero's *Orations against Cataline*, *Roman Fables*, Ovid's *Art of Love*, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, Plautus' *Amphitryo*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, books 1 – 4; additionally, there are a number of supplements edited and written by Luigi Miraglia that are also to be used alongside Ørberg's original work: Lhomond's *Epitome Historia Sacrae* and *Fabulae Syrae* (a modern telling of ancient Greek and Roman myths in Latin). With Ørberg, very little is

left wanting in the early development of the Latin student. However, I have from time to time chosen to introduce my favorite writer Seneca the Younger.

By the time the student is in the early stages of *Roma Aeterna*, a writer such as Seneca is well within the students grasp, particularly his *Letters*. A few years ago, when we were reading Seneca's letters to his friend Lucilius, one of the students commented that it felt like we were reading someone's private mail. I very much enjoy seeing the effect that Seneca has on students in today's consumer society when he or she reads lines like these:

Non puto pauperem, cui quantulumcumque superest, sat est.
I do not consider a man poor when whatever little he has is enough for him.

Non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est.
It is not the one who has too little, but the one who desires too much, who is poor.

Quis sit divitiarum modus, quaeris? Primus habere quod necesse est, proximus quod sat est.
You ask what are the limits of wealth. First, it is to have what is needed and, second, to have what is enough.

Plerique inter mortis metum et vitae tormenta miseri fluctuantur et vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt.
Most people bounce between the fear of death and the torments of life; they are unwilling to live, and they don't know how to die.

Ferae pericula, quae vident, fugiunt; cum effugere, securae sunt; nos et venturo torquemur et praeterito.
Wild animals run from the dangers they see, and when they have escaped them, they are safe, but we torture ourselves over the dangers that are to come and those which have already passed.

Non est beatus, esse se qui non putat.
He is not blessed who does not think himself to be.

I do believe I could fill a book with the wit and wisdom of Seneca, but I take great joy in watching my students drink from and fill themselves at his well, but not just Seneca. I enjoy watching students move through the chapters, gaining Latin skills along the way: vocabulary and grammar. I am immensely delighted when students begin asking questions in Latin to clarify things they don't understand. Of course, these days, if you can string together three sentences of conversational Latin without doing major violence to the subjunctive mood, you are judged to be practically Caesar, as the bard says,

“come hot from hell,”¹⁷ but I don’t think it has to be like that.

Being able to lead a class and teach a class using simple Latin is not such a difficult thing as long as one is not afraid of making a mistake. In this regard, I’m rather shameless. I don’t see how the world will end if I make a mistake in grammar whilst speaking a sentence in class. I’m deeply pleased when in such a situation, I am corrected by a student! The thing that runs through my mind at that moment is “well done!” Of course, I’m not only congratulating the student, but I am congratulating myself. That student who just corrected me, didn’t know a single bit of Latin just several weeks or months ago. I did that. I take great pride in my work and my students’ accomplishments. It is, I believe, every teacher’s dream that they be surpassed by their students—Well, at least it’s mine.

In Summary

I sometimes take offense when someone says that Latin is dead. I can’t imagine a thing less dead than *Lingua Latina*. It certainly doesn’t seem dead since we are still using it, and the fact that it has literally been in continuous use for the last 2500 years would seem to present a problem to those who claim it dead. I have told you that to me Latin is more than just the words and deeds of the Ancient Romans; it outlived them. My work, as I see it, is to open my students minds to this glorious 2500-year-old stream of thought expressed in Latin and give them the ability to interact with it, and perhaps add to it, and to present them the opportunity to fall in love with it as I have. It is in this task that I hope to spend the rest of my life.

Vale.

¹⁷ William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 1, puts these words in Mark Antony’s mouth: “And Caesar’s spirit, raging for revenge, with Atë by his side come hot from Hell, Shall in these confines with a monarch’s voice Cry ‘Havoc!’ and let slip the dogs of war,…”

拉丁文苑（拉中对刊）

Seneca 论幸福生活

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题解：Seneca 对话集旨在探讨财富、个人生活风格，论点是美德是通往幸福的真正道路。论幸福生活为卷七，共计 28 章，创作于公元 58 年或稍早。

De vita beata 论幸福生活

I

1. Viuere, Gallio frater, omnes beate uolunt, sed ad peruidendum quid sit quod beatam uitam efficiat caligant; adeoque non est facile consequi beatam uitam ut eo quisque ab ea longius recedat quo ad illam concitatus fertur, si uia lapsus est; quae ubi in contrarium ducit, ipsa uelocitas maioris interualli causa fit.

Proponendum est itaque primum quid sit quod adpetamus; tunc circumspectum qua contendere illo celerrime possimus, intellecturi in ipso itinere, si modo rectum erit, quantum cotidie profligetur quantoque propius ab eo simus ad quod nos cupiditas naturalis inpellit.

1. 噶利欧兄弟，所有人都想幸福地生活，然而对于看清楚是什么创造了幸福的生活，他们却

处于迷雾之中。获得幸福的生活如此之难，以至于每个人——如果他在路线上犯了错误——越是急切地走向它，他离它也就越遥远。如果那条路通往相反的方向，速度本身将会成为更大距离的原因。

因此，首先把我们追求的目标放在面前，然后环顾四周，看看经由哪一条路我们能够尽快赶往那里。正是在路上，只要它是正确的，我们会明白每天进展了多少，离本性的欲求驱使我们前往的目的地又近了多么。

2. Quam diu quidem passim uagamur non ducem secuti sed fremitum et clamorem dissonum in diuersa uocantium, conteretur uita inter errores, breuis etiam si dies noctesque bonae menti laboremus. Decernatur itaque et quo tendamus et qua, non sine perito aliquo cui explorata sint ea in quae procedimus, quoniam quidem non eadem hic quae in ceteris peregrinationibus condicio est: in illis comprehensus aliquis limes et interrogati incolae non patiuntur errare, at hic tritissima quaeque uia et celeberrima maxime decipit.

2 诚然，当我们东溜西逛，不追随领路人，而是（听从）那些呼唤我们前往不同方向的人的嘈杂的呼喊和喧哗时，生命将在歧途上消磨殆尽；（这生命）是短暂的，即使我们日夜操劳以图（获得）善好的心灵。因此，我们必须确定我们的方向和途径，而且不能没有一位有经验的、探索过我们所前往的领域的人（作为向导）。因为这里的条件和其他旅途不尽相同：在那些旅途中，有标记好的路线，还有可以咨询的当地居民，不让我们走错；但是在这里，正是最常走、最热闹的路最具有欺骗性。

3. Nihil ergo magis praestandum est quam ne pecorum ritu sequamur antecedentium gregem, pergentes non quo eundum est sed quo itur. Atqui nulla res nos maioribus malis implicat quam quod ad rumorem componimur, optima rati ea quae magno adsensu recepta sunt, quodque exempla <nobis pro> bonis multa sunt nec ad rationem sed ad similitudinem uiuimus.

3 因此，没有什么比这一点更需要得到保证：我们不能像羊群那样追随先行的群体，不朝着当去之处，而朝着（众人）所去之处前行。然而（和以下这种行为相比），没有任何行为能把我们引入更大的败坏，（那就是）按照传闻行事，认为最好的就是那些（受到）热烈欢迎而被接受的事物，并且用许多的先例代替良好的范例，不根据理智【ratio】却通过模仿来生活。

4. Inde ista tanta coaceruatio aliorum super alios ruentium. Quod in strage hominum magna euenit, cum ipse se populus premit — nemo ita cadit ut non et alium in se adtrahat, primique exitio sequentibus sunt — hoc in omni uita accidere uideas licet. Nemo sibi tantummodo errat, sed alieni erroris et causa et auctor est; nocet enim adplicari antecedentibus et, dum unusquisque mauult credere quam iudicare, numquam de uita iudicatur, semper creditur, uersatque nos et praecipitat traditus per manus error. Alienis perimus exemplis: sanabimur, [si] separemur modo a coetu.

4 因此一些人摔倒在另一些人身上，（摞成）那如此大的一堆。当人堆彻底崩塌，人群自相压踏时发生的事，——没有哪个人在（自己）跌倒时不把另一个人也带倒在自己身上，前面的人导致了其追随者的覆灭——这在生活中也到处可见。没有人犯错误仅仅（影响）自己，而且他也是其他人错误的原因和始作俑者。因为效法前人是有害的，而且，当每一个人都宁愿轻信而非判断时，那么关于生活就从来没有判断，而常常（只有）轻信；而手手相传的错误把我们转来转去并掀翻在地。因为（盲从）他人的先例，我们走向毁灭，我们将会得到治疗，只要我们脱离众人。

5. Nunc uero stat contra rationem defensor mali sui populus. Itaque id euenit quod in comitiis, in quibus eos factos esse praetores idem qui fecere mirantur, cum se mobilis fauor circumegit: eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus; hic exitus est omnis iudicii in quo secundum plures datur.

5 但现在，民众站在理性的对立面，捍卫着对自己有害的（事物）【mali sui】。因此出现了选举中的那种情况：选出了大法官的同一群人在反复无常的喜好发生转变之后，却对大法官

的当选感到吃惊。同样的东西我们赞成，同样的东西我们非难。这是每一个根据多数人而给出的判断的结局。

II.

1. Cum de beata uita agetur, non est quod mihi illud discessionum more respondeas: 'haec pars maior esse uidetur.' Ideo enim peior est. Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum pessimi turba est.

1 当问题涉及幸福生活时，你不可以以分立表决的方式回答我：“这派人看起来更多。”正因为如此，这是更坏的一派。人类事务【res humana】并没有安排得那么好，以至于更好的东西取悦更多的人。大众是最坏之物的明证。

2. Quaeramus ergo quid optimum factu sit, non quid usitatissimum, et quid nos in possessione felicitatis aeternae constituat, non quid uulgo, ueritatis pessimo interpreti, probatum sit.

2 因此，让我们探究什么事做起来最好，而非什么事（大家）最常做，以及什么事使我们拥有永恒的幸福，而非什么事得到群众——真理最坏的阐释者——的赞同。

Vulgum autem tam chlamydatus quam coronatus uoco;

但是，我称为群众的既有那些穿着袍子的，也有那些带着冠冕的，

non enim colorem uestium quibus praetexta sunt corpora aspicio.

因为我并不关注装扮身体的衣服的颜色。

Oculis de homine non credo,

关于人，我不相信肉眼，

habeo melius et certius lumen quo a falsis uera diiudicem:

我有一种更好、更可靠的视力来分辨真假：

animi bonum animus inueniat.

让灵魂来发现对灵魂有益的（事物）。

Hic, si umquam respirare illi et recedere in se uacauerit,

这（灵魂）——如果它在任何时候有空闲歇一口气、回到自身——

o quam sibi ipse uerum tortus a se fatebitur ac dicet:

哦，（它）被自己折磨着，将怎样对自己坦白真相，说：

3. 'quidquid feci adhuc infectum esse mallet,

3 “一切我至今所做的，我宁愿没有做；

quidquid dixi cum recogito, mutis inuideo,

一切我以前所说的，当我再次想起时，就嫉妒哑巴；

quidquid optaui inimicorum execrationem puto,

一切我以前所想要的，我视之为仇敌的诅咒，

quidquid timui, di boni, quanto leuius fuit quam quod concupii!

一切我以前所畏惧的，善好的诸神啊，比起我以前所欲求的，是多么无足轻重！

Cum multis inimicitias gessi et in gratiam ex odio, si modo ulla inter malos

gratia est, redii: mihi ipsi nondum amicus sum.

我曾与许多人为敌，又从怨怼回到友谊——如果恶人之间也存在任何友谊的话；（然而）和自己我还没有友好相处。

Omnem operam dedi ut me multitudini educerem et aliqua dote notabilem

facerem: quid aliud quam telis me opposui et maleuolentiae quod morderet

ostendi?

我曾倾尽全力让自己出类拔萃并且靠着某种天资声名远扬；（然而）除了让自己成为众矢之的并为（那些怀有）恶意（的人）指明能刺痛（我）的地方以外，我又得到了什么呢？

4. Vides istos qui eloquentiam laudant, qui opes sequuntur, qui gratiae

adulantur, qui potentiam extollunt?

4 你看见那些赞美（有）口才（者），追捧（有）财富（者），奉承（有）影响（者）以及

吹嘘（有）权力（者）的人了吗？

omnes aut sunt hostes aut, quod in aequo est, esse possunt; quam magnus mirantium tam magnus invidentium populus est.

他们所有人，要么是敌人，要么——这是一样的——可能成为敌人。有多少人仰慕（你），就有多少人妒恨（你）。

Quin potius quaero aliquod usu bonum, quod sentiam, non quod ostendam?

我为何不去寻求一些事实上有利的、我可以感受到的、而非（用来）炫耀的东西？

ista quae spectantur, ad quae consistitur, quae alter alteri stupens monstrat, foris nitent, introrsus misera sunt.'

那些被人注目、（令）人驻足、（使）人惊异地相互指点的东西，其实是外表光鲜亮丽，内里悲惨可怜。

III.

1. Quaeramus aliquod non in speciem bonum, sed solidum et aequale et a secretiore parte formosius; hoc eruamus.

1.让我们寻求那不是表面上有利、而是坚实平正并且在其不为人所见的部分更加美丽的东西。让我们来发掘这（一事物）吧！

Nec longe positum est: inuenietur, scire tantum opus est quo manum porrigas;

它的位置并不遥远——它将被发现，只要知道应该朝哪个方向伸出手；

nunc uelut in tenebris uicina transimus, offensantes ea ipsa quae desideramus.

（然而）现在我们就像在黑暗里从附近的東西旁边走过，（侥幸）碰上我们渴求的事物。

2. Sed ne te per circumitus traham, aliorum quidem opiniones praeteribo — nam et enumerare illas longum est et coarguere: nostram accipe.

2.但是为了避免带你绕远路，我将略过其他人的观点，因为一一列举和反驳它们需要很长时间；接受我们的观点！

Nostram autem cum dico, non alligo me ad unum aliquem ex Stoicis proceribus: est et mihi censendi ius.

可是，当我说到“我们的”时，我并不将自己和某一位斯多葛学派的领导者绑定；我也有权作出判断。

Itaque aliquem sequar, aliquem iubebo sententiam diuidere, fortasse et post omnes citatus nihil inprobabo ex iis quae priores decreuerint et dicam 'hoc amplius censeo'.

因此我将追随某一位，让另一位分解他的提议。也许当我在所有人之后被要求发表意见时，我将不批判任何前人已经确立的观点，并且我会说“此外我做此提议”。

3. Interim, quod inter omnis Stoicos conuenit, rerum naturae adsentior; ab illa non deerrare et ad illius legem exemplumque formari sapientia est.

3.同时——这是每个斯多葛学派的人都认同的——我赞成事物之本性。不偏离它并且遵照它的法则和榜样来塑造自身即为智慧。

Beata est ergo uita conueniens naturae suae, quae non aliter contingere potest quam si primum sana mens est et in perpetua possessione sanitatis suae, deinde fortis ac uehemens, tunc pulcherrime patiens, apta temporibus, corporis sui pertinentiumque ad id curiosa non anxie, tum aliarum rerum quae uitam instruunt diligens sine admiratione cuiusquam, usura fortunae muneribus, non seruitura.

因此，幸福的生活是顺应自身本性的生活，使它出现除此以外别无他法：心灵首先要健康且永葆康泰；进而要勇健有力；然后要完美地忍耐，顺应时势，关注肉体以及与肉体相关的事物（但是）不过分焦虑；最后要留意另一些为生活提供方便的事物但不对其中任何东西过分着迷，利用命运的礼物，而不做他的奴仆。

4. Intellegis, etiam si non adiciam, sequi perpetuam tranquillitatem, libertatem, depulsis iis quae aut irritant nos aut teritant;

4.即使我不加上这一点，你也知道，当那些刺激或者恐吓我们的东西被驱离后，永恒的宁静和自由会随之而来。

nam uoluptatibus et * * * <doloribus spretis> pro illis quae parua ac fragilia sunt et ipsis flagitiis noxia ingens gaudium subit, inconcussum et aequale, tum pax et concordia animi et magnitudo cum mansuetudine;

因为在享乐和<痛苦遭到蔑视>之后，取代那些渺小脆弱并且因那些可耻行径而有害的事物的，是巨大的喜悦，稳定而平正，然后是灵魂的安宁、和谐以及不乏温和的崇高：

omnis enim ex infirmitate feritas est.

因为所有野蛮都源自软弱。

《高卢战记译笺·第一卷》1-2

顾枝鹰

第1章 高卢的地理和部族

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.

高卢整体分为三个部分，其中一部分住着贝耳盖人，另一部分住着阿克维塔尼人，第三部分住着那些以其自己的语言称作“凯尔特人”、我们称作“高卢人”的[人]。

• [译按] 各章标题参考诸家笺注所加，原无。

• Gallia[高卢]：[G 注] 这里所说的高卢是山外高卢（Transalpine Gaul），不包括东南边的罗马行省（provincia），也不包括现今北意大利的山内高卢（Galla Cisalpina）。山外高卢所指的范围是现今的法国（包括莱茵河边的土地）与荷兰（Netherlands）、瑞士（Switzerland）的大部分地区。

[CA 注] 凯撒这里所说的“高卢”尚未被罗马人征服。凯撒时代，罗马人已经征服了南边的阿耳罗卜若革斯人（Allobroges），在那块地方建立了高卢行省，或称作“纳尔波高卢”（Gallia Narbonensis），在《高卢战记》中简称作“行省”（provincia）。

[CM 注] 根据 Zeuss 的说法，gal 意为“战斗”，由此可能衍生出 gala[战士]一词，复数作 galat。从 Γαλάτης 来看，Κέλτης 似乎是收缩后的形式，比如在德语中 Geneva[日内瓦]常写作 Genf，而古希腊语中的 ὁμῆ[神示的声音；消息]来自 ἐνοπή[喊叫；呐喊]（腭音 g 与 k 常常在专名中混同，如 Gaius 与 Caius，Callaeci 与 Gallicia，一并比较：chamois[鹿皮；羚羊]与 Gemse[羚羊]，κυβερνάω[掌舵；统治]与 gubernare[驾驶；管理]）。我们要注意，Gallia 这个名字只是外族定居者——可能是马赛人（Massaliots）——用来指称整块地区的。因此，希腊、日耳曼这些名字在早期是不为那些地方的居民所知的。[译按] CM 注中 Gemse 原作 gems，恐失。

• tres[3个]：[Pontet 本] tris。[O 注] 古钞本上作 tris。复数属格以 ium 结尾的名词，其复数宾格词尾为 es, eis 或 is。

• Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres[高卢整体分为 3 个部分]: [任译] 高卢全境分为三部分。[M 译] All Gaul is divided into three parts。[E 译] Gaul is a whole divided into three parts。[任注] 凯撒征服以前, 罗马人统称作高卢的, 指意大利的茹比扩河和丕热奈依山脉以北、莱茵河以西, 直到大西洋的大片莽莽原野。按自然区划分, 这一地区又可以阿尔卑斯山为界, 分为山内高卢和山外高卢(简称内高卢和外高卢); 内高卢再可以帕都斯河(今波河)为界, 分为河南高卢和河北高卢。凯撒这里说的全高卢, 是指行省外的外高卢。

[G 注] omnis 意为 as a whole, est divisa 不是被动态完成时, divisa 是用作形容词的分词。[K 注] Gallia...omnis 意为 Gaul as a whole, 与狭义的凯尔特高卢形成对比, 因为凯尔特高卢也被称作 Gallia。[TH 注] 注意词序。这句子不能译作 All Gaul is divided ..., 这种译文糟糕(hideous)又错误, 当译作 Gaul, taken as a whole, is divided ...。西塞罗(《致亲友书》)(*Epistulae ad Familiares*) VIII.5.2, VIII.9.2 等等)用复数的 Galliae 和 Galliarum 指高卢的几个部分, 而凯撒希望清楚地表明, 他所说的是整个山外高卢。[A&G] 译作 Gaul, in the widest sense, is divided into three parts。形容词 omnis 暗示了对罗马人原有错误的“高卢”概念的反驳。(\$597) [译按] G 注、K 注、TH 注三说合, 从之。

• Belgae[贝珥盖人]: [G 注] 贝珥盖人可能是凯尔特族的威尔士(Cymric)分支, 和不列颠人(Britons)与现代的威尔士人(Welsh)同属一族。贝珥盖人居住在现今的比利时(Belgium)和法国的北部, 与日耳曼人相混杂。[译按] Belgae 是第一变格法阳性名词。

• aliam[另一部分]: [G 注] 这里一般用 alteram 来表达序列中的第二个。

• Aquitani[阿克维塔尼人]: [G 注] 阿克维塔尼人是西班牙的伊比利亚人(Iberians), 即现今的巴斯克人(Basques), 他们居住在西南方。

• Celtae[凯尔特人]: [G 注] 凯尔特人可能是以爱尔兰人(Irish)和高地苏格兰人(Highland Scotch)为代表的盖尔人(Gaelic)分支。[TH 注] 这个词从最宽泛的意义上说, 包含各种血统的部落, 他们所操的语言便是现在凯尔特语族的起源; 凯尔特人原本生活在欧洲中部, 后迁徙到了高卢、西班牙、不列颠、意大利以及小亚细亚。Celtae 和 Galli 的古希腊语同源词在颇吕比欧斯(Πολύβιος)笔下有多种形式。凯撒使用 Celtae 一词时取其狭义, 因为贝珥盖人也是凯尔特人。Galli 在凯尔特语中意为“战士”或“勇者”。我们必须记住, 尽管所有那些居住在色克瓦纳河与伽茹恩纳河之间的人自称是凯尔特人, 在凯撒时代之前的几个世纪, 那里并没有凯尔特人。凯尔特人中混杂着多种血统的人, 一部分来源于前凯尔特(pre-Celtic)居民, 另一部分是凯尔特征服者。

[CA 注] Celtae 一词意味着主干, 凯尔特人是纯高卢血统。希腊人根据他们领地的范围, 把整个高卢地区称作 Κελτική。在早期希腊人中, 整个西欧从地中海(Mediterranean)海岸起都被称作“凯尔特大陆”(Eng. Celtic land, Gk. χώρα Κελτική)。语词 Galli 是 Gael 拉丁化后的形式。

[2] hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garunna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit.

[2] 所有这些人在语言、习俗和法律方面彼此不同。伽茹恩纳河把高卢人与阿克维塔尼人分开，玛特若纳河与色克瓦纳河把高卢人和贝珥盖人分开。

• lingua[语言]: [TH 注] 凯尔特语大体上并不用于阿克维塔尼亚 (Aquitania)。阿克维塔尼人说伊比利亚语 (Iberian)，即一种西班牙方言，可能包含巴斯克语 (Basque)，这种语言现今在法国西南角以及靠近西班牙的地区依旧有人使用。大部分凯尔特人说的语言是高卢语 (Gaulish)，或称作高卢—布立吞语 (Gallo-Brythonic)，这也是贝珥盖人所操的语言，实际上与布立吞人 (Brythonic) 或不列颠凯尔特人 (British Celts) 的语言相同，是威尔士语 (Welsh) 的源头。然而，在凯撒时代，一些凯尔特人可能操另一种凯尔特方言，与盖尔语 (Gaelic) 之母语相近——因为晚期的高卢铭文所用的语言与盖尔语不同——尽管这可能是一种死语言 (就像我们能在伦敦见到当代的拉丁语铭文)，它一定曾经通行于高卢。[G 注] 贝珥盖人的语言是一种混合着日耳曼语的凯尔特语。

• Garunna flumen ... Matrona [伽茹恩纳河……玛特若纳河]: [S 注] 伽茹恩纳河即今加伦河 (Garonne)，玛特若纳河即今马恩河 (Marne)，色克瓦纳河即今塞纳河 (Seine)。[译按] 比照 I.12.1 “阿剌尔河”及相关笺注。

• dividit[分开]: [CA 注] 单数的 dividit 跟随着两个主格名词: Matrona[玛特若纳河]与 Sequana[色克瓦纳河]，原因在于，玛特若纳河与色克瓦纳河是一条连续的界线，而且玛特若纳河是色克瓦纳河的支流。[TH 注补遗] 也有可能是因为——这两条河被认为是分开的——动词受较近的主语支配。

• [TH 注] 这些叙述对于凯撒的意图来说是足够精确了，但是并不完全正确。比图依革斯的维维斯奇人 (Bituiges Vivisci) 就是他没有提到的部族，他们是凯尔特人，居住在 Bordeaux 附近的土地上，伽茹恩纳河两岸——这条河的河口称作 Gironde。还有威利欧卡斯色斯人 (Veliocasses)，他们属贝珥盖族 (II.4.9)，在色克瓦纳河左岸有一些领地。

[3] horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, inportant

proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt.

[3] 所有这些人中最勇悍的是贝珥盖人，那是因为他们最为远离行省的生活方式和文明，并且商人极少与他们往来，而输入那些会有损男子气概的东西，而且，[贝珥盖人]紧挨那些住在莱茵河对岸、不断与其发生战争的日耳曼人。

• *propterea quod*[那是因为]: [G 注] 意为 *because*，直译作 *because of this*。这个短语和简单形式的 *quod* 的区别是，前者更具有强调的意味，二者就像 *and the reason is* 和 *it is because* 之间的关系。[译按] *propterea quod* 宜译作“那是因为”，以符合原文强调的意味。

• *provinciae*[行省的]: [任注] 行省——是罗马人在外高卢南部建立的纳尔波高卢行省的简称，以其首府在纳尔波城得名。前 121 年，罗马人征服了阿珥罗卜若革斯族之后建立了这个行省，今天法国南部的普罗旺斯（*Provence*）就是从拉丁文“行省”（*provincia*）这字转来的。[GS 注] 这里的“行省”指的是阿尔卑斯山以北、法国南部、被罗马（*Roma*）控制的高卢。[G 注] 纳尔波高卢的主要城邦是玛斯西利阿（*Massilia*），其首府纳尔波是罗马的殖民地。

• *cultu atque humanitate*[生活方式和文明]: [任译] 文明和教化。[M 译] *civilization and refinement*。[G 注] *cultu* 即 *civilization*，是一种外在的表现，比如服饰和生活的习惯，而 *humanitate* 意为 *refinement*，与心灵或情感有关。[CA 注] *cultus* 在这里指的是生活方式（*mode of life*），*humanitas* 指的是心智的增长（*mental improvement*）和文化（*culture*）。Oberlinus 在《拉丁语文指南》（*Index Latinitatis*）中说 *vitae ratio, ab omni ruditate remota*[生活的秩序，被一切野蛮行径打乱]。罗马行省的生活方式和文明主要源自希腊城邦玛斯西利阿，即现今的马赛（*Marseilles*）。

[译按] 在 I.31.5 中，McDevitte 却将 *cultus* 译作 *refinement*，故 McDevitte 对 *cultus* 和 *humanitas* 的理解可能有偏差，未能区分这二者，不能尽信。译者从 G 注、CA 注的观点译 *cultu atque humanitate* 作“生活方式和文明”。Jérémie Jacques Oberlin（1735—1806），法国学者。

• *mercatores*[商人]: [G 注] 这些商贩大多数来自于玛斯西利阿港（*seaport of Massilia*），他们带驮马、骡子、辘重车出行。正如西方人与印度人的贸易那样，在他们的贸易中，有一项非常普遍的物品：酒。从南海岸来的酒，正如凯撒所说，“会使品性堕落（*tend to debauch character*）”，据说，这些人给商人们一个男孩来换取一瓶酒。

• *minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant*[并且商人极少与他们往来]: [任译] 并且也是商贩们往来最少。[M 译] *and merchants least frequently resort to them*。[P 译] *καὶ οὐ μὴ πολλάκις ἔμποροι σφίσιν*

ἐπιμίγονται。[CA 注] minime saepe commeant 直译作 least frequently resort, 意为 very seldom penetrate to these distant regions。[H 注] minime saepe 意为 least often, 即 very seldom。[G 注] commeant 这个词特别意味着在贸易要道上来回走, 穿过这块地方的主要商道是卢瓦尔河 (Eng. river Liger, Fr. Loire)。[谢词] commeo 词条例句及译文: mercatores commeant ad Gallos 商人们经常到高卢人那里去。[译按] mercatores 为复数主格。

- ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent[那些会致使性情阴柔的东西]: [任译] 那些使人萎靡不振的东西。[M 译] which tend to effeminate the mind。[CA 注] to enervate their minds, 意即毁掉他们好战的精神。

- proximi(que)[紧挨]: [G 注] 注意这里的 3 个最高级, longissime[最为]、minime(que)[极少]和 proximi(que)[紧挨]的排列方式, 它们强调了 cultu[生活方式], 并且都在它们所修饰的短语的开头。

- trans Rhenum[莱茵河对岸]: [G 注] 莱茵河大体上是高卢人和日耳曼人的界线, 直到现在亦然。

- continenter[不断]: [G 注] continenter 是从动词 contineo[包含; 拿住; 控制; 保持]变来的副词。

- [CA 注] 同样的观点在塔西佗的《原史》(Historiae) IV.76 中也有表述。[译按]《原史》IV.76 中, 奇维利斯 (Civlis) 说: “至于高卢人, 那他们只不过是胜利者手中的战利品罢了。而且他们当中真正有实力的比尔伽伊人是公开站在我们的一方, 或是希望我们取得胜利的。”参见: 塔西佗,《历史》, 王以铸、崔妙因译, 商务印书馆, 1985: 320。

[4] qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.

[4] 由于这个原因, 赫珥威提依人同样在勇力方面胜过其他高卢人, 因为[赫珥威提依人]几乎每天都与日耳曼人交战——他们不是在自己的领地上抵抗日耳曼人, 就是在日耳曼人的领地上作战。

- Helvetii[赫珥威提依人]: [译按] 赫珥威提依人所在的地方称作“赫珥威提阿”(Helvetia, 参见 I.12.4), 即现今的瑞士地区。现今的瑞士联邦沿用这个名字作为自己的拉丁语国名 (Confoederatio Helvetica, 简称 CH)。

- quoque[同样]: [CA 注] 因为贝珥盖人与赫珥威提依人都离日耳曼人住得近。

- virtute[在勇力方面]: [G 注] virtute 并不意为 virtue, 而是指 courage。

• reliquos[其他]: [G 注] 注意这里对位置的强调——其他人与赫珥威提依人相对。

[5] eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garunna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones.

[5] 他们的一部分，那些已经说过的由高卢人占据的，起于尔霍达努斯河，被伽茹恩纳河、大洋[和]贝珥盖人的领土包围，又在色克瓦尼人与赫珥威提依人[的一面]延及莱茵河，伸向北方。

• eorum una pars[他们的一部分]: [M 译] One part of these. [E 译] The separate part of the country.

[M 注] 即高卢的 3 部分: (1) 凯尔特人 (Celts); (2) 贝珥盖人 (Belgians); (3) 阿克维塔尼人 (Aquitaniens), 在东南边的阿珥罗卜若革斯人 (Allobroges) 已经被前 121 年 (著名的葡萄丰收之年) 的执政官克维恩图斯·法比乌斯·玛克西穆斯·阿珥罗卜若吉库斯 (Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus) 和前 121 年谋杀伽尤斯·格拉古 (Gaius Gracchus) 的凶手路奇乌斯·欧皮米乌斯·奈波斯 (Lucius Opimius Nepos) 征服时, 这 3 部分尚未被归于罗马的边区。这位法比乌斯——他在那里得到了“阿珥罗卜若吉库斯”的名字——打败了他们并且战胜了他们的盟友阿尔威尔尼人 (Arverni) 的首领比图依图斯 (Bituitus), 后者在胜利者的队伍中被俘虏到了罗马。由是, 在凯撒出生之前, 这里就是行省 (纳尔波高卢或称作扎裤高卢 [Gallia Braccata]) 了。现代的普罗旺斯 (Provence) 原先只是古罗马行省的一部分。

[G 注] 这里的 eorum una pars 意为他们 (高卢人, 或称作凯尔特人) 的一部分。[A 注] ……eorum 是属有属格 (possessive genitive), 而非部分属格 (partitive genitive), 指代第 2 节中的 Hi omnes。[TH 注] Meusel 讥讽了语词 eorum 的含混, 这个词只会指广义上的高卢。[O 注]、[L 注]、[C 注]、[S 注] eorum 指贝珥盖人、凯尔特人和阿克维塔尼人。

[译按] M 注中说前 121 年是“著名的葡萄丰收之年” (the year of the famous vintage), 是因为在那年中葡萄丰收, 并且葡萄酒的质量尤其好。这次的葡萄丰收又被称作“欧皮米乌斯之葡萄丰收” (Opimian vintage)。关于 eorum 之所指, 唯 G 注有异说, 故不从, 然而译文中无法体现之。

• obtinere[占据]: [G 注] obtineo[占据]不意为 obtain, 而意为 occupy。[CA 注] obtinere 意为 to hold against others.

- initium capit[起于]: [任译] 从……起。[M 译] takes its beginning。
- flumine Rhodano[尔霍达努斯河]: [译按] 据 I.6.2 Rhodanus fluit ... , Rhodanus 为名词。
- Oceano[大洋]: [译按] 即大西洋, 从任译。
- vergit[伸向]: [G 注] 向北倾斜。赛文山脉 (Cevennes) 南高北低, 从而那一地区的河流主要向北流。

• [K 注] 我们有理由相信, I.1.5~7 (eorum...septentriones.) 不是凯撒亲笔, 而是某位后人所加, 他可能认为, 在开篇中对凯撒所提及的高卢三部分的边界加以详细描述是有用的。这 3 节的文风不自然 (forced) 而拗口。设若省略这 3 节, 则 I.1.4 中有关赫珥威提依人的叙述到 I.2.1 中关于赫珥威提依首领欧尔革托瑞克斯 (Orgetorix) 之举动的叙述之间的过渡就平缓而自然了。[TH 注] Meusel 和 Klotz 各自给出了理由, 认为 I.1.5~7 不是凯撒写的。其中最值得注意的理由是, initium capit, ab (Sequanis), ab (extremis Galliae finibus) oriuntur, (spectant) in, (spectant) inter 以及单数的 septentrionem 皆非古典拉丁文, 或者说不符合凯撒的文风。

[6] Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem.

[6] 贝珥盖人[的领地]从高卢最远端的边界开始, 延至莱茵河下游, 朝向北斗七星和日出[的方向]。

• extremi ... finis[最远端的边界]: [CA 注] 凯撒的意思是, 离罗马最远的边界, 换言之, 就是最北的边界。

• septentrionem et orientem solem[北斗七星和日出的方向]: [译按] 此处的 septentrionem 和前面的 septentriones[北方]是同一个词 septentrio 的不同形态。septentriones 是 septentrio[北斗七星; 北方]的复数宾格, septentrionem 是 septentrio 的单数宾格。从词源上分析, septentrio 是由 septem[七, 数词]和 trio[大、小熊星座]组成的, 即“七星”。汉语中, “伸向北斗星”的译法似乎不够通顺, 且“北方”和“太阳”的并列逊于“北斗星”和“太阳”的并列, 故把这里 2 个带有 septentrio 的词组分别译作“伸向北方”和“朝向北斗星和日出的方向”, 后同。[任注] 即东北方。

[7] Aquitania a Garunna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem

Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet, spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

[7]阿克维塔尼阿从伽茹恩纳河延及丕热奈依山脉和那靠近西班牙的大洋的一部分，朝向日落的方向与北斗七星的方向之间。

• Aquitania[阿克维塔尼阿]：[译按]对于“同根异尾”的表示地方和民族的专名，译者采取的音译方法是按照具体出现的单词进行完整的音译，而非以词干音译之。如 Aquitani 译作“阿克维塔尼人”，Aquitania 译作“阿克维塔尼阿”，而不译 Aquitani 作“阿克维塔尼阿人”。

• partem oceani[大洋的一部分]：[M 注]这里的“大洋的一部分（part of the ocean）”即比斯开湾（Bay of Biscay），在那里，大西洋冲刷着西班牙（Spain）的北海岸。[译按]M 译中的这条脚注与后面一条脚注“即西北方”的顺序疑颠倒，笔者作了乙正。

• inter[之间]：[CA 注]莫尔（La. Morus, Eng. More）认为这里的 inter 当作 in，但是古希腊语译文支持通行本：ἀπορᾶ δὲ τὰ μεταξύ Ἀρκτῶν τε καὶ Ἀνατολῶν。[译按]μεταξύ 意为“在……中间”。

• 朝向日落的方向北斗七星的方向之间：[M 注]此即西北方向。

第2章 欧尔革托瑞克斯的阴谋

Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. is M. Messala [et P.] M. Pisone consulibus regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent.

在赫珥威提依人中，最高贵、最富有的显然是欧尔革托瑞克斯。他，在玛尔库斯·美斯撒拉和玛尔库斯·皮索任执政官的时候，因为被对王权的贪求诱导，建立了一个贵族集团，并怂恿民众带着全部的资财离开他们自己的领地。

• nobilissimus[最高贵……的]：[G 注]即出生高贵的人。高卢人的民众革命和希腊人、罗马人中的一样，把原来的首领或者国王逐出，并设立了每年选举一次的职位威尔戈卜热图斯（Eng. Vergobret, La.

Vergobretus, 参见 I.16)。但是统治家族的首领自然依旧野心勃勃, 想要重新获得从前权力阶层的利益。
欧尔革托瑞克斯欲在高卢建立君主政体。

• longe[显然]: [M 译] by far。[译按] 此为意译。

• Orgetorix[欧尔革托瑞克斯]: [CA 注] 这个名字的意思, 据凯尔特语学者的说法, 是“百山之首”(chief of a hundred hills): or 意为“山丘”, ced 意为“一百”, righ 意为“首领”。[H 注] 词尾-rix 很常见, 意为“首领”(来自拉丁语 rex[国王])。Orgetorix 意为“杀戮者之王”。

• M. Messala [et P.] M. Pisone consulibus[在玛尔库斯·美斯撒拉和玛尔库斯·皮索任执政官的时候]: [TH 注] 在 M. Pisone 之前的 et P. 见于诸抄本, 显然是一处添写。正如 Meusel 所言, 共和国时代的罗马人不会有 2 个前名, 而在此类短语中凯撒总是会省略 et。[任注] 古代罗马人纪年, 大致采用两种方法: 一种以传说中的罗马城建城的一年(前 753)作为元年, 依次后推, 如公元一年, 即记作“建成后 754 年”, 简写作“A. U. C. 754”; 另一种方法是以当年担任执政官的两个人的姓名作为年号, 如此处说的美斯撒拉和皮索执政的一年, 即前 61 年, 也就是 A. U. C. 693 年。

[M 注] 前 61 年任执政官的是玛尔库斯·瓦勒瑞乌斯·美斯撒拉·尼戈尔(Marcus Valerius Messala Niger)和玛尔库斯·普皮乌斯·皮索(Marcus Pupius Piso), 在这年中, 克罗迪乌斯(Clodius)褻渎了德善女神(Bona Dea)的祭仪: 庞培(Eng. Pompey the Great, La. Pompeius)击败了海盗、提格刺内斯(Tigranes)国王和米特里达梯(La. Mithridates, Gk. Μιθριδάτης)国王。

[译按] Hering 本中的方括号([])表示校勘者所作的删减; 这一功能晚近由大括号({ })来承担, 而方括号则用来表示因文本缺损而作的增补。参见: Martin. L. West. *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, B. G. Teubner, 1973: 80~81。方括号中的词(或字母)于译文中均略。

普卜利乌斯·克罗迪乌斯·普珥克赫尔(Publius Clodius Pulcher)没有胡须, 故他得以伪装成女性并潜入凯撒的家中参加只有女性能参加的祭祀德善女神的仪式, 因为他失掉了向导, 所以别人从他的声音中认出了他, 他遂逃走。尽管西塞罗后来提供了不利于他的证据, 克罗迪乌斯仍被无罪释放, 然而凯撒却和妻子离婚了——她被控带克罗迪乌斯加入那次祭祀。前 58 年, 克罗迪乌斯当选为护民官, 他利用法律报复西塞罗——西塞罗曾经在前 63 年未经审判处死了制造第二次喀提林阴谋(Second Catilinarian Conspiracy)的几个人——从而导致西塞罗离开罗马。克罗迪乌斯于前 53 年死于械斗。

Clodius[克罗迪乌斯]又拼作 Claudius[克劳迪乌斯]。

• nobilitatis[贵族]: [G 注] 从第 4 章中我们可以看到, 由贵族掌控的权力阶层的力量是多么巨大, 以及他们之所以会自然地加入这样一个团体的原由。

• coniurationem[集团]: [吴辞] 结党; 同盟; 共同宣誓; 阴谋; 谋叛……。[G 注] 即一个以誓言表达了忠心的联盟。[W 注] 这个贵族集团的真实目的是使欧尔革托瑞克斯成为所有赫珥威提依人的国王,

而大多数高卢民族都没有国王。他期待人们迁徙的真实动机是：一，通过让自己成为迁徙时的首领，他能够掌控足够多的权力使自己成为国王；二，他想要以国王的身份征服其他高卢各邦。

- **persuasit**[怂恿]：[H 注] 语词 **persuadeo** 与 **suavis**[甜美的；悦人的]具有相同的词根。
- **civitati**[民众]：[CA 注] 这里的 **civitas** 意指在某个地区或城邦中，在同一个统治机构下的所有居民。
- **cum omnibus copiis**[带着全部的资财]：[M 注] **cum omnibus copiis** 等同于 **πανδημεί**，意为“带着他们全部的物品和动产”（with all their goods and chattels），比较 I.31.5 的 **cultum et copias Gallorum**。

[TH 注补遗] 我们不确定，(omnibus) **copiis** 等同于 **militibus**[军队]还是古希腊语的 **πανδημεί**[男人、女人和孩童]，抑或是 **opibus**[资财]。Meusel 认为它等同于 **opibus**，并说这就是在凯撒笔下 **copiae** 不作“军队”（troops）解时的含义。但是当阿瑞欧维斯图斯（Ariovistus）**praeter castra Caesaris suas copiae traduxit**[率领着自己的部队在凯撒营前经过]（I.48.2）时，**copiae** 明显就包含了，或说伴随着（were accompanied）妇女和孩童——尽管凯撒可能仅考虑到了军队。比照 I.51.2。

[译按] 《古希腊语汉语词典》：**πανδημεί**，亦作 **πανδημί**，是 **πάνδημος** 的副词，意为“人人；全体；大家一齐”。另见 I.31.5 及相关笺注。

- **finibus**[领地]：[CA 注] 凯撒作品中的 **fines**[领地；界限；终点]常常指的是领地（territory）或国土（country）。

[3] **id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit, altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios, tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit.**

[3][欧尔革托瑞克斯]用这个[理由]轻易说服了他们[去做]这件事——赫珥威提依人[的领地]在周围被天然的地势包围：一面被那分开赫珥威提乌斯地与日耳曼人[领地]的极宽极深的莱茵河围着，一面被那处于色克瓦尼人与赫珥威提依人之间极高的尤刺山围着，第三面被那条把我们的行省与赫珥威提依人[领地]分开的勒玛恩努斯湖与尔霍达努斯河围着。

- **Germanis**[日耳曼人]：[W 注] 我们从 I.1.4~5 可以知道，莱茵河并不能阻挡日耳曼人频繁战争。凯撒在后文中暗示了日耳曼人的逼迫是赫珥威提依人迁徙的一个原因。在另一方面，日耳曼人会占据赫珥

威提阿（Helvetia）这一必然的事情使凯撒不会让赫珥威提依人迁徙。

• altera[一面]: [A 注] 在表示部分时, alter[其他; 另一个]一般用来代替 secundus[第二个; 其次的], 就像这里的 una, altera, tertia。除了 alter 和 secundus, 有时也用 alius, 就像第 1 章中修饰 ex parte 的 unam, aliam, tertiam。

• monte Iura[尤刺山]: [CA 注] 这个名字在凯尔特语中的意思是“神的领地”, Jou 是对神的称呼, rag 意为首领或统治者的领地。这个被蛮族用来指代高山的名字是非常恰当的。

• lacu Lemanno[勒玛恩努斯湖]: [CA 注] 就是现今的日内瓦湖(the lake of Geneva)。斯特拉波拼写作 Λιμῆννα, 而古希腊语译本拼写作 Λεμάνος。

[4] his rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adficiebantur.

[4] 由于这些情况, [便]发生了[这样的事]: 他们既难以大范围地游荡, 又难以方便地向邻邦发动战争。因为这个原因, 渴求战争的人蒙受了极大痛苦。

• his rebus[由于这些情况]: [任译] 在这种环境中。[M 译] From these circumstances。[译按] His rebus 为独立夺格状语, 将之理解作原因状语为宜。

• fiebat ut[发生了]: [任译] (无与之对应的字词)。[M 译] it resulted, that ...。[G 注] 此处未完成时的 fiebat 表示从句中的持续性效果(the continued effect of the causes)。[译按] fit ut 又有“偶然发生”的意思。

• minus late[大范围地]: [CA 注] 直译作 less widely, 即是说, 比他们希望的小。[译按] 此为意译。

[5] pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se finis habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

[5] 而由于人数之众多和战争与勇敢[带来]的荣耀, [赫珥威提依人]认为他们拥有一块狭窄的领地——长度达 240[罗马]里, 宽度达 180[罗马]里。

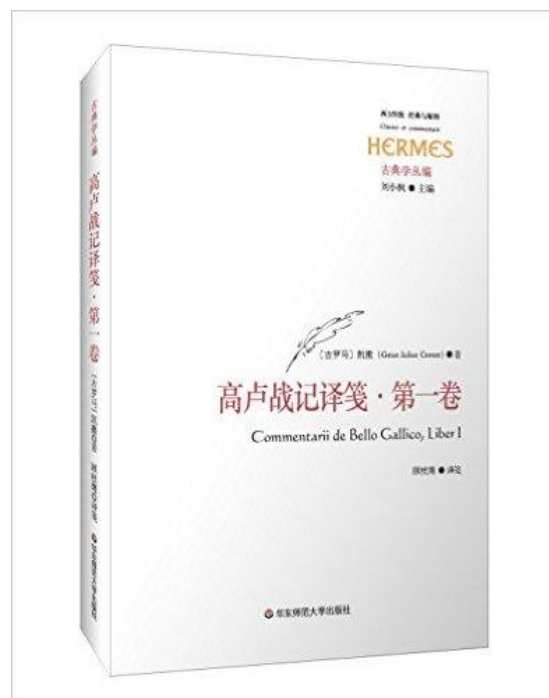
• pro multitudine[人数之众多]: [G 注] 赫珥威提依人的人数——包括那些小的、从属的部落——是 368000 (参见 I.29)。

• angustos se finis[他们……狭窄的领地]: [Y 注] 形容词 angustos 修饰的是 finis, 其在句子中的位置——出现在 finis 之前, 二者被 se 隔开——使之有强调的意味。

• milia passuum ccxl[240 罗马里]: [CA 注] Cluverius 批评这里的长和宽的数据都是不精确的。但是我们必须记住, 凯撒在写作时并没有到过赫珥威提依人的土地, 从而, 他这里只不过使用了赫珥威提依人的粗略估计。凯撒认为赫珥威提阿 (Helvetia) 从日内瓦到康士坦茨湖 (lake of Constance) 的长度是 48 地理英里, 而实际只有 40 地理英里。[译按] Cluverius (1580—1622), 德语名为 Philipp Clüver, 德国学者。

• 180 罗马里: [任注] 罗马里 (mille passuum) ——罗马人以 5 罗马尺 (pes) 为一罗马步 (passus), 1000 罗马步为一罗马里。一罗马尺合 29.6 公分, 一罗马步合 149 公分, 一罗马里合 1490 公尺, 即 1.49 公里, 合 2.98 华里。[M 注] 罗马里 (the Roman mile): 一罗马里 (mille passus) = 4854 英尺, 即是 9.193 英里。由此根据文本, 这块领地的长度约为 217 英里, 宽度约为 163 英里。赫珥威提阿从勒玛恩努斯湖到康士坦茨湖 (lake of Constance) 的实际长度不足 40 地理英里 (geographical miles)。[谢词] 1 罗马尺 = 29.57 公分 (厘米)。[译按] 据《高卢战记》的文本, 赫珥威提依人的领地大约长 354.84 公里, 宽 266.31 公里。又, 1 地理英里 (geographical miles) 等于 1.8553 公里。

全文看下:



耶稣关于“爱”

Some Sentences of Jesus about love

简介

对照阅读是语言学习常见的一种原创的、有深度的、愉快的，同时具有挑战性的重要方式。这里选录的都是耶稣说过的话，出自福音书，并且只选择耶稣直接说的话，就好像是面对面的交谈。福音书的内容其实更为丰富，不仅记录了耶稣的言行和他的门徒的言行，还包括其敌人、追随者和身边其他人的言行。本文仅作拉丁语和古希腊语的练习之用，想要了解更多福音内容的读者不妨查阅原著。

四福音书：玛窦、马尔谷、路加和若望（按天主教的术语）。其中三福音（玛窦，马尔谷，路加）由于内容相似而词汇不同，被称为对观福音(synoptics)。福音书原本主要用古希腊文写成的。玛窦福音最初为阿剌美文，后亦被译为希腊文。不久之后，圣经被译成拉丁文。公元4世纪以来，拉丁语成为传播基督宗教的主要语言。对照练习的目的是让读者了解原著的古希腊文原文，以及拉丁文，英文和中文的翻译，同时能按它们原初被记录的文字听到耶稣的话语。拉丁文版本有时和古希腊文原文不同。拉丁语中没有问号，有时为了明确问句，选句会在句尾加上问号。

选句的原文参考如下来源：

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- 天主教思高圣经, from: <http://www.tianzhujiao.org/bible/>

Love 爱

天主自己就是爱。彼此相爱是耶稣的最重要教导。

爱就是耐心，宽容，善良。人应该爱所有的人。耶稣解释怎么做。

God himself is love. To love one another is the most important of Jesus' teachings. Love means patience and forgiveness and kindness. People should love all people without distinction. Jesus explains how to do it.

Mt 5,4

μακάριοι οἱ πειθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

Beati mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.

Blessed are the gentle: they shall have the earth as inheritance.

哀恻的人是有福的，因为他们要受安慰。

Mt 5,7

μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.

Beati misericordes quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur.

Blessed are the merciful: they shall have mercy shown them.

怜悯人的人是有福的，因为他们要受怜悯

Mt 5,9

μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

Beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.

Blessed are the peacemakers: they shall be recognised as children of God.

缔造和平的人是有福的，因为他们要称为天主的子女。

Mt 5,21-22

Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· οὐ φονεύσεις· ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει· ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ῥακά, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ· ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ· μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

Audistis quia dictum est antiquis non occides qui autem occiderit reus erit iudicio; ego autem dico vobis quia omnis qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit iudicio qui autem dixerit fratri suo racha reus erit concilio qui autem dixerit fatue reus erit gehennae ignis.

'You have heard how it was said to our ancestors, You shall not kill; and if anyone does kill he must answer for it before the court. But I say this to you, anyone who is angry with a brother will answer for it before the court; anyone who calls a brother "Fool" will answer for it before the Sanhedrin; and anyone who calls him "Traitor" will answer for it in hell fire.

你们一向听过给古人说：『不可杀人!』谁若杀了人，应受裁判。我却对你们说：凡向自己弟兄发怒的，就要受裁判，谁若向自己的弟兄说「傻子」，就要受议会的裁判；谁若说「疯子」，就要受火狱的罚。

Mt 5,27-28

Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· οὐ μοιχεύσεις. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Audistis quia dictum est antiquis non moechaberis; ego autem dico vobis

quoniam omnis qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam iam moechatus est eam in corde suo.

You have heard how it was said, You shall not commit adultery. But I say this to you, if a man looks at a woman lustfully, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart.

你们一向听说过：『不可奸淫！』我却对你们说：凡注视妇女，有意贪恋她的，他已在心里奸淫了她。

Mt 5,32

ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται

Ego autem dico vobis quia omnis qui dimiserit uxorem suam excepta fornicationis causa facit eam moechari et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat.

But I say this to you, everyone who divorces his wife, except for the case of an illicit marriage, makes her an adulteress; and anyone who marries a divorced woman commits adultery.

我却给你们说：除了姘居外，凡休自己的妻子的，便是叫她受奸污；并且谁若娶被休的妇人，就是犯奸淫。

Mt 5,38-39

Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·

Audistis quia dictum est oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente; ego

autem dico vobis non resistere malo sed si quis te percusserit in dextera maxilla tua praebe illi et alteram.

You have heard how it was said: Eye for eye and tooth for tooth. But I say this to you: offer no resistance to the wicked. On the contrary, if anyone hits you on the right cheek, offer him the other as well.

你们一向听说过：『以眼还眼，以牙还牙。』我却对你们说：不要抵抗恶人；而且，若有人掌击你的右颊，你把另一面也转给他。

Mt 5,42

τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανίσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.

qui petit a te da ei et volenti mutuari a te ne avertaris.

Give to anyone who asks you, and if anyone wants to borrow, do not turn away.

求你的，就给他；愿向你借贷的，你不要拒绝。

Mt 5,43-45

Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.

Audistis quia dictum est diliges proximum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum; ego autem dico vobis diligite inimicos vestros benefacite his qui oderunt vos et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos, ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui in caelis est qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et

malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos.

'You have heard how it was said, You will love your neighbour and hate your enemy. But I say this to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you; so that you may be children of your Father in heaven, for he causes his sun to rise on the bad as well as the good, and sends down rain to fall on the upright and the wicked alike.

你们一向听说过：『你应爱你的近人，恨你的仇人！』我却对你们说：你们当爱你们的仇人，当为迫害你们的人祈祷，好使你们成为你们在天之父的子女，因为他使太阳上升，光照恶人，也光照善人；降雨给义人，也给不义的人。

Mt 7,1

Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε·

Nolite iudicare ut non iudicemini.

Do not judge, and you will not be judged.

你们不要判断人，免得你们受判断。

Mt 7,12

Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite eis
haec est enim lex et prophetae.

So always treat others as you would like them to treat you; that is the Law and the Prophets.

所以，凡你们愿意人给你们做的，你们也要照样给人做：法律和先知即在于此。

Mt 10,12

εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν·

Intrantes autem in domum salutate eam.

As you enter his house, salute it.

你们进那一家时，要向它请安。

Mt 10,42

καὶ ὃς ἂν ποτίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.

Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam.

If anyone gives so much as a cup of cold water to one of these little ones because he is a disciple, then in truth I tell you, he will most certainly not go without his reward.

谁若只给这些小子中的一个，一杯凉水喝，因他是门徒，我实在告诉你们，他决失不了他的赏报。

Mt 12,7

εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκετε τί ἐστίν· ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν, οὐκ ἂν κατεδικάσατε τοὺς ἀναιτίους.

Si autem sciretis quid est misericordiam volo et non sacrificium numquam condemnassetis innocentes.

And if you had understood the meaning of the words: Mercy is what pleases me, not sacrifice, you would not have condemned the blameless.

假如你们了解『我喜欢仁爱胜过祭献』是什么，你们就决不会判断无罪的人了，

Mt 12,12

πόσῳ οὖν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου. ὥστε ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν καλῶς ποιεῖν.

Quanto magis melior est homo ove itaque licet sabbatis benefacere.

Now a man is far more important than a sheep, so it follows that it is permitted on the Sabbath day to do good.

人比羊贵重得多了!所以,安息日是许可行善的。

Jn 3,16

οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam.

For this is how God loved the world: he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life.

天主竟这样爱了世界,甚至赐下了自己的独生子,使凡信他的人不至丧亡,反而获得永生。

Mk 8,2

σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν·

Misereor super turba quia ecce iam triduo sustinent me nec habent quod manducent.

'I feel sorry for all these people; they have been with me for three days

now and have nothing to eat.

我很怜悯这批群众因为他们同我在一起已经三天，也没有什么可吃的了。

Mt 14,16

οὐ χρειάν ἔχουσιν ἀπελθεῖν, δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν.

Non habent necesse ire, date illis vos manducare.

There is no need for them to go: give them something to eat yourselves.

他们不必去，你们给他们吃的罢！

Mt 15,32

σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν· καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς νήστεις οὐ θέλω, μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Misereor turbae quia triduo iam perseverant mecum et non habent quod manducent et dimittere eos ieiunos nolo ne deficiant in via.

I feel sorry for all these people; they have been with me for three days now and have nothing to eat. I do not want to send them off hungry, or they might collapse on the way.

我很怜悯这群众，因为他们同我在一起已经三天，也没有什么可吃的；我不愿遣散他们空着肚子回去，怕他们在路上晕倒。

Mk 9,37

ὃς ἂν ἐν τῶν τοιούτων παιδίῳ δέξηται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέχεται, οὐκ ἐμὲ δέχεται ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

Quisquis unum ex huiusmodi pueris receperit in nomine meo me recipit et

quicumque me suscepit non me suscipit sed eum qui me misit.

Anyone who welcomes a little child such as this in my name, welcomes me;
and anyone who welcomes me, welcomes not me but the one who sent
me.

谁若因我的名字，收留一个这样的小孩子，就是收留我；谁若收留我，并不是收留我，
而是收留那派遣我来的。

Lk 6,27

ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς.

Diligite inimicos vestros benefacite his qui vos oderunt.

Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you.

应爱你们的仇人，善待恼恨你们的人。

Lk 6,28

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεάζόντων
ὑμᾶς.

Benedicite maledicentibus vobis orate pro calumniantibus vos.

Bless those who curse you, pray for those who treat you badly.

应祝福诅咒你们的人，为毁谤你们的人祈祷。

Lk 6,29

τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντός
σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης.

Ei qui te percutit in maxillam praebe et alteram et ab eo qui aufert tibi
vestimentum etiam tunicam noli prohibere.

To anyone who slaps you on one cheek, present the other cheek as well;

to anyone who takes your cloak from you, do not refuse your tunic.

有人打你的面颊，也把另一面转给他；有人拿去你的外衣，也不要阻挡他拿你的内衣。

Lk 6,30

παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.

Omni autem petenti te tribue et qui aufert quae tua sunt ne repeats.

Give to everyone who asks you, and do not ask for your property back from someone who takes it.

凡求你的，就给他；有人拿去你的东西，别再索回。

Lk 6,32

καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν.

Et si diligitis eos qui vos diligunt quae vobis est gratia nam et peccatores diligentes se diligunt.

If you love those who love you, what credit can you expect? Even sinners love those who love them.

若你们爱那爱你们的，为你们还算什么功德？因为连罪人也爱那爱他们的人。

Lk 6,35

πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαθοποιεῖτε καὶ δανίζετε μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες· καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς, καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς.

Verumtamen diligite inimicos vestros et benefacite et mutuum date nihil

desperantes et erit merces vestra multa et eritis filii Altissimi quia ipse
benignus est super ingratos et malos.

Instead, love your enemies and do good to them, and lend without any
hope of return. You will have a great reward, and you will be children of
the Most High, for he himself is kind to the ungrateful and the wicked.

但是，你们当爱你们的仇人，善待他们；借出，不要再有所希望：如此，你们的赏报必
定丰厚，且要成为至高者的子女，因为他对待忘恩的和恶人，是仁慈的。

Lk 6,38

δίδοτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλὸν πεπιεσμένον σεσαλευμένον
ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν· ὃ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε
ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Date et dabitur vobis mensuram bonam confersam et coagitatam et
supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum eadem quippe mensura qua
mensi fueritis remetietur vobis.

Give, and there will be gifts for you: a full measure, pressed down, shaken
together, and overflowing, will be poured into your lap; because the
standard you use will be the standard used for you.

你们给，也就给你们；并且还要用好的，连接带摇，以致外溢的升斗，倒在你们的怀里，
因为你们用什么升斗量，也用什么升斗量给你们。

Mt 18,5

καὶ ὃς ἂν δέξηται ἓν παιδίον τοιοῦτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται.

Et qui susceperit unum parvulum talem in nomine meo me suscipit.

Anyone who welcomes one little child like this in my name welcomes me.

无论谁因我的名字，收留一个这样的小孩，就是收留我。

Jn 6,5

πόθεν ἀγοράσωμεν ἄρτους ἵνα φάγωσιν οὗτοι;

unde ememus panes ut manducent hii?

Where can we buy some bread for these people to eat?

我们从那里买饼给这些人吃呢？

Lk 9,13

δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν.

Vos date illis manducare.

Give them something to eat yourselves.

你们给他们吃的吧！

Lk 9,48

ὃς ἐὰν δέξηται τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέξηται, δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με· ὁ γὰρ μικρότερος ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχων οὗτός ἐστιν μέγας.

Quicumque suscepit puerum istum in nomine meo me recipit et quicumque me recipit recipit eum qui me misit nam qui minor est inter omnes vos hic maior est.

Anyone who welcomes this little child in my name welcomes me; and anyone who welcomes me, welcomes the one who sent me. The least among you all is the one who is the greatest.

谁若为了我的名字收留这个小孩子，就是收留我；谁若收留我，就是收留那派遣我来的；

因为在你们众人中最小的，这人才是最大的。

Jn 10,11

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων·

Ego sum pastor bonus; bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus.

I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.

我是善牧:善牧为羊舍掉自己的性命。

Jn 10,14

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς καὶ γινώσκω τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ γινώσκουσίν με τὰ ἐμά,

Ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me meae.

I am the good shepherd; I know my own and my own know me.

我是善牧，我认识我的羊，我的羊也认识我。

Jn 10,15

καθὼς γινώσκει με ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ γινώσκω τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μου τίθημι ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων.

Sicut novit me Pater et ego agnosco Patrem et animam meam pono pro ovibus.

Just as the Father knows me and I know the Father; and I lay down my life for my sheep.

正如父认识我，我也认识父一样；我并且为羊舍掉我的性命。

Jn 13,34

Ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.

Mandatum novum do vobis ut diligatis invicem sicut dilexi vos ut et vos diligatis invicem.

I give you a new commandment: love one another; you must love one another just as I have loved you.

我给你们一条新命令：你们该彼此相爱；如同我爱了你们，你们也该照样彼此相爱。

Lk 10,30- 35

ἄνθρωπός τις κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἱεριχὼ καὶ λησταῖς περιέπεσεν, οἳ καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ πληγὰς ἐπιθέντες ἀπῆλθον ἀφέντες ἡμιθανή. κατὰ συγκυρίαν δὲ ἱερεὺς τις κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἀντιπαρήλθεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Λευίτης [γενόμενος] κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀντιπαρήλθεν. Σαμαρίτης δὲ τις ὁδεύων ἦλθεν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν ἐσπλαγχνίσθη, καὶ προσελθὼν κατέδεσεν τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ ἐπιχέων ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, ἐπιβιάσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον κτῆνος ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς πανδοχεῖον καὶ ἐπεμελήθη αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὖριον ἐκβαλὼν ἔδωκεν δύο δηνάρια τῷ πανδοχεῖ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν προσδαπανήσης ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ ἐπανέρχεσθαί με ἀποδώσω σοι.

Homo quidam descendebat ab Hierusalem in Hiericho et incidit in latrones qui etiam despoliaverunt eum et plagis inpositis abierunt semivivo relicto; accidit autem ut sacerdos quidam descenderet eadem via et viso illo praeterivit; similiter et Levita cum esset secus locum et videret eum pertransiit; Samaritanus autem quidam iter faciens venit secus eum et videns eum misericordia motus est et adpropians alligavit vulnera eius infundens oleum et vinum et inponens illum in iumentum suum duxit in

stabulum et curam eius egit; et altera die protulit duos denarios et dedit stabulario et ait curam illius habe et quodcumque supererogaveris ego cum rediero reddam tibi.

A man was once on his way down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell into the hands of bandits; they stripped him, beat him and then made off, leaving him half dead. Now a priest happened to be travelling down the same road, but when he saw the man, he passed by on the other side. In the same way a Levite who came to the place saw him, and passed by on the other side. But a Samaritan traveller who came on him was moved with compassion when he saw him. He went up to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring oil and wine on them. He then lifted him onto his own mount and took him to an inn and looked after him. Next day, he took out two denarii and handed them to the innkeeper and said, "Look after him, and on my way back I will make good any extra expense you have."

有一个人从耶路撒冷下来，到耶里哥去，遭遇了强盗；他们剥去他的衣服，并加以击伤，将他半死半活的丢下走了。正巧有一个司祭在那条路上下来，看了看他，便从旁边走过去。又有一个肋未人，也是一样；他到了那里，看了看，也从旁边走过去。但有一个撒马黎雅人，路过他那里，一看见就动了怜悯的心，遂上前，在他的伤处注上油与酒，包扎好了，又扶他骑上自己的牲口，把他带到带客店里，小心照料他。第二天，取出两个银钱交给店主说：请你小心看护他！不论余外花费多少，等我回来时，必要补还你。

Lk 10,36

τίς τούτων τῶν τριῶν πλησίον δοκεῖ σοι γεγονέναι τοῦ ἐμπεσόντος εἰς τοὺς ληστάς;

Quis horum trium videtur tibi proximus fuisse illi qui incidit in latrines?

Which of these three, do you think, proved himself a neighbour to the man who fell into the bandits' hands?'

你以为这三个人中，谁是那遭遇那强盗者的近人呢？

Lk 15,4-5

τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ ἀπολέσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓν οὐ καταλείπει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἑννέα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἕως εὗρη αὐτό; ⁵ καὶ εὕρων ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους αὐτοῦ χαίρων

Quis ex vobis homo qui habet centum oves et si perdiderit unam ex illis nonne dimittit nonaginta novem in deserto et vadit ad illam quae perierat donec inveniat illam et cum invenerit eam inponit in umeros suos gaudens.

Which one of you with a hundred sheep, if he lost one, would fail to leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go after the missing one till he found it?

And when he found it, would he not joyfully take it on his shoulders.

你们中间有那个人有一百只羊，遗失了其中的一只，而不把这九十九只丢在荒野，去寻觅那遗失的一只，直到找着呢？待找着了，就喜欢的把它放在自己的肩膀上。

Lk 21,3-4

ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον εἰς τὰ δῶρα, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὑστερήματος αὐτῆς πάντα τὸν βίον ὃν εἶχεν ἔβαλεν.

Vere dico vobis quia vidua haec pauper plus quam omnes misit, nam omnes hii ex abundanti sibi miserunt in munera Dei, haec autem ex eo

quod deest illi omnem victum suum quem habuit misit.

I tell you truly, this poor widow has put in more than any of them; for these have all put in money they could spare, but she in her poverty has put in all she had to live on.

我实话告诉你们：这个穷寡妇比众人投入的都多，因为众人都是拿他们多余的投入，作为给天主的献仪；而这个寡妇却是从她的不足中，把她所有的一切生活费都投上了。

Mt 22,37-38

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή.

Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua hoc est maximum et primum mandatum.

You must love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment.

你应全心，全灵，全意，爱上主你的天主。这是最大也是第一条诫命。

Mt 22,39

δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Secundum autem simile est huic diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.

The second resembles it: You must love your neighbour as yourself.

第二条与此相似：你应当爱近人如你自己。

Mt 24,12

καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν.

Et quoniam abundabit iniquitas refrigescet caritas multorum.

And with the increase of lawlessness, love in most people will grow cold.

由于罪恶的增加，许多人的爱情必要冷淡。

Jn 15,9

Καθὼς ἠγάπησέν με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἠγάπησα· μέναιτε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐμῇ.

Sicut dilexit me Pater et ego dilexi vos manete in dilectione mea.

I have loved you just as the Father has loved me. Remain in my love.

正如父爱了我，同样我也爱了你们；你们应存在我的爱内。

Jn 15,12

Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἣ ἐμή, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς.

Hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis invicem sicut dilexi vos.

This is my commandment: love one another, as I have loved you.

这是我的命令：你们该彼此相爱，如同我爱了你们一样。

Jn 15,13

μεῖζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis.

No one can have greater love than to lay down his life for his friends.

人若为自己的朋友舍掉性命，再没有比这更大的爱情了。

Jn 15,17

ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.

Haec mando vobis ut diligatis invicem.

My command to you is to love one another.

这就是我命令你们的：你们应该彼此相爱。

Mk 14,6

ἄφετε αὐτήν· τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἡργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί.

Sinite eam quid illi molesti estis bonum opus operata est in me.

Leave her alone. Why are you upsetting her? What she has done for me is a good work.

由她罢！你们为什么叫她难受？她在我身上做了一件善事。

Mk 14,7

πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.

Semper enim pauperes habetis vobiscum et cum volueritis potestis illis benefacere, me autem non semper habetis.

You have the poor with you always, and you can be kind to them whenever you wish, but you will not always have me.

因为你们常有穷人同你们在一起，你们几时愿意，就能给他们行善；但是我，你们却不常有。

Mk 14,8

ὃ ἔσχευ ἐποίησεν· προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν.

Quod habuit haec fecit praevenit unguere corpus meum in sepulturam.

She has done what she could: she has anointed my body beforehand for

its burial.

她已做了她能做的：提前傅抹了我的身体，是为安葬之事。

Mk 14,9

ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἔαν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

Amen dico vobis ubicumque praedicatum fuerit evangelium istud in universum mundum et quod fecit haec narrabitur in memoriam eius.

In truth I tell you, wherever throughout all the world the gospel is proclaimed, what she has done will be told as well, in remembrance of her.

将来福音无论传到全世界什么地方，必要述说她所作的事，来纪念她。

Lk 23,34

πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν

Pater dimitte illis, non enim sciunt quid faciunt.

Father, forgive them; they do not know what they are doing.

父啊，宽赦他们吧！因为他们不知道他们做的是什麼。

Mt 25,34-36

τότε ἐρεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με, ξένος ἦμην καὶ συνηγάγετέ με, γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με, ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἦμην καὶ ἦλθατε πρὸς με.

Tunc dicet rex his qui a dextris eius erunt venite benedicti Patris mei

possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi; esurivi enim et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram et collexistis me; nudus et operuistis me; infirmus et visitastis me; in carcere eram et venistis ad me.

Then the King will say to those on his right hand, "Come, you whom my Father has blessed, take as your heritage the kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you made me welcome, lacking clothes and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me."

那时，君王要对那些在他右边的说：我父所祝福的，你们来吧！承受自创世以来，给你们预备了的国度吧！因为我饿了，你们给了我吃的；我渴了，你们给了我喝的；我作客，你们收留了我，我赤身露体，你们给了我穿的；我患病，你们看顾了我；我在监里，你们来探望了我。

Mt 25,37-40

τότε ἀποκριθήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγοντες· κύριε, πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν, ἢ διψῶντα καὶ ἐποτίσαμεν; πότε δέ σε εἶδομεν ξένον καὶ συνηγάγομεν, ἢ γυμνὸν καὶ περιεβάλομεν; πότε δέ σε εἶδομεν ἀσθενοῦντα ἢ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ ἦλθομεν πρὸς σε; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.

Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes Domine quando te vidimus esurientem et pavimus; sitientem et dedimus tibi potum; quando autem te vidimus hospitem et colleximus te aut nudum et cooperuimus aut;

quando te vidimus infirmum aut in carcere et venimus ad te? et respondens rex dicet: illis amen dico vobis quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis.

Then the upright will say to him in reply, "Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you drink? When did we see you a stranger and make you welcome, lacking clothes and clothe you? When did we find you sick or in prison and go to see you?" And the King will answer, "In truth I tell you, in so far as you did this to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it to me."

那时，义人回答他说：主啊！我们什么时候见了你饥饿而供养了你，或口渴而给了你喝的？我们什么时候见了你作客，而收留了你，或赤身露体而给了你穿的？我们什么时候见你患病，或在监里而来探望过你？

君王便回答他们说：我实在告诉你们：凡你们对我这些最小兄弟中的一个所做的，就是对我做的。

Mt 26,10

τί κόπους παρέχετε τῇ γυναικί; ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἡργάσατο εἰς ἐμέ·

Quid molesti estis mulieri? opus bonum operata est in me.

Why are you upsetting the woman? What she has done for me is indeed a good work!

你们为什么叫这个女人难受？她在我身上原是作了一件善事。

Mt 26,13

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἔαν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, λαληθήσεται καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

Amen dico vobis ubicumque praedicatum fuerit hoc evangelium in toto mundo dicetur et quod haec fecit in memoriam eius.

In truth I tell you, wherever in all the world this gospel is proclaimed, what she has done will be told as well, in remembrance of her.

我实在告诉你们：将来在全世界，这福音无论传到那里，必要述说她所作的事，来纪念她。

拉丁汉学

拉丁语对汉字罗马化的影响

Michele Ferrero (麦克雷)

刘羽婷 译

前言

欧洲人第一次见到神秘的中国汉字时，便感到十分不解和着迷。汉字不能直接反映音素，也不能反映单词的读音。它传达的是字义，而非字音，而字义靠字型传达，这与西方的字母语言不甚相同。西方语言中，一串符合读音规则的符号便可表示单词的读音。而在中国的不同地方，同样的汉字会有很大的发音差别。这便是中国在数千年来维持统一重要的原因。尽管不同地区的发音不同，写出来的文字却是一样的。汉字是中国的珍宝，但同时，汉字也是阻碍中华文明在世界传播的最大障碍。

诚然，每个汉字都对应着一或多个发音，因此可组合成表示诸如外国人名的表音词汇。但汉语符号，即所谓的汉字，最主要的功能，是表达概念和意义，而非读音。在西方字母语言中，可根据读音规则将字母组合在一起，造出并不存在的单词。但在汉语中，每个字都传达着某种意思，即使在某些地方，人们口耳相传保留着某个汉字的方言读音，其他地方的人也无法明白该读音所对应的汉字。

因此，在中华文化中，汉字书写的作用非同小可。即使在今天，无论是商店门脸或是电影字幕，想要更好地传达信息，书面文字都是必不可少的。发音有时会给交流带来一些麻烦，这时便经常能看到人们在手心上写下某个汉字，告诉对方其确切所指。

由于这种字与意而非字与音的对应关系，汉语的拼音包含大量信息。拉丁字母表只有二十四个字母，每个字母对应一个音，即便不知道词意，也能拼出单词的读音。而汉语中，如果没有学过哪个汉字，就没法读出其发音。此外，很多汉字读音相同（例如，在普通话中，约有 80 个汉字发音类似意大利语中的“ii”），这些字也就不能像字母文字一样，只对应一到两个读音。

中国和西方的会面，也是西方的表音文字和中国的表意文字的碰撞。欧洲的拉丁文字

用不同的发音表示相同的意思（如：book, libro, Buch, livro 都表示“书”），而中国的汉字则是将同样的意思蕴含在不同的发音中。

最早的汉学研究者¹⁸，是 1500 年第一次来到中国的基督教传教士。由于拉丁语是通用语言，他们便尝试用拉丁字母转写汉字。

这并非历史上对汉字的首次音译。公元一世纪，来自印度的佛教传教者便发明了一套将汉字音译为梵文的转写体系。然而，与拉丁文不同的是，梵文的文字不统一，在不同的时代，不同的地区，都有着不同的文字¹⁹，这就造成了音译汉字中的一个主要问题。

拉丁字母使人们都能将汉字与读音联系起来，这是汉字史上前所未有的。

1. 鲁杰里、里奇和卡塔内奥

在与中国的文化交流方面，耶稣会教士做出了丰功伟绩，这首先得益于他们在语言上做出的开拓性探索。²⁰

耶稣会教士来到中国后，便开始用罗马字母记录听到的汉字。首先做出尝试的是罗明坚（Michele Ruggieri 1543-1607）和利玛窦（Matteo Ricci 1552-1610）。利玛窦于 1582 年到达中国，罗明坚于 1588 年离开中国，在此期间，他们从事于汉字的转写工作。利玛窦拟写出了第一本汉语葡萄牙语字典，这份手稿直到 1934 年才被发现，2001 年出版。²¹

想要了解他们最初为汉字制定的罗马拼音，我们需要考虑如下两个因素：他们是在中国的哪个地区听到的中文、听到的是什么样的人说的中文；以及他们采用的是何种拉丁语发音方式。关于第一点问题，他们想弄清哪种为官方口音，便向政府官员和儒家学士，

¹⁸ 如 MUNGELLO, D.E, *Curious land. Jesuit accommodation and the origins of sinology*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1989. MUNGELLO, D.E, 奇异的国度: 耶稣会适应政策及汉学的起源, 夏威夷出版社, 火奴鲁鲁, 1989.

¹⁹ 见 Masica, Colin (1991). *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 36-38. Mahadevan, Iravatham (2003). *Early Tamil epigraphy from the earliest times to the sixth century A.D.* Chennai, India Cambridge, MA Cambridge, Mass. London, England: Cre-A Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University Distributed by Harvard University Press.

²⁰ 见 Camus Yves, *Jesuit Journeys In Chinese Studies*, World Conference on Sinology 2007, Renmin University of China, Beijing 2007.03.26-28

²¹ 见 Dicionário Português-Chinês / Direcção de Edição John W. Witek, S.J. = 葡漢辭典 / 編輯魏若望 = Portuguese-Chinese dictionary / Editor John W. Witek, S.J.

Dicionário Português-Chinês de Michele Ruggieri e Matteo Ricci: Introdução histórico-linguística = Luo Mingjian he Li Madou de Pu-Han cidian (Lishi yuyan daolun) 羅明堅和利瑪竇的葡漢辭典 (歷史語言導論) = The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci: an historical and linguistic introduction, by Paul Fu-Mien Yang 楊福綿, S.J. published by the Portuguese Oriental Institute - Macau - and the Portuguese National Library - Lisbon -, in cooperation with the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, at the University of San Francisco.

特别是徐光启，寻求帮助。关于第二点问题，最早的汉学家都来自意大利，他们的拉丁语也便遵循“教会式发音”。教会式发音与意大利语发音相似，例如，单词“Cicero”和“cognoscit”在拉丁语中的发音，就和意大利语是一样的。

最早的汉字罗马化，是罗明坚转写的《中国地图集》（1606）。该著作由地图和拉丁文本组成。1993年，这本地图集在欧金尼奥·罗·萨尔多的监督下，由意大利“国家档案馆”出版，此前，国家图书馆和罗马国家档案馆曾接连发现了一系列手稿。²²

罗明坚《中国地图集》



汉字的初期罗马化，还包括著作“Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesu’ e Christianita’ in Cina”。²³在原文中，利玛窦并未使用汉字（汉字是1942年由德礼贤加注的），只使用了表示汉字发音的拉丁字母。

以下例子出自于一份罗明坚的手稿和“利玛窦全集”，为罗明坚和利玛窦对汉字的首次拉丁字母转写。

Gin 仁 amor seu caritas

Gni 义 gratitudo

Li 礼 humanitas

Ci 智 Prudentia

Sin 信 Veritas

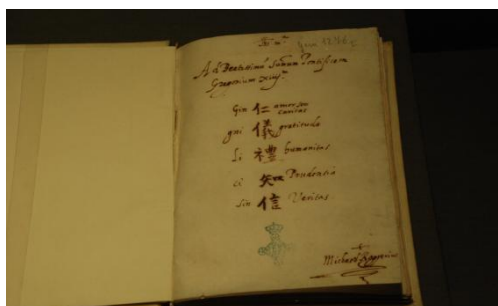
低 ti / 下 sihia / 动了 tum liau

²² 见 Ruggieri, Michele, *Atlante della Cina*, a cura di Eugenio Lo Sardo, Archivio di Stato di Roma-Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato/Libreria dello Stato, Roma, 1993.

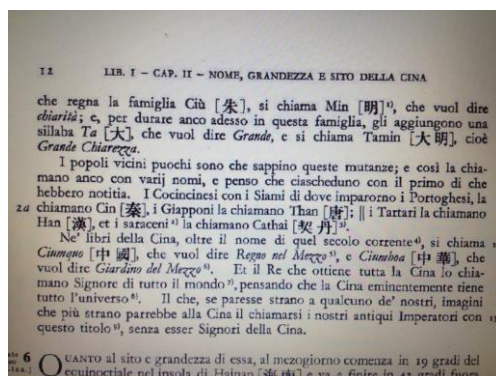
²³ 见 D’ELIA, P.(ed), *Fonti Ricciane: Storia dell’Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949 (3 vols), vol 1, p 12.

唐 Than / 虛 lu / 夏 Hia
 商 Sciam / 周 Ceu / 漢 Han
 朱 Ciu' / 明 Min / 大 Ta
 秦 Cin / 唐 Than / 中国 Ciumquo²⁴

罗明坚的手稿



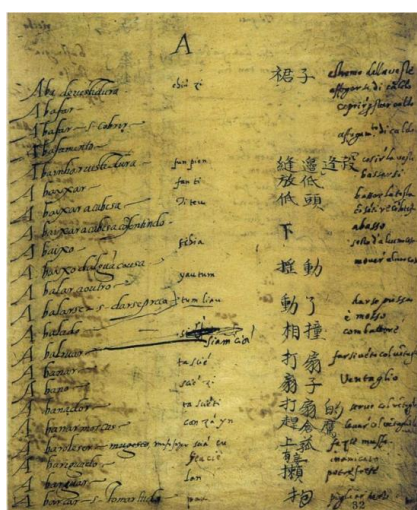
德礼贤加注的



1605 年，利玛窦又于北京出版了《西字奇蹟》。这是第一本用罗马字母转写中文的书籍。

1598 年，意大利耶稣会会士郭居静到达中国。对音乐的敏感使他认识到，汉字的读音存在着不同声调。他与利玛窦一起，合编了第一部用拉丁字母为汉字注音，并表明声调的字典。

利玛窦的汉葡字典



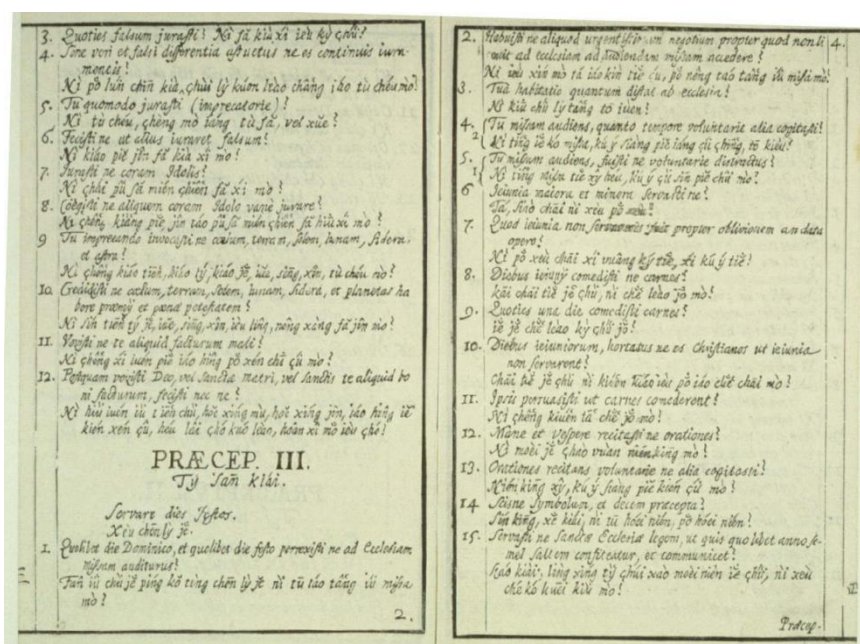
²⁴见 D'ELIA, P.(ed), *Fonti Ricciane: Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949 (3 vols), vol 1, p 12.

2. 金尼阁和瓦罗

1626 年，金尼阁撰写了《西儒耳目资》。这是第一部系统使用拉丁字母为汉字注音的著作，也可以说是对之前汉字罗马化成就的整合。

1670 年，弗朗西斯科·瓦罗出版了葡萄牙语的“Vocabulario da lingua mandarina”（《汉语官话字典》），并于 1703 年重新发行了西班牙语版本“Arte de la lengua mandarina”（《汉语官话语法》）。在书中，瓦罗使用了另一种拉丁字母转写汉字的方法。该书主要供传教士用于宗教活动，所以包含很多告解神父向忏悔者询问罪恶的语句。由于原版没有出现汉字，很难判定书中罗马字母所指的汉字。例如句子 “Quoties falsum iurasti?”（你发假誓有几次——一个古代告解神父的标准问题），被写成 “Ni fa kia xi iue ky chu?”，对应汉字“你(nǐ)发(fā)假(jiǎ)誓(shì)要(yào)几(jǐ)次(cì)”。

瓦罗为告解神父撰写的罗马拼音手稿

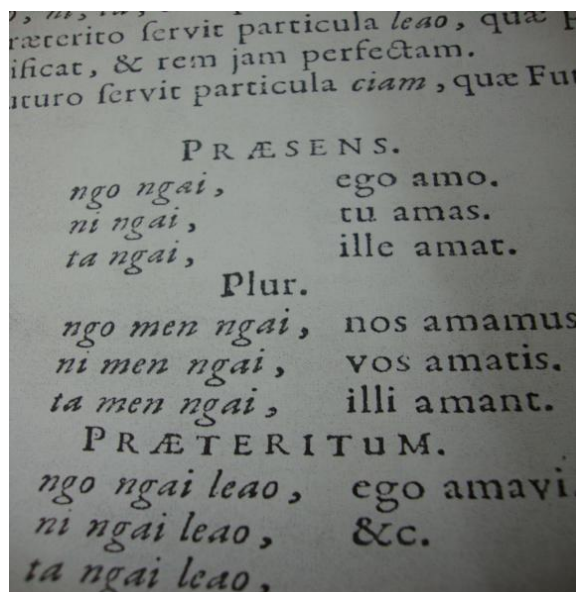


3. 十七至十九世纪的耶稣会汉学家

对于渴望与中国友人交流的外国传教士来说，十七世纪是语法和学习工具加速发展的时代。卫匡国（Martino Martini 1614 – 1661）撰写了“Grammatica linguae sinensis”（《汉语语

法”），为新到的传教士讲解汉语的语法规则。该书中用罗马拼音转录的，是他在中国南方听到的汉语发音。因此，拉丁语“Amo”（我爱）翻译成“ngo ngai”；“Amabo”（我将爱）翻译成“ngo chiam ngai”；“Amavi”（我爱了）翻译成“ngo hao leao”。

卫匡国的语法书



十七到十九世纪，欧洲出版了大量介绍中国的书籍²⁵，由于面向欧洲读者，这些著作便需将汉字进行某种形式的罗马化。例如，卜弥格在著作《中国植物志》中，就用拉丁字母转写了中国的地名、动物名称、和植物名称。

但最为伟大的汉字罗马化著作，还要属德国人阿塔纳斯·珂雪的《中国图志》。该书可是说是一本用拉丁语写就的中国百科全书。基督教在中国发展史上一块最为重要的石碑，西安的大秦景教流行中国碑，也被转录成罗马字母文本，收入其中。石碑的翻译与罗马字母的转写工作，由卜弥格和两位中国基督徒完成。一位为郑安德勒，曾陪同卜弥格游历传教，另一位拉丁文署名为“中国的玛窦”（"Matthaeus Sina"），他们分别于 1650 和 1660 年代访问罗马。

²⁵ 见费列罗书籍列表

珂雪의 《中国图志》



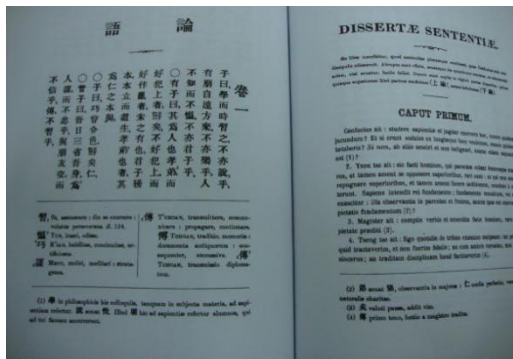
另一个使用罗马字母传授汉语的人是马若瑟（1666-1736）（Joseph Henri Marie De Premare）。马若瑟是法国人，1683 年加入耶稣会，1698 年来到中国，在此生活了 40 年。他最重要的著作，为拉丁语的 *Notitia linguae sinicae*（《汉语札记》），该书写于 1720 年，却于 1831 年才得以在马六甲发行，书名为《汉语入门》。马若瑟还撰写了《耶稣会会士用拉丁语汉语词典》（手写本）（*Vocabularium latino-sinicum, ad usum missionariorum societatis Jesu*）。他的汉语语法被理雅各称赞为“不可超越的成就”。

马若瑟对汉字的罗马标音，与之前传教士汉学家的方式不同。例如，“字本”译成 pen tsee；“处（處）”译成 chu；“圣（聖）”译成 ching。

其他早期的汉字罗马化作品，还包括雷孝思(Jean-Baptist Regis 1663-1738)在 1730 年翻译的《易经》，该书直到 1839 年才由朱利斯·莫尔发行，名为 *Y-king, Antiquissimus Sinarum Liber Quem Ex Latina Interpretatione P. Regis Aliorumque Ex Soc. Jesu P. edidit Julius Mohl, 1839*。

另一位译者是孙璋(Alexander de la Charme, 1728-1767)，他将诗经译成法文，并用拉丁语写就了 *Confucii Chi-king sive liber carminum. Ex latina P. Lacharmi interpretatione*。（儒家诗歌诗经）

最后一批拉丁语翻译的汉语典籍，包括晁德莅(Angelo Zottoli)于 1879 年翻译的“四书”和其他儒家经典，这些译本分为两卷，一卷名为 *Cursus Literaturae Sinicae neo-missionariis accommodatus auctore P. Angelo Zottoli S.J. e Missione Nankinensi. Volumen primum pro infima classe Lingua familia*, (Chang hai ex typographia Missionis catholicae in orphanotrophio Tou-sè-wè, Ton-chan-wan, 1879)。另一卷名为 *Dissertae Sententiae* (论语的拉丁语译本), (Chang hai ex typographia Missionis catholicae in orphanotrophio Tou-sè-wè, Ton-chan-wan, 1879)。他使用了另一种汉字的罗马拼音转写方法，如：Si “习（習）”、 Meou “谋（謀）”、 T'choan “传”等。



4.讲英语的汉学家与汉字罗马化

十九世纪初，英国的传教士和汉学家到达中国，他们使用了新的汉字转写方法，使拉丁拼音的发音更加接近于英语或法语，而非拉丁语。这些汉学家中，最著名的要属理雅各、威妥马，以及翟理斯。

理雅各(James Legge; 20 December 1815 – 29 November 1897) 是著名的苏格兰汉学家、公理会会士，曾于 1840 年到 1873 年任伦敦布道会的香港和马六甲代表，1876 年到 1897 年任教于牛津大学，是牛津大学的第一位汉语教授。他的主要成就是《中华典籍：译文、评注、前言和索引》，该书共五卷，包括英译的孔子著作和其他中国古典文献。理雅各的罗马拼音比他人多一些特殊符号，如“孔夫子”，译成 K'ung Fû-tsze。

理雅各使用的拼音系统很快就被威妥玛-翟理斯拼音法取代，该拼音法以同时期的两位汉学家命名。

威妥玛(Thomas Francis Wade,1818–1895)是英国的外交官兼汉学家，于 1867 年写成了英国的第一本汉语教科书。他决定将北京地区的汉字读音，作为罗马拼音转写的标准。

翟理斯(Herbert Allen Giles, 1845–1935) 是一位英国的外交官、汉学家，及中文教授。他于查特豪斯学校毕业后，成为了一名英国驻中国外交官。1892 年，他改进了威妥玛的汉语官话拼音法，创造出了广为人知的威妥玛-翟理斯式拼音法。翟理斯在拉丁字母上标注数字(1, 2, 3, 4)，用以表示每个汉字的音调。威妥玛-翟理斯式拼音法的一个特点，便是用撇号表示塞音是否送气：p, p', t, t', k, k', ch, ch'。因此，与理雅各的拼音相同，威妥玛-翟理斯拼音也需要罗马字母表之外的其他符号。

1902 年，法国远东学院的顾赛芬发明了另一种主要用于法语社会的拼音。这时，随着中国帝制的结束，中国学者也开始发明自己的拼音系统，让他们美丽的汉字为外国人所知。他们的首要任务，就是让外国人写出中国的地址，以便向中国邮寄信件。

5. 汉字罗马化的现代发展

为满足邮政业务的需要,让西方人在邮寄信件和包裹时,能够拼写出中国的人名和地名,十九世纪末,“邮政式拼音”兴起。1906 年春,帝国邮电联席会议于上海召开,正式批准了邮政式拼音的使用。1912 年清政府灭亡后,邮政式拼音仍得以继续使用。直到二十世纪后叶,邮政拼音都是西方最常用的中国地名拼写方法(如用于绘制地图等)。

邮政式拼音基本沿用了威妥玛-翟理斯拼音的规则,但一些中国地名的拼写方法,却比威妥玛拼音在欧洲更为常见。此外,邮政式拼音还加入了一些汉语的方言和旧时发音。可以说,邮政拼音是威妥玛-翟理斯拼音与中国地名的西方传统表达方式的结合。常见的例子包括中国大城市的名字,如: Peking (北京), Tientsin (天津), Canton (广州), Amoy (厦门), Quemoy (金门)。北京的机场代码 (PEK) 就是邮政拼音曾经广泛使用的标志。

宋恕(1862-1910) 是晚清第一位倡导用中国式拼音向外国人呈现汉字的学者。他参与了汉字的现代化改革,该改革主要在学术界进行。

1892 年,卢懋章(1854 - 1928)发明了第一套中国本土的现代拼音系统:切音新字。切音主要用来拼写厦门地区的闽南方言。另有学者仿照日语的罗马拼音,发明出其他语音转写系统。

1923 年,国民政府教育部成立了国语推行委员会,其中包括十一人的汉字拼音化小组。但当时政局混乱,社会动荡,该小组的研究成果仅仅局限在了学术层面,并未产生社会效益。

五年后,赵元任、林语堂、钱玄同、黎锦熙、汪怡等五位学者决定自愿成立一个新的专门小组,商议汉字拼音的改革方案。他们一致认为,应创造一套在全国推行的汉字拼音方案。1925 至 1926 年间,小组成员总共碰面二十二次,最终于 1928 年敲定了所谓的国语罗马字。

该拼音方案的独创之处,在于它不再使用数字或符号,而是使用不同却相近的拼音,来表示不同音调的字。例如:“bao”音的字,分别用 bau / baur / bao / baw 表示一、二、三、四声声调;再如,“hai”音的字,分别用 hai / hair / hae / hay 表示四声等等。

这种拼音最实际的用处,就是使任何人都可在一台标准打字机上打出任何汉字。然而,这种拼音主要用于字典,从未进入中国人的寻常生活。

1929 年,身在莫斯科的中国学者瞿秋白(1899 - 1935) 和俄国语言学家科洛科洛夫(V.S. Kolokolov 1896 - 1979)设计出了一种名为“新文字”的罗马拼音,该拼音没有声调标记,他

们认为，即使不标声调，人们也能明白所指的汉字。该拼音方案由前苏联为在苏的中国移民设计，因此，即便没有声调，中国人也能根据上下文理解字义。

二战期间，美军认为应加强两国军事人员间的交流。由于士兵文化水平不高，只能用读英语的方式拼读汉语拼音的字母，1943 年，汉学家乔治·肯尼迪和他的团队在耶鲁大学设计出了“耶鲁国语拼音”，用传统的英语拼写规则表示汉字的发音。例如，汉字“知识”，威妥玛拼音写成“*chih-shih*”，现代拼音写成“*zhishi*”，而耶鲁拼音则写成“*jr-shr*”，这三种拼音中，只有最后一种，可以让没有学习过汉语的英语母语者，发出最为相似的读音。

耶鲁拼音沿用了很久，用于汉语常用语手册，和耶鲁大学的汉语教学系统。除了这种拼音，耶鲁大学还用汉语口语进行汉语官话教学。

6. 汉语拼音

1949 年十月，中国文字改革协会成立，吴玉章（拉丁化新文字创始人之一）任主任。

其首任委员会的全体成员，都是拉丁化新文字运动（倪海曙、林汉达等）或国语罗马字运动（黎锦熙、罗常培等）的参与者。他们当中的大部分人，都是十分专业的语言学人士。他们第一阶段（1949-1952）的任务，是设计出一种转写汉字的拉丁拼音系统。语言学家周有光任委员会主管。

1951 年，毛泽东做出了制定汉语拼音的指示。1957 年十一月，国务院颁布了第一套草案。1978 年九月，国务院批准了汉语拼音的最终方案。1982 年，国际标准化组织同意采用汉语拼音作为世界文献工作中拼写汉字的国际标准。

在此之前，人们曾尝试过用拉丁字母之外的其他表音符号拼写汉字，但效果均不尽人意。1958 年，周恩来总理示意语言改革研究委员会，让他们采用拉丁字母作为汉字拼音的符号。

反对者称拉丁字母为“外国语言帝国主义”，支持者则大力反对这种说法，理由如下：1) 在科学领域中，拉丁字母是世界范围内通用的语言，常用来表示专业术语；2) 拉丁字母易读易写，在全球已通用数百年，并且便于用来拼写汉语的发音。3) 中国的很多东南亚邻国都已熟悉拉丁字母；4) 虽说拉丁字母来自国外，但两位最为爱国的中国学者，瞿秋白和鲁迅，都是拉丁字母的坚定支持者，因此，使用拉丁字母并不代表缺少家国情怀；5) 拉丁字母来源于希腊字母，而希腊字母又来源于腓尼基和古埃及字母。因此，若说使用拉丁字母有损国家尊严，那使用阿拉伯数字和传统数学符号，不论这些符号源自何处，也会是同样降格。

文革期间，语言改革处于停滞状态。1966 到 1972 年，没有任何语言改革和语言学的文章发表。1958 年，《人民日报》和《红旗日报》在报头上首次使用的汉语拼音副标题，在 1966 年七月至 1977 年一月间，也停止使用。最终的汉语拼音方案有如下特点：只用来表示汉字的发音，不能代替汉字；以北京地区方言为基础；包含声调符号；使用拉丁字母书写。

1960 至 1970 年代，澳、英、美等英语国家的学者在选用何种拉丁拼音时，受到了较大的国际政治影响。选择简体字还是繁体汉字，使用汉语拼音还是国语罗马字，都暗含着支持中国共产党还是台湾国民党的政治示意。海外华人和西方学者纷纷使用此种方法表明立场。曾经有一段时间，耶鲁大学采用了“第三种”拼音方法，用于汉语教科书和汉字语音教学系统。之后，这种拼音成为了一种折中的方法。然而，近年来，耶鲁大学的拼音已经为中国的汉语拼音取代。

1982 年，国际组织采用汉语拼音作为世界文献工作中用罗马字母拼写汉字的国际标准。

为什么利玛窦使中国学生如此累？

Leo Leeb （雷立柏 中国人民大学）

最近上课时一个学生问我：“意大利北部的‘帕多瓦城’和‘巴杜阿’是不是一个地方？”我说：“大概是同一个城市，因为古代的拉丁语 *Padua* 成为意大利语的 *Padova*，所以应该有两种翻译：拉丁语‘帕杜阿’和意大利语‘帕多瓦’。”但我自己觉得很奇怪，为什么“Pa”还有人译成“巴”呢？另一个学生问我关于古罗马皇帝 *Vespasianus* 的汉译名：是“韦斯帕芑”或“苇斯帕芑”呢？我觉得无法理解：怎能用“苇”一个字来翻译 *Ve* 呢？此后我查词典并发现这些译名都非常不规范！我才知道为什么中国学生不怎么爱学习，为什么他们很想出国：因为汉语的人名和地名特别令人感到奇怪和不解：你看看这些例子：*Venice* 成“威尼斯”，古罗马诗人 *Vergilius* 是“维吉尔”，罗马皇帝 *Vespasianus* 是“韦斯帕芑”（或“苇斯帕芑”），而意大利南部的火山称“维苏威火山”。但拉丁美洲国家 *Venezuela* 称“委内瑞拉”。谁能记住什么时候用“维”、“韦”、“威”和“委”呢？西方的学生很轻松，那里有 *Ve* 就写一个 *Ve*，但中国学生出了发音“*ve*”外还得记住三、四个不同的“维”。德国社会学家 *Max Weber* 是“韦伯”或“苇伯”或“威伯”？德国 *Westfalen* 地区是“韦斯特法伦”或“威斯特法伦”呢？谁让汉语的译名成为那么复杂、混乱和难记呢？

实际上，这种现象和著名传教士与汉学家利玛窦（*Matteo Ricci*, 1552-1610 年）有关系。在他的名著《天主实义》中，他已经翻译一些西方人名，比如将希腊思想家 *Pythagoras* 译成“闭他卧刺”（今天译“毕达哥拉斯”）。显然 400 年以前的利先生已经回避“皮”一个词，所以没有将 *Py* 译成“皮”，而译成“毕”。有意思的是，400 年后的中国学人仍然将错就错地保留了“*Bi*”（闭，毕），没有改成“*Pi*”（皮）。但在《天主实义》中出现的人名和地名很少，所以我查了下黄时鉴编的《利玛窦世界地图研究》一书，并且发现，汉语译名“乱象”的“罪魁祸首”是利先生！这方面的例子太多！

利玛窦在 1590 年代已经开始出版他不同版本的《世界地图》，但他可能太着急，因为他没有想好译名的良好方式。他并没有提出一个很系统的译名规律，一个好用的转化方案，而用很多复杂的、华丽的，但难记住的汉字来翻译外国地名。最可怕的是，他用很多不同的同音字（比如“拔”“把”“巴”）来译名，这是为什么？他想显示自己认识很多字的能力？或想把西方地名故意弄得很神秘，这样引起中国人的注意？可能这些因素都有，无论如何，

结果非常糟糕！他使很简单的事变得很复杂，为什么呢？你看他如何翻译：Malta 玛儿大，Macedonia 马则多泥亚，Madagascar 麻打曷失葛，Malacca 满刺加，Lima 利码（当然，他都
用繁体字，更难写！）在翻译“Ba”时，他也用了很多不同的译法：Babilonia 巴皮罗泥亚，Lombardia 隆拔勒地亚，Bavaria 帕禄利亚，Hispania 西把你亚：“巴”“拔”“帕”“把”！

有人会问：作为一个伟大的语言学家、翻译家、汉学家，利先生为什么会犯下那么低级的错误？他都不能区分 pa 和 ba 吗？当然，在那个时代没有“标准的发音表”，利先生只能问不同的人并听他们的发音，而早期在南方时也会有很多不同的发音，但从另一方面我们看到，他可能也知道“帕”的发音较硬，而“巴”较软，你看他在《世界地图》中有这样翻译：Paranas 帕刺那大河。虽然他在一些地名已经用“帕”，但没有统一区分 ba 和 pa：Hispania 译“西把你亚”、Europa 译“欧逻巴”、Parana 译“霸刺那”。

同理，利先生好像意识到 po 应该译成“坡”或“颇”，因为他将 Popoyana 译成“坡巴牙那”，但又在很多地方不区分 bo 和 po：Portugal 波尔杜瓦尔，Napoli 那波里。

无法相信利玛窦不能统一译名，将一个简单的事情做得如此复杂！他并没有简化译名，而故意提高了汉语译名的难度！看看这些例子：Nuova Andalusia 新俺大鲁西亚，Angola 汉卧刺，Giuliano 如里汉岛，Anglia 谿厄利亚。为什么用“谿”、“汉”、“俺”呢？为什么不用今天通用的“安”呢？

也许有一些因素我们今天很难明白，比如他喜欢用“亚”（而非“阿”）可能是因为繁体字的“亚”中间有一个十字架，而传教士可能很喜欢这个字！另外，他可能需要回避有“朱”发音的字，因为明朝是“朱家”的王朝，所以他没有将 Iudea 译成“朱得阿”，而译“如德亚”，也没有将 Giuliano 译成“朱里阿诺”，而译成“如里汉岛”。

有人说，利玛窦可能不知道有一个“阿”，所以经常用“亚”，但这种说法是站不住脚的，因为他将 Amazones 译成“阿玛加那”，但又译 Alessandria 为“亚力山的”，Alba 为“亚耳巴”，Albania 为“亚尔巴尼亚”和 Armenia 为“亚尔默泥亚”。在 20 世纪的汉语中，Albania 改正为“阿尔巴尼亚”，但为什么没有改进“亚尔默泥亚”（使之成“阿尔梅尼亚”）呢？

利玛窦肯定也意识到 sa 和 sha 之间有差别，但他为什么将 Samarchand 译成“撒马儿罕”，将 Sahid 译成“萨係得”，但 Orissa 译为“何里沙”，将 Saxonia 译“沙琐泥亚”呢？21 世纪的意大利地名好像多用“萨”，很少用“撒”，但人名又有一个“凯撒”怎能统一？

利先生用那么多“li”，他的意图是什么？Libia 利未亚、Sicilia 西齐利亚、Livonia 礼勿泥亚，Alessandria 亚力山的，Chili 智里。他至少统一用“米”翻译“mi”和“努”译“nu”，但为什么他从不用“拉”，而多用“刺”“蜡”“腊”呢？繁体字的“腊”又如此难写？这

是什么意思呢？利氏是不是要故意加重中国人学习外语地名的负担？为什么一直到今天没有人感改进和纠正这些错综复杂的地名呢？为什么他用“默”和“墨”翻译“ma”、“me”和“mo”呢？看这些例子：Mexico 墨是可，Magellanica 墨瓦蜡泥加，Mesedin 默生丁，S. Tomo 仙多默，Armenia 亚尔默泥亚。400 年前的中国难道没有“mei”的音吗？没有“美”，“梅”吗？

在一些地名上，我真觉得利先生想丑化某些地区，给它们起非常奇怪的名称，或故意使中国读者感到糊涂。为什么 Hi 的翻译那么不同：Hispania 西把你亚（西班牙），Hibernia 喜百泥亚（爱尔兰）。为什么他选择“厄”，而没有选择“峨”或“俄”来写“厄勒齐亚”（Grecia）、“厄辣捺达”（Granada）、谄厄利亚（Anglia）。他选择的“赫”至今仍然被用，但“瑞士”的译名很奇怪：“赫尔勿妻亚”Helvetia。如果今天的中国人将 Francia/ Franconia 译成“法朗殼泥亚”，法国人肯定会不高兴，而将 Austria 译成“噢失突利亚”，我想很多奥地利人会提出抗议！但利先生就是这样译的！同理，今天肯定有一些“如德亚人”（犹太人）不满意，因为他们的“犹”包含一个“犬”，为什么不改写为“尤”呢？而那些认识汉字的“非洲人”肯定不太喜欢这个地名中的“非”。拉丁语的 Africa 本来是“不冷的地区”，应该译成“温州”或“阿富瑞卡洲”，这样才可以和“美”国、“德”国和“英”国享受“美名”！

面对如此多说不出规律的译名，专家只说句“约定俗成”和“以将错就错不失为上策”（参见常雷先生的《专名译译·技巧与实例》外文出版社，2013 年，第 2 页）！为什么没有人愿意减少无数中国学生的压力和翻译人士的压力呢？学习这些人名和地名原来是为了认识我们的共同世界，学习 Vesuvio（“维苏威火山”）不是为了学习他的 ve 和 vi 是哪个“维”和“韦”和“威”，而是学习这座火山处于什么地理位置，它多高，多危险，或维苏威公元 79 年的爆发与古罗马自然科学家和百科全书家普利尼乌斯（Plinius maior）有什么关系！我真想中国学生在学习这个山名之后就没有精力再去探索关于火山的更多信息，可惜汉字吸收那么多精力！

在利玛窦的译名尝试找出毛病很容易，我们也不应该过多要求 400 年以前的翻译者，因为那个时候汉语没有很统一的发音，没有拼音。耶稣会会士金尼阁（Nicholas Trigault）在 1626 年出版的《西儒耳目资》才是第一部给汉字加上 ABC 拼音的著作。但我的问题是这个：为什么利玛窦 400 年以前的种种错误翻译和不规范译法在今天仍然被引用？为什么中国没有

出现一个“外国人名地名翻译统一方案”呢？如果没有这种方案和对专名的汉译反省，如果大家继续“将错就错”视为“上策”，我想 400 年以后的中国孩子还会因“苇斯帕芴”、“维吉尔”和“威斯特法伦”感到困惑。啊！利玛窦怎么翻译 *ve / we* 呢？看：*Norvegia* 诺尔物入亚、*Westfalia* 特斯法略、*Livonia* 礼勿泥亚。他为什么不用“维”呢？那么多疑惑……利玛窦啊，你为什么没有发明一个比较准确、比较容易让中国人理解西方地名的翻译方式呢？你 400 年以前翻译的地名仍然困扰着我们：你在其他地名用过“库”一个字，但你为什么将 *Cuba* 译成“古巴”呢？什么时候我们能跨出你的影子，勇敢地翻译“库巴”呢？什么时候在“库巴”的汉译后会经常出现 ABC 的“*Cuba*”呢？但愿中国人早日走出外国译名的种种陷阱和乱象，将译名简化、科学化、系统化、美化！

孙璋拉丁文《诗经》译本前言

李慧 北京外国语大学

译者按

法国耶稣会传教士孙璋（Alexander de Lacharme, 1695—1767）在 1733 年至 1752 年间完成了《诗经》的拉丁文散文体译文。该译文手稿在孙璋去世后长期与天文学手稿混杂在一起，被搁置在巴黎天文台，后来经由法国汉学家雷穆沙（Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat, 1788-1832）的学生，来自图宾根的东方学家尤利乌斯·冯·莫尔（Julius von Mohl, 1800-1876）整理，1830 年才由斯图加特和图宾根的科塔出版社出版（Stuttgartiae et Tubingae, Sumptibus J. G. Gottae），题名《孔子的〈诗经〉，即诗歌集，由孙璋翻译》（*Confucii Chi-king, sive liber carminum, ex latina P. Lacharme interpretatione*）。该译本被公认为是最早西文全译本，对后来弗里德里希·吕克特（Friedrich Rückert, 1788—1866）的德译本、理雅各的英译本、顾赛芬（Seraphin Couvreur, 1835-1919）的法译本都有深远影响。

该译本有三篇前言：《编者前言》、《顺治皇帝满译本前言》和《欧洲译者前言》。其中《欧洲译者前言》为孙璋所做，主要内容为该译本翻译过程的说明、《诗经》及其写作时代背景介绍以及中国古诗格律知识。笔者选取这一部分进行翻译，以期《诗经》外译研究领域提供参考。

欧洲译者前言 (p. xiii)

柏应理神父在他的《中国哲学家孔子》一书的前言中如此高度评价《诗经》：这是众多诗歌的最有影响的一部，风格确实非常艰深和晦涩；文风晦涩的原因是语言的简洁，而这简洁又充满了各种比喻和极为古老的格言等。而且，凝练的话语的长度还有字数限制，这比那些没有字数限制的文句更难懂；那么对于用如此之难的汉语写作的中国诗歌，需要说什么呢？在我考虑把这些诗歌译成拉丁文时，我认为这个工作是远超过我的能力范围的。然而我想要的与我自己的关系并不大，我并没有从一开始就停下来；我认为已经完成了不少我尝试着要做的事。但是在这样的想法下，在一些帮助下，我艰难地推进了翻译工作，我将简短地介绍一下我翻译的方式。

我们在北京得到了皇家的资助，路易十四国王建立了我们法国的传教团，以便让我们在中国进行传教事业的法国传教士能够观测星象、（p. xiv）将汉籍译成欧洲语言、以及从事其他诸如此类的有用的科学活动。我们的传教士投入了大量的精力和热情来进行这些活动，我也尝试参与其中，如观察天文和翻译中国书籍；《诗经》非常适合理解中国古代文化，于是我开始翻译这部作品，从《诗经》中我体会到，任何古老的民族，对上帝的信仰更加古老。这些诗歌大部分是在周朝时写作的，而其中很多是从更久远的古代流传下来的。因此我将这部译本，这部远古时代的伟大作品，献给热爱古代的人，并辅以若干注释，以帮助理解。

我依据的是极为著名的宋朝大家朱熹的阐释，尽管我也读了不少其他人的。我从非常有学问的学者那里听过用通俗语言解释的《诗经》：此外通晓满文的我还参考了满文《诗经》译本。这版在顺治皇帝命令下翻译的满文译本由精通两种语言的学者们翻译，他们将翻译句引向了宗教；因为满语与欧洲语言的差距不那么大，没有汉语中那么多模棱两可的词语（xv）和不确定的意思，对满语的掌握对于我理解汉语文献的含义是很大的帮助。至今为止，那些将汉语书翻译成欧洲语言的人中，有不少将中国阐释者的话与原文混淆，他们的翻译不太忠实，这种情况是我所尽量避免的；如果在译文中我加了在汉语原文中没有的一些内容，我会将这些内容用括号标出，看到这些内容的读者将不会将我的话和中国学者的话一并评价，如此以来，诗歌话语的本义将更为清晰；事实上，我如此紧密地贴近原文，是因为我宁愿让译文晦涩，也不想让译文不忠实：因此我将《诗经》这部书，这部古代的、自然的、原初的著作不加人工修饰地带给欧洲。

《诗经》简介

关于《诗经》已经在两个前言中都进行了介绍；然而在这里有必要进行更详细的说明。这部作品是一部由孔子编纂的古代诗歌集，共分四部分。第一部分名为“国风”，是普通百姓吟诵的诗歌，由王侯们下令收集整理，这些诗歌极好地展现了国家的风貌，使那些服从他国家统治的人能从这些诗歌中了解到不同国家的不同风俗文化，使行为不端的人得到纠正，好人得到赞扬。各个国家的各个大小王侯，在这些诗歌中会被传颂（xvi），皇帝通过对音乐的加工来审阅文学和保护文学。于公元前 771 年，平王开始执政时，这个传统已经衰落了，孔夫子为了补救，以同样的方法来收集诗歌，希望伟大的言语或事件通过这些诗歌被纪念，通过阅读这些诗歌来将他的学生们引向美德，把恶人从恶行中劝离：然而对于那些他不喜欢的、与自己目的相悖的诗歌，他都将它们摒弃。

第二部分叫做“小雅”，第三部分名为“大雅”，为周朝人所作，这些诗歌有的歌颂帝王的美德，也有的赞扬王公贵族；有的是王侯向天子致谢，或祈求福祉；有的描绘完成亲人

葬礼仪式之后的宴会；有的反对天子和国家统治；有的介绍农业；有的包含国家治理方面的文献，有的为国家遭受的灾难痛惜等等。

第四部分叫做“颂”，是葬礼诗，在周朝天子和鲁国王公的统治时期，以及商朝王公祭奠他们的祖先时演唱的。此外，在中国，毫无疑问的是，这部书真实且完整地流传到今天，并毫发无损地逃过了焚书这一劫：除了只有愚笨的人才拒绝的所有人类的见证以外，(xvii) 其他的很多诗歌还包含我拒绝谈论的话题以及冗长和肤浅的内容²⁶。

鉴于《诗经》几乎全是关于周家族和王朝的内容，有必要在此介绍一些关于周家族的以及周朝时国家的情况。

周王朝历代天子表——从后稷到平王

后稷是公元前 2286 年，尧帝的管理农业的官员。

从后稷开始了周氏族。

公刘是后稷的后裔，他于公元前 1797 年逃离了夏朝最后一位王桀的统治。

覃父是公刘的后代，称自己为周，从此周家族得名，时间是 1327 年。

他的儿子是王季，他于 1231 年继承了统治。

文王于 1182 年继承了他的父亲王季的王位。

文王的儿子武王在 1122 年登上王位。

成王在 1116 年继承父亲武王。

其子康王于 1079 年继承天子之位。

1053 年昭王继承了康王的天子之位。

昭王溺水身亡，他的儿子穆王 1002 年即位。

穆王之后是儿子共王，944 年执政。

共王的儿子懿王于 935 年掌权。

910 年懿王之子孝王掌权。

895 年孝王之子夷王掌权。

889 年夷王之子厉王掌权。

828 年厉王之子宣王掌权。

782 年宣王之子幽王掌权。

771 年幽王被刺之后，其子平王继位。

²⁶ 古代的风俗被认为是较残暴的，被记录在诗行中，并被背诵记忆。古人们背诵《诗经》，因此它比其他书籍更容易保存和流传。

中华帝国简介²⁷

从商朝最后一位王纣王到下一王朝周朝的平王

在夏、商、周三代，中国是服从唯一一位主宰和君王的，然而整个帝国被皇帝指定的王公分割为若干部分或小国，而且王位可以由他们的儿子继承，同时服从皇帝的统治并为其服务。周朝时期在中国有 1800 个小国或分区，它们中的大多数只有非常小的领土。（p. xix）商纣王的残暴和荒淫激起了他的人民对他的仇恨，文王那时在诸王中实力十分强大，他以谨慎、公正和仁义赢得了众多人心，诸侯开始反对应被推下台的纣王，辅佐应被推上王位的文王，并开始进行谋划；当他们准备的过程中，文王去世，于是各诸侯开始支持文王的儿子，继承者武王。起义的那天，武王率领极其强大的军队向都城疾行，在今天河南省卫辉府境内的牧野，即离首都不远的地方，与纣王开战；文王获胜，安然无恙，纣王却逃进火海。文王无人反对，众望所归地登上了王位，并将最好的统治带给国家；通过他的治理，国家屹立，并在成王和康王统治下达到兴盛，40 年中没有刑罚；然而之后，天子的权威开始衰落；沉迷于狩猎的昭王废弛国务，后来夷王和厉王父子在位时，国家险些灭亡。厉王孱弱愚钝，给诸侯极少的利益，为众人所鄙视，他残暴奢靡，（p. xx）为众人所憎恨，起义者四处寻找他，要置他于死地，他只能极力躲藏。在此之后是空位期，厉王在躲藏中死去，衰微的家族唯一的儿子周宣王继承王位，在宣王的照管下，国家恢复了秩序，他值得称赞；然而他的儿子周幽王与其父不同，贪图女色，因迷恋妃子褒姒，废掉王后及王后之子的储君之位，将国家和自己置于危险之中，在与蛮夷和跟随被废储君的诸侯作战时被杀。被废的王储重新成为王国继承人，这就是平王，在他的统治下，各诸侯的力量和权利都有所增长；他将国都从陕西省迁到河南省，几乎中断了王朝的联系，如此以至于曾经追随天子的人，抓住的只是权利的影子而已。

中国诗歌

现在应该介绍的是中国诗歌以及《诗经》中的诗歌。

《诗经》中的诗歌是颂诗，共分三类：一种叫“兴”、第二种叫“比”，第三种叫“赋”。在第一种中，在引出一个话题之前，首先开始介绍的是来自自然的事物和与主题相近的事物；与主题相近的事物常常并不十分明显，中国文人也需下很大功夫来找到那些从诗歌开场白引向诗歌主题的材料。（p. xxi）这需要细致的分析，后世文人须以写作主题来考量。第二种是用比喻的方法，而第三种则是用直接的话语来表述，没有模棱两可。

²⁷ 译注：prospectus，不应是 psospectus，原书印刷错误。

颂诗的诗节中，诗行都是双数；每一行的字数几乎都是双数：每一节一般有四行，诗行中包括多个词语。那些在同一诗节中的诗行，有一些以同样的韵结束，另一些则不是。

作诗的规则在不同朝代中几乎都不同：在此介绍一些，需要知道的是，在汉语中无论是什么词或什么音节（汉语词是单音节词），它都有五个声调中的其中一个声调。这些声调中，第一个叫做“平声”；其他四个调在作诗的时候都叫做“仄声”。“平声”，或者说发平声的音节，几乎可看做是拉丁语的长音节。仄声音节可以说好像拉丁语中的短音节。拉丁语在短音中没有区别，然而汉语的短音却有不同音调的区分，或尖、或重、或低、或高。

现在回到主题，今天的诗歌有这样的规则，在作诗时，第一行要以平声结尾，第二行以仄声结尾，第三行又以平声结尾；之后，第一行以平声结尾，第二行以平声结尾，第三行以仄声结尾。接下来的四行诗是平仄交替结尾；（p. xxii）然后第一行以仄声结尾，第二行以平声结尾，第三行以仄声结尾，以此类推；今天的规则可以用这些词语来概括：平仄平，平平仄，仄仄平仄，仄平仄。其他时代的诗韵规则我就不再赘述了。

关于每一行诗中的词语或音节数量，不同的时代都有不同的规则。今天的诗行比较流行采用奇数音节，或五言，或七言。明朝，也就是本朝之前的朝代，较为流行的是偶数，或四言，或六言。

《诗经》有时根据这种方式，有时却根据那种方式。一些诗行的平声在句中间，另一些在句尾，一些则在句首；我们已经多次提到，中国文人自己都不太明白古诗了。

关于今诗我还要补充的是，我不久前得知以上所说的规则与其说适用于真正的诗，不如说适用于抒情歌，真正的诗作规则如下。分八行，每行包含七个字，第一、第三、第五个字随意；而第二、第四和第六在第一行中为平、仄、平，在第二行为仄、平、仄；第三行同第二行一致；第四行平、仄、平；第五行如第四行；第七行为仄、平、仄；第八行为平、平、平。第一行、第二行、第四行、第六行和第八行的应该以同样的有节奏的音来结尾。

拉丁西学

一片待开发的广阔大陆： 十八世纪的拉丁语文学

西奥多里奇·萨克雷

严沁宇 译

诚挚纪念拉丁语专家奥列格·尼基廷斯基 (Helgi Nikitinski)

序言

拉丁语文学或许是西方文明中现存的最古老的文学；尽管使用范围越来越小，但拉丁语直至今天仍在被使用。

我们需要区分三个主要阶段：古罗马时期、中古时期以及如今我们所称的新拉丁语时期，即为彼特拉克至今的这段时期。

本文涉及新拉丁语文学中的一个小部分，即十八世纪的新拉丁语文学²⁸。但在开始讲十八世纪之前，我们需要先从总体上大致谈一谈新拉丁语文学。首先，在长达几个世纪的时间中，不论从数量上讲还是从质量上讲，拉丁语文学一直凌驾于各国的本国语文学之上，这一情况到了十八世纪下半叶开始有所变化。其次，新拉丁语文学是一个国际性现象。诚然，我们可以，也应该在与特定国家的本国语文学的比较中来研究新拉丁语文学，但是，既然其所使用的是一种国际性语言，新拉丁语文学就不应该被限制在某个特定国家的界限之内。第三，相较古代和中世纪文学，新拉丁语文学的创作在更多的国家进行，我们只需想想美洲和亚洲。第四，新拉丁语文学所使用的是一种几乎恒定不变的语言媒介，这一语言尽可能地与古典拉丁语相近，如此就能够使拉丁语文学和新拉丁语文学无衰老之虞，并且使得一位十六世纪早期的意大利人所写的新拉丁语诗歌可以作为一位十八世纪弗里斯兰省的诗人的范例。事实上，正如同古代的经典（比如维吉尔和西塞罗）从一世纪起就被视为典范，后文艺复兴时期

²⁸ cf. “De litteris saeculi XVIII Latinis” (论十八世纪拉丁语文学)，Melissa, 2015 (即将出版)。

的拉丁语回顾文艺复兴文学的经典，这些经典也在文艺复兴和后文艺复兴文学批评之中、在文学选集等之中被奉为典范。最后，直至十八世纪或再稍晚一点，拉丁语的使用仍非常广泛，在纯文学之外的领域也有所使用，比如在科学领域、学术领域、外交领域、天主教会，当然还有在中小学以及大学中。要划定书面新拉丁语和非书面新拉丁语之间的界限常常比较困难：在此且举两例，一些政治家会使用一种接近中古晚期样式的公文体，这一文体因其不纯洁性为文艺复兴时期的人文学者所憎恶，而其他一些政治家坚持使用高雅的书面拉丁语；一些医生会采用技术行话，而其他医生则使用非常书面的高雅拉丁语。虽然从意大利语的角度看会较令人困惑，但无论如何，“新拉丁语文学”这一叫法现如今已被广泛接受，以此作为自彼特拉克至今所有拉丁语作品的名称：“Neulateinische Literatur”为十八世纪以来在德国所使用的名称；“Litterae neolatinae”（“新拉丁语文学”的拉丁语名称）于十九世纪早期首次发现于一篇作品中，作者是一位名为约翰内斯·多米尼库斯·福斯（Johannes Dominicus Fuss）的德国教授，其研究领域为低地国家拉丁语活跃作者；在十八世纪末之前，拉丁语作家通常被称作“scriptores Latini recentiores”（现代拉丁语作家）或是“neoterici”（现代作家）；后一名称在十八世纪晚期消失，取而代之的是“新拉丁语作家”这一称呼（这一情况并非偶然），这表明了正是始于十八世纪晚期的与悠久传统的决裂；而在此之前，拉丁文学被视作一个大的统一体，不过，中世纪的文学大部分被排除在外。

十八世纪的新拉丁语文学：一些数据

现在让我们来看看十八世纪。首先，我们可能会自问：在1700年之后有很多拉丁语文本吗？其实，在数量上还是有一定说服力的。在此我列举一些德国书展——主要是法兰克福书展——的书目中的数据，这些都被收录在古斯塔夫·施维斯克（Gustav Schwetschke）的《两个世纪的德国文学书展书目》中（*Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis*）（哈勒，1850-1877=新科普，1963）。虽然，我们看到对拉丁语书籍的兴趣自十六世纪中叶起开始减弱（当时书展中70%为拉丁语书籍），但自十八世纪末以来，拉丁语版本的书籍仍几乎占据书展的半壁江山。1750年左右，这一比重降至25%左右²⁹。我再来举一例，来说明现今

²⁹ 关于新拉丁语文学的概论，见威尔弗雷德·施特罗赫（Wilfried Stroh），*Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer grossen Sprache*（拉丁语死了，拉丁语万岁！大语言的小历史）（柏林，2007年第二版）；约瑟夫·伊杰索耶（Jozef IJsewijn）（第二卷与迪克·萨克雷（Dirk Sacré）合著），*Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*（新拉丁语研究指南），2卷本，*Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 5 & 14（鲁汶，1990-1998）；弗朗索瓦兹·瓦盖（Françoise Waquet），*Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe. XVIe – XXe siècle*（拉丁语或符号的王国，十六至二十世纪），*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*（巴黎，1998）（但是我并不赞成瓦盖对1700年后期

已被遗忘的拉丁语的影响力：一部近期的关于新拉丁语诗歌（仅限诗歌）作者与标题的尝试性书目在十九世纪于法国出版（仅在法国，这一同样以本国语言为国际性语言而骄傲的国家。），书目达 110 页左右³⁰。这意味着我们所要面对的是一段拉丁语大量涌现的时期。从刚刚所提到的数据中，我们可以看出早期现代欧洲文化是如何充溢着拉丁语，不管是现代拉丁语还是古典拉丁语。这一点很重要：这意味着直到十九世纪，几乎所有受过教育的人都在拉丁语学校学习过几年，因此能够在他的人生中持续接触拉丁语和新拉丁语。在学校的这段时间，可以说，学生被迫要写一些拉丁语诗歌和拉丁语演讲，或是其他文章。这样他一生都会熟悉这一语言，至少在一定程度上是这样。但我们现在并不是要讨论拉丁语在教育体系中的作用。所以让我们来看看第二个问题：1700 年后期的新拉丁语文学研究呈现何种状态？在回答了此问题之后，我们将大致来看看事实上数量非常庞大的十八世纪拉丁语文学。

对晚期新拉丁语文学的忽略

我们可以很确定地说，直至今日，1650 年到 1700 年之后所创作的新拉丁语文学并没有在学界引起较多关注。这一领域的学术成果寥寥，虽然情况在新世纪已有所好转。造成这一忽视的原因有很多，这是由新拉丁语文学学者和晚期新拉丁语文学作者的倾向性所造成的。自十六世纪开始，新拉丁语文学在文学中的重要性以及精神生活持续衰落（这是一种普遍看法），在十八世纪下半叶则衰落得更加迅速，于是，文学当中这一次要部分就不是学者们研究的重点了。我们将无法找到一本关于 1640 年之后的英国新拉丁语散文的概论。事实上，在任何国家都没有专门研究 1700 年后期新拉丁语文学的专著³¹。对于拉丁语诗歌，情况要稍

新拉丁语文学的看法，例如 148 页所述内容）；瓦尔特·路德维希（Walther Ludwig），“Die neuzeitliche lateinische Literatur seit der Renaissance”（文艺复兴之后的现代拉丁语文学），选自弗里茨·格拉夫（Fritz Graf）（编），*Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*（拉丁语文学导论），*Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*（古典学导论）（斯图加特-莱比锡，1997），323-356 页。关于 1700 年后期的拉丁文学的概况，尤其是关于本文所大量涉及的散文，见迪克·萨克雷，“Neo-Latin Prose in the Twilight Years (1700-Present)”（晚期的新拉丁语散文（1700 年至今）），选自菲利普·福特（Philip Ford）、杨·布罗曼多（Jan Bloemendal）和查尔斯·方塔兹（Charles Fantazzi）（编），*Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropaedia*（布里尔新拉丁语世界百科）（莱顿-波士顿，2014），879-903 页。

³⁰ 见罗曼·加拉贝尔（Romain Jalabert）、迪克·萨克雷（Dirk Sacré），“Bibliographie intermédiaire des poètes et versificateurs latins en France au XIXe siècle”（十九世纪法国拉丁语诗人及作诗者目录），*Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 59 (2010), 223-304 页。

³¹ 还是有一些关于这一时期文学的概论的。比如马丁·克兰雅克（Martin Korenjak）、弗洛里安·斯哈芬拉特（Florian Schaffnerath）、拉夫·苏巴里克（Lav Subaric）、卡尔海因茨·托赫特勒（Karlheinz Töchterle）（编），*Tyrolis Latina. Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur in Tirol, II: Von der Gründung der Universität Innsbruck bis heute*（蒂罗尔拉丁语。蒂罗尔拉丁语文学史，II：从因斯布鲁克大学建校至今）（维也纳-科隆-魏玛，2012）：609-1069 页为关于 1669 年至 1848 年的内容。此书应该是受到了另一本优秀著作的影响：米娜·斯卡夫特·杨

好一些。近期新拉丁语诗歌的诗集是有的，然而散文的选集则十分少见。显然，对诗歌的偏好是自文艺复兴时期就有的传统，我们可以看到许多《诗人之雅》（*Delitiae poetarum*）这样的诗集，还有其他类似的选集；这些都证实了诗歌在文学世界中相较散文而言的崇高地位。收录于马克·沃克（Mark Walker）的通俗读本《两千年的英国拉丁语》（*Britannica Latina. 2000 Years of British Latin*）（斯特劳德，2009）中的最后一篇拉丁语散文片段可追溯到1687年，那是艾萨克·牛顿《数学原理》中的片段。也有一些散文集成为例外，这些或为普遍性或为地方性文集：其中一部优秀之作作为艾米利欧·斯普林盖蒂（Emilio Springhetti）的《近现代拉丁语作者作品选（十五至二十世纪）》（*Selecta Latinitatis scripta auctorum recentium (saec. XV-XX)*）（罗马，1951）³²。诗歌方面，在一些研讨会和专著中，会有一些关于1850年至今这段时间活跃的诗人的研究；但十八至十九世纪的诗歌则被忽视，或许西属美洲的诗歌是个例外³³。

森（Minna Skafte Jensen）（编），*A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*（北欧新拉丁语文学史）（欧登塞，1995）。

³² 另见一部出版于1822年的内容丰富的新拉丁语演讲选集：*Orationes Latinae XLVII. E doctissimorum eorumque eloquentissimorum virorum saeculo XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. florentium operibus selectae et juventuti literarum studiosae propositae* a G.H. Saalfrank（G.H. Saalfrank所选的四十七篇拉丁语演讲。十六、十七、十八、十九世纪最博学和最具辩才作者的成功作品的选集和年轻人的文学学习推荐作品）（雷根斯堡，1822）。关于十八世纪的拉丁语，斐迪南·菲力比（Ferd. Philippi）（编），*Die Latinität der Neuern von dem Wiederaufleben der Wissenschaften bis auf unsere Zeiten. Ein Hilfsbuch für den Unterricht im lateinischen Styl und für Bildung des Geschmacks*（...），（从科技复兴到我们的时代的现代拉丁语。一部拉丁语文体学习和鉴赏教育的辅导书）（莱比锡，1825）；弗朗索瓦·诺埃尔（François Noël），J. M. J. 德拉普拉斯（J.-M.-J. de la Place）（编），*Leçons latines modernes de littérature et morale*（现代拉丁语文学和伦理学教程）（巴黎，1818；巴黎，1836）。时而也有一些地方性选集涉及十八世纪。比如，*Clarorum virorum Valentinorum Petri Joannis Nunnesii, Emanuelis Martini, Gregorii Majansii, Joannis Insulae, aliorumque orationes selectae*（瓦朗斯名人演讲选集）（格里高里奥·马杨斯（Gregorio Mayáns）编）（洛桑，1767），其中也包括活跃在当时的学者的演讲，如埃曼努尔·马蒂努斯（Emmanuel Martinus）（+1737），约翰·因苏拉（Iohannes Insula），安东尼·德·帕拉福克斯（Antonius de Palafox），安德烈亚斯·桑西斯（Andreas Sanchiz），彼得·帕斯卡尔（Petrus Pasqual），格力高里·马杨希乌斯（Gregorius Maiansius），彼得·约瑟夫·加西亚·德·萨马涅戈（Petrus Iosephus Garcia de Samaniego）。

³³ L. B. T. 霍顿（L.B.T. Houghton），格西娜·马努瓦尔德（Gesine Manuwald）（编），*Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*（不列颠群岛新拉丁语诗歌）（伦敦，2012）中有涉及到十八世纪，其中收录了：奈尔·路德（Nial Rudd），“Samuel Johnson’s Latin Poetry”（塞缪尔·约翰逊拉丁语诗集）（105-124页）；大卫·莫莱（David Money），“The Latin Poetry of English Gentlemen”（英国绅士拉丁语诗歌）（125-141页）；另见，大卫·莫莱，“Neo-Latin Verse in the Twilight Years (1700-Present)”（晚期的新拉丁语诗歌（1700年至今）），选自菲利普·福特、杨·布罗曼多和查尔斯·方塔兹（编），*Brill’s Encyclopaedia*（布里尔新拉丁语世界百科），865-878页。以下文章阐明了详细证实十八世纪新拉丁语文学“衰落”之困难性：詹姆斯·宾斯（James Binns），“The Decline of Latin in Eighteenth-Century England”（十八世纪英国拉丁语的衰落），收录于查尔斯·伯内特（Charles Burnett），尼古拉斯·曼（Nicholas Mann）（编），*Britannia Latina. Latin in the Culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*（英国拉丁语——中世纪到二十世纪英国文化中的拉丁语），Warburg Institute Colloquia, 8（沃尔伯格学院学术报告）（伦敦，都灵，2005），170-177页。

直至近期，晚期新拉丁语在研究领域一直被普遍忽视³⁴，不用说，本概论——事实上仅仅是一次“gustus”（试味）——只能是尝试性的。很有可能我会遗漏一些非常重要的作者，正如一位名叫麦克·利林塔尔（Michael Lilienthal）的人在 1712 年所说：“写作的历史浩瀚如海洋！（Tam late patet historiae literariae oceanus!）”然而，自二十世纪末以来，有一个越来越强的趋势，即扭转近三个世纪新拉丁语散文和诗歌被忽视的局面，将其纳入广阔的新拉丁语研究领域，因为记实性、学术性和科学性文献，这些对全面均衡地了解早期现代世界的学术与思想史是至关重要的。一些作品，例如上文所提到那部 2007 年的畅销书，威尔弗雷德·施特罗赫的《拉丁语死了，拉丁语万岁！》（*Latein ist tot*），证明了情况已有所改变。同样地，有一群年轻学者，他们聚集在位于因斯布鲁克的路德维希·玻尔兹曼学院，正致力于十八世纪新拉丁语文献的研究。前景颇为明朗，不过要完成积压已久的工作还需要很长一段时间。

长期以来对晚期新拉丁语的忽视对我们在晚期拉丁语的了解方面也产生了巨大影响，尤其是在词汇学、句法和文体方面。显然，文艺复兴的黄金时期包含着向古典源头的回归，古典作品确实在整个那段时期被效仿，当然也经过了调整以适应时代。在十五、十六世纪，人们在词汇和句法方面都很大程度上将自己限制于古典辞典的范围之内。人们也使用中世纪时期的新词来表述当时的事物，很多词都保留了下来，部分是因其必要性，部分是由于疏忽。这是勒内·欧旺（René Hoven）和洛朗·格拉莱（Laurent Grailet）的《文艺复兴时期拉丁语散文词汇》（*Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*）（莱顿，波士顿，2006 年第二版）中所呈现出的大致情况，我们还可通过约翰·拉明格（Johann Ramming）在网上创建的《新拉丁语词汇列表》（*Neulateinische Wortliste*）（包含一直到 1700 年的词汇）来增加了解。这两位词典编纂者的方式都有其欠缺之处。从语言学的角度对晚期新拉丁语的忽略从许多方面来讲都是一个遗憾。比如，每位读者（除了一些拉丁语散文大师，他们有意地追求一种尽可能接近公元前一世纪风格的文风）都会意识到，至少在某些领域，1700 年后期以其较少的对词汇纯洁性的顾忌而与众不同，就这点而言，或许可以与中世纪时期拉丁语较为肆意的创造性相提并论。有些词被完全纳入学术术语，并且一直保留到十九世纪。“*praeterpropter*”

³⁴ 比较，杨·布罗曼多，霍华德·B·诺兰（Howard B. Norland）编辑的有趣的选集，*Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*（早期现代欧洲的新拉丁语戏剧和剧作），*Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, 3（早期现代欧洲的戏剧和剧作）（莱顿，波士顿，2013），然而其中并未涉及 1650 年后的戏剧（23 页：“由于必要的研究仍未完成，在此我们无法讨论这些晚期的戏剧作品”）。

这个前古典时期的词正是这样，它的意思是 *circiter, fere*（“大约”、“近似”）：这一副词在十八世纪的论文中极其流行。这个词的流行程度在 J.Ph.克雷布斯（J. Ph. Krebs）的著作《拉丁语的反不纯粹性》（*Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*）（巴塞尔，1905-1907 年）中有所体现，书中将该词称为“现代的普遍的常用语”。一些十八世纪的作者会嘲笑这种不规范用词，他们以编造新词和发表评论的方式来进行嘲弄。克罗齐乌斯（Klotzius）是位德国教授，是十八世纪中期最优秀的文体家之一，他在其讽刺作品中加入了一系列自创的词，他认为他所创造的新词“*metaphysicalitutinabilitas*”是有史以来最高雅的词之一；他创造了“*inphilosophice*”这个词，并评论道：“我对这个词负有责任，因此深深迷恋于它。”³⁵无论如何，拉丁语词汇的创造丝毫没有停止脚步，一直到十九世纪后期，仍有新词为新鲜事物和概念而被创造出来。浏览一下已故教授克里斯蒂安·希弗（Christian Helfer）的《辅助词典》³⁶，我们能够瞥到一些这样的词，虽然词典内容仅限于一些学术论文的标题。在此举一个引人注目的例子，直至十九世纪中叶，拉丁语还是匈牙利和克罗地亚议会的官方语言；会议报告和条例规章还存有纸质本，虽然在我们西欧的图书馆不太容易找到。在这里，拉丁语也曾试图应对现代生活。那时曾被使用过的政治和行政拉丁语与高雅的新拉丁语散文常常相去甚远，它们从未成为新拉丁语学者的研究对象。这些政治和行政拉丁语运用新词之随意自得令人吃惊，这再次让读者想起中世纪晚期的拉丁语。比如我看到过这样一些词：“*projectatum planum*”，意为“拟定方案”；“*hucdum in projecto subsistit*”，意为“目前仅为方案”等等³⁷。在十七世纪晚期、十八世纪（以及十九世纪）的学术、科技、文学拉丁语作品中有着大量的、常常十分优秀的新词，但好像几乎没有人意识到这点，因此我们会不惊讶地发现，那些在所谓的“活着的拉丁语”运动中积极活跃的现代拉丁语学者，他们为现代的事物和概念创造新的拉丁语词汇，但却不知道这些词早已存在对应的拉丁语词语了。

不过，在文学领域，对晚期新拉丁语的普遍缺乏兴趣和忽视对学术的现状的影响更加明显。在意大利，人文新拉丁语领域的研究成果颇丰，对十四、十五和十六世纪的文学的重视是如此强烈，以至很长一段时期里，1600 年后期的作品几乎无人问津，不论那些作品以何种方式在时空中流传。继续留在意大利，让我们来看一看阿卡迪亚学院（*Accademia degli*

³⁵ 比较，[Klotzius], *Somnium, in quo, praeter caetera, genius saeculi cum moribus eruditorum vapulat*（除此之外，世间的天才与博学者的美德之梦在这梦中破碎了）（阿尔滕堡，1761）。

³⁶ *Ein deutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch*（德语拉丁语词典）（萨尔布吕肯，1991 年第三版）。

³⁷ *Acta comitiorum regni Hungariae* (...)（匈牙利王国会议公报）（布拉迪斯拉发，1825-1826），72-73 页。

Arcadi)，学院于 1690 年为纪念克里斯蒂娜女王而建于罗马，正如每一位意大利文学学者所知，该学院在为意大利文学传播新诗歌理念上具有重大意义。然而我们可以清楚地看到，在学院的研讨会上，也会经常有关于拉丁语诗歌的推荐和讨论，并且一直持续到二十世纪初（教宗利奥十三世也是成员之一）。拉丁语诗歌在该学院于十八世纪出版的文集中占据了一席之地³⁸。我们不禁好奇，是否（又在何种程度上）两种文学理念交汇于意大利文学和拉丁语文学的这种共生关系之中，并且意大利文学的手法被运用到拉丁语诗歌之中。显然，科学诗是罗马启蒙时代时期学院成员创作的重要内容，其中有一部分较短小的说理诗似乎并未获得关注，其中就包括一位来自布雷西亚的耶稣会会士，贺拉修斯·博肯第乌斯（Horatius Burgundius）（Borgondio 或 Burgundi, 1679-1741）的诗歌。他创作了一首关于血液循环这一当时十分流行的主题的说理诗，《论血液的流动》（*De motu sanguinis*）（卷一，22-29 页）。阿卡迪亚学院是一所国际性的学院，它所出版的文集包括了荷兰（希尔肯斯（Heerkens），卷三）、英国（亨利·纽曼（Henry Newman），卷二）、德国（约翰·戈特利布·波姆（Joh. Gottlieb Boehme），卷二、卷三）还有西班牙（埃曼努尔·马丁 Emmanuel Martín）诗人的诗作也就不足为奇了。而且其中也包括女性成员和诗人的作品³⁹。

别的不说，我们关于人文学者和新拉丁语作家的书目，其基本的完整性就受到了对新拉丁语最后阶段的忽视的影响，而这又反过来妨碍了我们对这些作者的遗存物（Nachleben）的评价，以及对新拉丁语文学长期而毋庸置疑的持续性的评价。我们极其缺乏对 1700 年后期拉丁语文学的统计；我们需要重新阅读大部分这些现如今被遗忘的文本，将其语境化，置于与其他作品（本国语言和拉丁语的作品）的背景的对照之下，来考察它们被阅读和重视的程度（比如，我们不禁疑惑，特尔纳瓦耶稣会大学（1635-1777）（特尔纳瓦现属于斯洛伐克）的丰富的拉丁语作品大体上有没有传播到意大利、法国或荷兰，尽管耶稣会会士在全世界分布甚广），还需要评价这些作品的价值，并且将其中有价值的部分编辑成册⁴⁰。只有完成所有这些工作，我们才有可能书写一部晚期新拉丁语文学的历史。1700 年后期的拉丁语，将

³⁸ *Arcadum carmina*（阿卡迪亚诗集）（罗马，1721[1757，第二版]；1756；1768）。

³⁹ Cfr. 莫里齐奥·康巴内力（Maurizio Campanelli），阿列桑德罗·奥塔维亚尼（Alessandro Ottaviani），“Settecento latino I”（十八世纪拉丁语 卷一），*L'Ellisse*, 2（2007），169-204；瓦雷里奥·桑佐塔（Valerio Sanzotta），“Giuseppe Enrico Carpani e il teatro gesuitico in Arcadia”（朱塞佩·恩里科·卡帕尼和阿卡迪亚的耶稣会戏剧），*Atti e Memorie dell'Arcadia*, 3（2014），243-274。

⁴⁰ 我们往往不可能涉及某位晚期新拉丁语作家的全部作品。所以有所选择是必需的，这也可以让我们能够写出这位作家的概况。在此举一例，参考关于瑞典新拉丁语诗人马努斯·罗瑙（Magnus Rönnow）（1665 年生，1735 年去世于英国）的部分拉丁语诗歌的研究：*The Voice of a Waning Empire. Selected Latin Poetry of Magnus Rönnow from the Great Northern War. Edited, with Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Elena Dahlberg*（衰落帝国之声——马努斯·罗瑙北方战争拉丁语诗选。艾莱娜·达尔伯格编辑、作序、翻译及评论），*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Latina Upsaliensia*, 34（乌普萨拉，2014）。

在那片曾被詹姆斯·汉金斯（James Hankins）称作“新拉丁语文学失落的大陆”那最遥远的、未被探索的角落被定位⁴¹。

拉丁作品列表见下文（英语）

PROSE

Let us have a look, not at all, but at a few genres and give some examples of interesting and perhaps influential texts; let us start with prose.

1. Fictional prose

In modern literatures in the vernacular, novels are considered the leading genre. In the Renaissance, however, and even later, this was not the case, even though some works were quite successful. Fictional prose was often seen as a danger insofar as it proposed examples of bad behaviour and frivolousness. In the 18th century, the widely read Jesuit Carolus Porée (1675-1741) showed his aversion to novels in an oration entitled *De libris qui vulgo dicuntur Romanenses* (Paris, 1736). None of the novels written after 1700 enjoyed the popularity of More's *Utopia* (1516) or Barclay's *Argenis* (1621) (which was reissued in the 18th century). There is, however, one important exception: The Norwegian Ludovicus Holbergius's (1684-1754) *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum* (Leipzig, 1741), a satire on the Europe of the Enlightenment under the veil of a subterranean journey which brings a young philosopher to the feminists'

⁴¹ 比较，詹姆斯·汉金斯（编），*The Lost Continent: Neo-Latin Literature and the Rise of Modern European Literatures. Catalog of an Exhibition at the Houghton Library 5 March – 5 May 2011*, (失落的大陆：新拉丁语文学与现代欧洲文学的兴起。2011年3月5日至5月5日霍顿图书馆书展目录)，*Harvard Library Bulletin*, N.S. 12/1-2 (2001) (剑桥，马萨诸塞州，2001)。

realm *Cocklecu* (where men are doing the dishes and spend most of their time in the kitchen) and other regions, was issued time and again. The novel owes much to More's *Utopia* (as well as to Defoe and Swift, I read) and stands in the tradition of the Menippean satire; shortly after its publication it was translated into many modern languages (a telling trait: works that really mattered had to be translated into the vernacular).⁴² The Hungarian Andreas Dugonicus's (1740-1818) *Argonauticorum sive de vellere aureo libri XXIV* (1778) was a large-scale mythological narrative that dealt allegorically with the Eastern Policy of the Habsburg Emperors.⁴³ Christophorus Fridericus Sangerhausen (1740-1802) left a novel *Minos sive de rebus Friderici II apud inferos gestis* (Leipzig, 1797-1799), which was a political roman-à-clef too.

The related genre of the Menippean satire, which had been in favour especially in the 17th century, died away during the next, though Holbergius's novel was indebted to it, as noted; from the 18th only a few examples survive, such as a work whose author is concealed under a pseudonym: H.G. Zamarosciobaphus's (i.e. most probably Christianus Adolphus Klotzius [1738-1771]) *Somnium in quo praeter caetera Genius Seculi cum Moribus Eruditorum vapulat* (Altenburg, 1761) – a work that contains other very

⁴² Cp. Sigrid Peters, *Ludvig Holbergs Menippeische Satire. Das 'Iter subterraneum' und Seine Beziehungen zur antiken Literatur*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, XV, 33 (Frankfurt/M., etc., 1987); Sven Hakon Rossel, *Ludvig Holberg: a European Writer. A Study in Influence and Reception*, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 8 (Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1994)

⁴³ On this and some other later Neo-Latin novels, see Isabelle Walser, "Der neulateinische Habsburgroman als Geschichtsbuch: Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Historiographie des Barock", *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 16 (2014), 271-289; and László Szörényi, 'Dugonic's *Argonautica*', *Camoenae Hungaricae*, 3 (2006), 161-168.

hilarious texts as well. Whereas Klotzius nowadays remains a famed, though unstudied, Neo-Latin author, nobody, it seems, is familiar with his pupil Iohannes Fridericus Herelius (1745-1800), whose satirical works (*Ioh. Frid. Herelii Satirae tres* [Altenburgi, 1767]), making fun of, e.g., pseudo-academics, very much deserve to be read. Short stories or jokes after the example of the Renaissance writer Poggius Bracciolinus are rare, too, from the 18th century on, though the collection of facetious texts in prose and verse known as the *Nugae venales*, the first edition of which dates from the first half of the 17th century, continued to be issued.⁴⁴ The exception to the rule is Ferdinandus Borsetti from Ferrara (1682-1764) who left a collection of one hundred still unpublished *Facetiae* (1758), explicitly modelled after Poggius, but without the latter's lasciviousness, and yet quite hilarious.⁴⁵

Partial supplements to, and sometimes forgeries of, classical texts are a special case – here too, Renaissance writers had paved the way. In France, Gabriel Brotierius (1723-1789) added to his authoritative edition of Tacitus (1771), which was reissued several times, large Latin supplements, set down 'stilo moreque Corneliano', in the style of Tacitus, not to deceive the reader, but to enable him to enjoy reading entire works; thus he added e.g. books 7 to 10 to the *Annales* and supplemented the last book with an account of the death of Nero. To my knowledge, these supplements have hardly been studied.⁴⁶ Like

⁴⁴ See Annette Tomarken, 'Borrowed Nonsense: The *Nugae venales* and the Prologues of Bruscampille', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 64 (2015) (in the press).

⁴⁵ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Ferdinandus Borsetti Ferrariensis, Poggii Florentini heres', *Melissa*, 37 (1990), 8-10.

⁴⁶ See, however, the chapter Paul Gerhard Schmidt devoted to Brotierius in his *Supplemente lateinischer Prosa in der Neuzeit. Rekonstruktionen zu lateinischen Autoren von der Renaissance bis zur Aufklärung*, Hypomnemata, 5

Maffeo Vegio in the 15th century, C.S. Villanova wrote an additional book of the *Aeneid* in the last years of the 18th century.⁴⁷ As late as 1800, more than a century after François Nodot's pseudo-Petronian fragments, a supposedly new shred of Petronius was said to have turned up in St. Gallen; it had in fact been written by its editor, a certain Lallemandus, a pseudonym for the Spaniard José Marchena Ruiz y Cueto (1768-1821).

The prose fable survived the end of the Renaissance. Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) composed some in his *Camena Borea* (Greifswald, 1715), a neatly written, allegoric (and somewhat enigmatic) work in which the deeds of some potentates and other events of the day are concealed; it is also indebted to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. On the genre of the fable, Christianus F. Gellert (1715-1769), a renowned fabulist himself, composed *De poesi apologorum eorumque scriptoribus* (Leipzig, 1744), a treatise in which he also pays attention to the Neo-Latin writers of fables. Fables passed into school use, as they were considered an ideal medium for teaching Latin to youngsters; very popular at school were the elegant versifications of La Fontaine's fables, translated into elegiac distichs by the French oratorian Jean-Baptiste Giraud, who died in 1776 and whose *Fabulae selectae Fontanii* went through several editions.⁴⁸ The great Fénelon (1651-1715) translated some fables of La Fontaine into Latin prose for the Duke of Burgundy, to whom he was a mentor

(Göttingen, 1964).

⁴⁷ Cp., for instance, Heinz Hofmann, 'Von Africa über Bethlehem nach America: Das Epos in der neulateinischen Literatur', in Jörg Rupke (ed.), *Von Göttern und Menschen erzählen. Formkonstanzen und Funktionswandel vormoderner Epik*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 4 (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 130-182 (p. 141).

⁴⁸ The first edition came out in Paris in 1775. Cp. Roger Desmed, 'Une traduction latine des fables de La Fontaine', *Latomus*, 23 (1964), 86-93.

(1704). In verse, the fables of the 18th-century prolific author Desbillons had much success. But many more Neo-Latin authors of Latin fables are waiting to be studied. Who, to limit myself to one example, is familiar with the fables written at the end of the 18th century (*Fabellae sexdecim, Latinis versibus expressae* [Rome, c. 1790])⁴⁹ by Paolo Tarenghi, a Roman who spent part of his academic career in Lithuania, where he even issued four books of Neo-Latin Horatian odes and a book of epodes (*Pauli Tarenghi Romani, Litterarum Latinarum in imperiali Vilnensi lyceo professoris publici ordinarii Odarum libri IV. Quarum singulae singulis Horatianis, tam metris, quam versibus respondent* (...) (Vilnae, 1805))?

Dialogue literature did not disappear in the 18th century. A frank, candid, and appealing dialogue is the *Dialogus pro politica, tum de politica patria, sive de modo vivendi in Croatia*, written by the Croatian ‘minister of education’ Nicolaus Skrlec Lomnicki (1729-1799), giving advice on how to live one’s private and one’s public life while ‘id ante omnia memoria repetendum est, nos non in libera quadam republica neque sub optimatibus vivere’ – ‘we should not forget that we don’t have the good fortune to live in a free republic or under aristocratic rule’ (but are occupied by a foreign monarch).⁵⁰

Until far into the 19th century, the sixteenth-century classics in the genre of the

⁴⁹ An example is quoted by Joseph Wismayr, *Ephemeriden der italiänischen Literatur für Deutschland*, 1 (Salzburg, 1800), p. 70. There seems to survive a manuscript (dating from 1799) in the library of St. Florian, Linz (Austria).

⁵⁰ Cp. Stjenko Vrancijan – Neven Jovanovic a.o. (eds.), *Nikola Skrlec Lomnicki 1729-1799* (Zagreb, 1999-2000), 2 vols.

school dialogue, Vives's *Exercitatio linguae Latinae*⁵¹ and Erasmus's *Colloquia*, remained popular at school; the latter work was included in the index of forbidden books until 1900, so that the Catholic world had to secure its perusal in a roundabout way. In Scotland, Ioannes Mair (c. 1703-1769) reissued another popular collection of colloquies with an English translation: *Maturini Corderii colloquiorum centuria selecta* (Edinburgh, 1748). Anyhow, the anonymous *Latin Dialogues Collected from the Best Latin Writers for the Use of Schools* (London, 1810³) contained many materials explicitly or implicitly taken from Erasmus. Vives's school dialogues were very popular in the 18th century.

A brilliant example of a satirical dialogue we find in the German Klotzius's *Dialogus: Bibliopola et eruditus* (Altenburg, 1761). It tells us something about the occasional emptiness of a genre the study of which nowadays is thriving: paratexts, especially prefaces and dedications. A publisher and bookseller encounters an 'eruditus'; the bookseller tells that the book fair will take place very soon and that he badly needs a dedication to make his latest product sell. The first question of the eruditus is [[Chr. Ad. Klotzius], *Dialogus, Bibliopola et eruditus*, in Id., *Somnium, in quo, praetor caetera, genius saeculi cum moribus eruditorum vapulat* (Altenburgi, 1761)] "Esne bene nummatus?" - "Do you have plenty of money?". The bookseller then says that a certain person had promised to write a book "nescio qua de re" and he asks the erudite to adorn

⁵¹ Cp., for instance, Enrique González González – Víctor Gutiérrez Rodríguez, *Los diálogos de Vives y la imprenta. Fortuna de un manual escolar renacentista (1539-1994)*, Arxius i documents (València, 1999).

it with a preface. "Exornabo", says the erudite: "En tibi decem praefationes per otium a me conscriptas. Fac eligas aliquam." - "I will do so. Here you have ten prefaces, written in my leisure time. Feel free to choose one." The printer chooses the longest one. But then he realizes the preface should praise the author and the contents of the work. "Well, that I did", says the erudite: "Nondum, fateor, vidi librum illum et legi. Nondum quid in eo scriptum novi. Laudavi tamen eum amplissimis verbis: nullum elegantioris doctrinae studiosum illo carere posse dixi; auctorem maximum nostrae aetatis ornamentum esse iuravi per omnes Musas. Nihil superest quam ut tu nomen auctoris addas." - "I must confess I have not seen the book nor read it. I am not aware of its contents. Yet, I praised it abundantly. I wrote that no person interested in refined learning should remain inattentive to this work. I asserted on the head of all the Muses that this author was the crème de la crème of our times. So the only thing you have to do, is to add his name." After this, the erudite and the bookseller start arguing about money; our publisher is a money-grubber as well; he elucidates his remarkable editing policy (which almost excludes editions of the classics: no income from these); the erudite promises that he will write a book himself, and will add, under another person's name, polemical answers to his own books, and will reply to his own polemics with a defence of his work, so that the publisher will sell an incredible amount of books. In the end both the erudite and the printer are presented as despicable persons. This is humour that comes close to that of

the age of Erasmus. The dialogue is followed by another satirical work illustrating the lasting popularity of the 16th-century *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*; for this is a letter written in the style of that hilarious collection of letters. It laughs at the rudeness of some noble people and at the stupidity of some church ministers. A pastor has died and a knight has the right to interfere in the nomination of a new pastor; he asks advice on the matter. The letter starts like this: [Chr. Ad. Klotzius, *Epistola equitis pagani ad equitem itidem paganum*, in Id., *Somnium*]

Alte-bene-nate Domine,

Multum amate Domine Frater,

Quando vos vos bene invenitis, sic est mihi carum. Ego me invenio bene. Domine frater, potestis cogitare quomodo diabolus suum ludum habet? Magna mihi fatalitas pro brevi obviavit, quam mihi vero non valde ad animum traho: nempe meus pastor morexit et locus nunc est vacuus. (...) Sic peto vos quod mihi unum bonum subiectum recommendatis. Sed hoc debetis apud hoc observare, Domine frater, ut candidatus non habet mulierem et potest bene bibere et ludere. Enim ille oportet nubere meam camerae-puellam, quia eam non amplius volo habere, quia non magis pulchre videt. Sub hac condicione debet pastorum accipere.

To understand this funny Latin, we almost have to translate it into German. In my opinion, the text is not inferior to its 16th-century model.

2. Eloquence

Traditionally, Neo-Latin eloquence was of much higher standing than fictional literature, and its presence ubiquitous. In the field of oratory the continuity between the pre- and the post-1700 period is utterly clear, and does not come as a surprise. The two strongholds of Latin eloquence were the Roman church, on the one hand, and the educational sector on the other. In the world of education, one may distinguish grammar schools and universities, though Latin managed to maintain itself for a very long time at both levels. In the grammar schools, Latin disappeared gradually, and very slowly, it seems, as the language of instruction in the 18th century, but remained the main teaching subject until deep in the 19th century (except in some technical schools, which existed from the Renaissance on). Under the influence of the new *Altertumswissenschaft*, ancient Latin authors were gradually read less as sources of active eloquence or lofty models of wisdom for modern youngsters than as eminent witnesses of a complex culture of the past – therefore, the Neo-Latin tradition was gradually abandoned in most schools -, but the written command of the ancient tongue in verse and in prose was required until the end of the 19th century in almost all countries; hence we still can read a brief sermon on proper friendship, spoken in Latin by Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) when he was a student at Pembroke College, Oxford,⁵² or the Italian philosopher's Ioannes Baptista Vico's (1668-1744) Latin address to his

⁵² Cp. *The Latin and Greek Poems of Samuel Johnson. Text, Translation and Commentary* by Barry Baldwin (London, 1995), p. 9.

professors when he was examined before taking his degree in medicine.⁵³ In the universities then, more and more courses, in the first place those which were more remote from the humanities – in Italy, for instance, in a chair of mechanics at Naples university in 1754, in Sweden around the same time in the faculties of law and economy; in France, where Paris University adopted French as teaching language in 1716, and Germany, there are older examples-- were taught in the vernacular, but in some disciplines Latin was the language of instruction well into the first quarter of the 19th century, and in some countries until the mid-19th century.

Moreover, the traditional occasions for displaying eloquence proper (the inauguration of the academic year or the opening of a course, solemn festivities, the entering upon, or the stepping down from, an academic function, the commemoration of a deceased member of faculty, the anniversaries of the introduction of the Lutheran Reform, the birth, wedding, death of a prince, the coronation of a king, etc.) went on without any fundamental change, sometimes until the dawn of the 20th century. We also find examples of eloquence outside Europe, e.g. in the United States: we can read, for instance, the acceptance speech John Leverett (1662-1724) delivered upon being made president of Harvard College in 1708.⁵⁴ Generally speaking, these documents – some dull and stuffy, confined to formal eloquence, other

⁵³ Cp. his 'Oratiuncula pro adsequenda laurea in medicina', in Giambattista Vico, *Varia. Il De mente heroica e gli scritti latini minori*, ed. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Opere di Giambattista Vico, 12 (Napoli, 1996), pp. 246-247.

⁵⁴ Cp. Leo M. Kaiser, 'A President Accepts. By James Leverett, Harvard College', *The Classical Outlook*, 52 (1974), 40-41.

abounding in pedagogical precepts or steeped in the intellectual debates of the day and both very personal and highly enjoyable from a rhetorical or literary point of view - offered an almost unlimited range of possibilities to the orators. Hitherto, the large majority of these thousands of Neo-Latin orations have not been studied at all. Some are rightly famous and acquired some fame. Other orations are remarkable on account of the background of their authors or the 'exotic' themes they treat. The first account of the Cape of Good Hope by a Cape-born man, for instance, was a speech Gisbertus Hemmy (1746 – after 1791) delivered at the Hamburg Academy in 1767, describing the natural situation of the Cape and the history of its discovery:⁵⁵ “Promontorium Bonae Spei in ora Caffreriae situm est. Antiqui incolae erant Hottentottae”, “the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the shores of the country of the Kaffirs. Its ancient inhabitants were Hottentots” he noted, among other things. Topical events from all over the world could be treated in these orations. Thus the prolific orator Christianus G. Heynius, born in 1729, a professor at Göttingen, often found themes for his speeches in recent events:⁵⁶ he discussed a fresh report by the Scottish travel writer James Bruce in his *Iacobi Bruce, clari per Abessiniam peregrinatoris (...) narratio proposita et excussa* (1780) and compared the transportation of criminals to the newly founded colony of New South Wales, Australia, with the deportations in ancient Rome in his *Comparatur deportatio in novam Cambriam australem cum deportatione*

⁵⁵ G. Hemmy *De promontorio Bonae Spei*, ed. K.D. White (Cape Town, 1959).

⁵⁶ Included in the six volumes of his *Opuscula academica* (Göttingen, 1785-1812).

Romanorum in insulam (1791). Only a few examples of more classical or traditional orations can be given here. Carolus Rotius (1698-1742) eloquently defended Rome as the traditional and ever-new capital of culture and learning when he opened the academic year at the Collegio Romano in 1734 (*Nusquam melius quam Romae litterarum studiosis consuli*).⁵⁷ The French Jesuit Carolus Porée (1676-1741), who was a teacher of Voltaire, delivered many speeches that were widely read; they include *De theatro* (1733), in which the Frenchman defended the idea that Neo-Latin drama had even more educational capacities than historiography.⁵⁸ Ioannes Baptista Vicus's (1668-1744) brilliant and influential *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (1709) gives penetrating consideration to the study methods of his days, denounces the rigid, Cartesian attitudes of his contemporaries and pleads in favour of a more comprehensive study, in line with ancient views on education.⁵⁹ Some teachers and professors were renowned as orators, such as Dominicus Cheluccius (Paulinus a S. Iosepho) (1681-1754), Iacobus Facciolatus (1682-1769), Alexius Symmachus Mazzocchi (1684-1771), Hieronymus Lagomarsinius (1697-1773), Iulius Caesar Cordara (1704-1785), Iosephus Maria Mazzolari (1712-1786) and Guido Ferrari (1717-1791) in Italy, Petrus Daniel Huetius (1630-1721) in France, Ioachim Traggia (1748 – c. 1815) in Spain,

⁵⁷ In his *Carmina et orationes* (Padua, 1741).

⁵⁸ Cp. P. Charles Porée, *De theatro* (1733) avec la traduction en regard du P. Brumoy, *Discours sur les spectacles*. Présenté et annoté par Édith Flamarion, Collection de rééditions de textes du XVII^e siècle (Toulouse, 2000).

⁵⁹ Cp., for instance, Harold Samuel Stone, *Vico's Cultural History. The Production and Transmission of Ideas in Naples 1685-1750*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 73 (Leiden – New York – Cologne, 1997); Marco Veneziani, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione di Giambattista Vico. Prima redazione inedita dal ms. XIII B 55 della Bibl. Naz. Di Napoli. Indici e ristampa anastatica dell'edizione Napoli 1709*, Lessico Intellettuale Europeo, 82 (Firenze, 2000).

the Ciceronian Iohannes Lundblad (1753-1820) in Sweden, Gothofredus Vockerodt (1665-1727), Iohannes Augustus Ernesti (1707-1781), Carolus Henricus Eichstadius (1772-1848) and August Boeckh (1785-1865) in Germany, or in the Netherlands Tiberius Hemsterhusius (1685-1766), Petrus Burmannus Sr. (1668-1741), the German David Ruhnkenius (1723-1798) and the Swiss Daniel Wyttenbachius (1746-1820): Ruhnkenius's *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii* (1768), a eulogy of his deceased colleague (1685-1766) who is presented as a perfect scholar and the greatest textual critic of the Classics, went through many editions and was read in Dutch schools far into the 19th century.⁶⁰

Quite a few orators were aware of the problems that would arise when Latin was abandoned and thus a common means of communication among the learned given up (Iohannes Ihre (1707-1780), *De futuro reipublicae literariae statu* [Uppsala, 1752]).

Following the rules of humanist and post-humanist rhetorical precepts, genres such as the encomium of a ruler or the *laudatio funebris* were likely to contain conventional ingredients, treated in an established order. 'Oratio' at times was a misleading term: some academic 'orationes' were in fact written in verse. A special variant, adopted more than once by the Swiss naturalist and alpinist Horace Bénédict de Saussure (1740-1799), consisted in an overall structure of a dialogue: a student asked a question and the professor answered. That form de Saussure used for the commencement ceremonies at the Academy of

⁶⁰ Cp. David Ruhnkenius, *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, ed. H. Nikitinski, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Monachi et Lipsiae, 2006). Some of the aforementioned orators have been dealt with by Helgus Nikitinski in his book *De eloquentia Latina saec. XVII et XVIII dialogus*, L'Umanesimo Europeo, Series Latina, 1 (Neapoli, 2000).

Geneva in 1764 in his enthusiastic speech on glaciers – he had explored the glaciers near Chamonix during three trips - , in which he described “*immensae illae congelatae moles, nostratibus vulgo dictae les Glacières*” and interpreted their origin.⁶¹ In a few cases, speeches were delivered in the vernacular but published in a Latin translation; that seems to be the case for the Russian polymath Michael Lomonosov’s (1711-1765) panegyric of the empress Elizabeth: *Panegyricus Elisabethae Augustae Russiarum imperatrici patrio sermone dictus orante Michaelae Lomonosov. Latine redditus eodem auctore* (St. Petersburg, 1749).

The Roman church considers Latin its official language down to the present. Rhetoric has always played an important role in the eternal city, and from Cardinal Petrus Bembus (1470-1547) to Cardinal Antonius Bacci (1885-1971) Rome was renowned for its practice of a pure Latin style and its fondness for the Ciceronian idiom. Therefore, it would be easy to study the parallels between the Croat Benedictus Stay’s *Oratio in funere Clementis XIII* (Rome, 1769) and Petrus Angelinius’s (1847-1911) *In funere Leopoldi II Belgarum regis* (Rome, 1910) and to evaluate these works against the background of Renaissance eloquence on similar topics. The same applies to another traditional genre, the speeches delivered before the opening of a conclave. Among the many other texts issued by the Church, let us only mention a few.

⁶¹ Cp. Albert V. Carozzi – John K. Newman, *Horace-Bénédict de Saussure: forerunner in glaciology. New manuscript evidence on the earliest explorations of the glaciers of Chamonix and the fundamental contribution of Horace-Bénédict de Saussure to the study of glaciers between 1760 and 1792*, *Mémoires de la Société de Physique et d’Histoire Naturelle de Genève*, 48 (Genève, 1995), pp. 41-56.

The first encyclical (*epistola encyclica*), *Ubi primum* (on the duties of a bishop), saw the light under Benedict XIV in 1740; only very few are not in Latin ('Mit brennender Sorge' is famous enough); usually, their language is polished.

Until Vaticanum II, the Church insisted on the use of the Latin tongue in the theological institutes, where disputes had to be held in Latin and dissertations written in the same language, especially in the papal universities; elsewhere, the role of the vernacular increased in the 19th century. It may suffice here to quote some examples of kinds of texts which often display, to some extent, a literary approach. The *Litterae annuae*, for instance, dispatched to Rome by single Jesuit residences or provinces from the founding of the Society of Jesus to its dissolution in the late-18th century and offering annual reports on the Fathers' activities, are historical documents which can be of particular importance to people studying local cultural and religious history or interested in the history of colonies or remote missionary posts. Among the autobiographical documents written at the behest of religious superiors, let us mention the Benedictine Romanus Krinner's (1678-1738) autobiography focusing on the religious attitudes and labours of that monk. A similar document, written in Latin by a Chinese priest during his long missionary activities in various regions of China, is the diary kept by Andreas Ly (c. 1692-1774). In hundreds of pages Ly noted down, between 1746 and 1763, his activities "per modum diarii", until, on December 30, 1763, he gave up: physically exhausted, he considered "aliquid operis huic simile non expectent

nostri praelati” – ‘our superiors should not expect more pages of this kind’. The diary is interesting for the account it contains of Ly’s travels, and its detailed information on China and the Chinese mentality; and though we witness how Ly devoted his energy e.g. to improve an existing Chinese translation of the Latin missal, the work differs noticeably from a ‘normal’ late humanist autobiography, also in matters of style – Ly complained about the fact that no person in his entourage had a good knowledge of Latin.⁶²

3. Historiography and related genres

In the field of historiography, humanist traditions were continued as well. National and local historiography was not untouched by nationalistic pride; Latin works spread the glories of a nation, region or city. In Italy, Castrucci Bonamicus (Buonamici) (1710-1761) was considered one of the most elegant Latin writers of his days; his *Commentarii de bello Italico* (Leiden, 1750) on contemporary Italian history were issued repeatedly. A most intriguing document on contemporary history was produced by the Swedish or Latvian, it seems, diplomat Carolus Gustavus Schultz ab Ascherade (1743-1798), on whose life it is not easy to find any information: in his *Res suo aevo gestae* (The Hague, 1787; London, 1789) he narrates the major European events from 1755 to 1763 in a concise and nervous style, with a gloomy, dramatic view of history that recalls Tacitus; readers will not easily forget the lengthy

⁶² Cp. Roman Krinner OSB (1678-1738), *Autobiographie. Nach dem Autograph in der Münchner Handschrift clm 27148 herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Worterklärungen versehen* von Mechtild Pörnbacher, *Geistliche Literatur der Barockzeit*, 9 (Amsterdam – Maarssen, 1984). Ly’s diary was edited by A. Launay (Hongkong, 1924, second edn).

description of the earthquake of Lisbon (1755) - which was not only dealt with by Voltaire in his famous poem, but also by many Neo-Latin poets- or the final pages on the characteristics of his age, including modern mentalities and fashion in clothes, final pages that somehow remind me of the last pages of Holberg's Latin autobiography, I mean his third and last autobiographical letter. Elsewhere, he laughs at the *Loyalitae*, the Jesuits, and praises in vigorous sentences the qualities of William Pitt Senior. Just listen to the first sentence of his work, an impressive variation on Tacitus's "Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum", though here a few good things shine through: "Tradenda scriptori occurrunt, varia inter fortunae ludibria, collata saepius arma, magnarum urbium excidia, irrita foedera ruptaque, clades ingentes seditionesque, anceps proeliorum sors, atroci bello imposita pax velut in ludicro certamine nullius incremento insignis, clari pro patria ducum obitus, occisi sicaria vel fraude petiti reges, *in consiliis sagacitas ac constantia*, probatis et gerendae rei publicae gnaris potiora subinde scorta (...)."

An immensely popular abridged history of ancient Rome, meant for use at schools, was Carolus Franciscus Lhomond's (1727-1794) *De viris illustribus urbis Romae* (Paris, 1779), which remained popular until the early 20th-century and in fact is being used again in some 21st-century universities. Universal history came into vogue long before the 18th century: in this domain,

Christophorus Cellarius (1638-1707) issued a *Historia universalis* (from Antiquity down to the 17th century) in Jena in 1702.

Biography – which traditionally stood apart from historiography – flourished exceptionally, it seems to me, in the 18th century. Important examples are Angelus Fabronius's (1732-1803) straightforward but elegant *Vitae Italorum doctrina excellentium qui saeculis XVII et XVIII floruerunt* (Pisa, 1778-1805 in twenty volumes; some lives were written by other authors). Ioannes Christophorus Strodtmann (1717-1756) wrote his *Gregorii Maiansii generosi Valentini vita* (Wolfenbüttel, 1756), while this Neo-Latin author (and expert on Spanish authors of the 16th century) was still alive. The lives of some erudite or pious Mexicans who had died in the second half of the 18th century were written in the plain style of Cornelius Nepos by the Mexican exile Ioannes Aloisius Maneirius (1744-1802): *De vitis aliquot Mexicanorum (...) qui (...) Mexici inprimis floruerunt* (Bologna, 1791-1792). Neo-Latin laudatory biographies of erudite men are well attested in 18th- and early-19th-century scholarly journals. Even after 1800 the tradition of Neo-Latin biographies, often projected for school use, succeeded in maintaining itself and contributed either to the nationalistic feelings that were typical of the era or to providing the youth with moral instruction and models of excellent Latin. The field is immense. Some 18th-century autobiographies belong to the best literary products of the period. Petrus Daniel Huetius (1630-1721) composed his often sparkingly written memoirs entitled *Commentarius de rebus ad eum*

pertinentibus (Amsterdam, 1718) at an advanced age: he concentrated upon the years until 1700, when he had played an important role in national and international culture and in scholarly life.⁶³ Ludovicus Holbergius, whom we mentioned as a major novelist, also left behind three (actually four) fascinating autobiographical letters (*Ad virum perillustrem epistolae*, 1728-1743), informing us about his youth, his many travels, contemporary history, his ideas on religion, culture and literature, his philosophical convictions, his Latin and Danish works, and his character. I remember how I was fascinated not only by his own views on the Niels Klim novel or by his description of the characteristics of the modern nations of Europe and their inhabitants, but also by his elaborate description of the fire that in October 1728 razed almost 30 % of Copenhagen, also because it became clear to me that the model he was following was that of his, admittedly favourite, author Pliny, especially the latter's two letters on the eruption of the Vesuvius and his dispatch on the fire in Nicomedia and the complete lack of firefighters in the region, touched upon in book ten: "Igitur, quo inexpectatio haec calamitas accidit, eo magis attoniti homines quaevis peiora ominabantur. Audires ululatum feminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores virorum. Nec defuere qui fictis mentisque terroribus vera pericula augebant quique subornatos esse incendiarios falso, sed credentibus nuntiabant. Neque iis, quorum officium est ignem compescere,

⁶³ For another interesting example, see Ludwig Fladerer, 'Auf der Schwelle zur Moderne: Die lateinische Autobiographie des Jesuiten Michael Denis (1729-1800)', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 14 (2012), 53-111.

animus magis constabat. »⁶⁴ – “The minds of men seemed to be overwhelmed with astonishment and despair in proportion as they were wholly unprepared for such a calamity. Nothing was heard but the shrieks of women, the wailings of infants, and the lamentations of men. There were not wanting, those who added to the real horrors of the scene by false rumors of suborned incendiaries, which were readily believed and quickly circulated by the people. The firemen and others whose duty it was to use the means of arresting the flames, partook of the general consternation.” – that comes very close to Pliny, indeed.

4. Letter Writing

From the dawn of the Renaissance, letter collections, mirroring the souls of their authors, as the humanists said, but also deployed as a means of image building, were considered an important literary genre. Unsurprisingly, this Neo-Latin tradition was prolonged in the 18th (and, more feebly, in the 19th and 20th centuries). The Spanish polyhistor Emmanuel Martinus (Martí) (1663-1737), dean of Alicante, issued his elegant *Epistolarum libri duodecim* in Madrid in 1735 (Amsterdam, 1738²). His correspondent and friend, Gregorius Maiansius (Mayáns y Siscar) (1699-1781) had his own *Epistolarum libri sex* published in Madrid, 1732 (Leipzig, 1737²). Thus, both men secured their fame as humanists and prominent members of the European *Respublica litterarum*.

⁶⁴ Ludvig Holbergs tre levnedsbreve 1728-1743, ed. A. Kragelund, II (København, 1965) – cp. the English translation by Stewart E. Fraser, *Ludvig Holberg's Memoirs. An Eighteenth Century Danish Contribution to International Understanding* (Leiden, 1970).

In Italy, Iosephus Marianus Parthenius (Mazzolarius) (1712-1786), a professor at the Collegio Romano of the Jesuits, was considered an exceptionally elegant writer of letters (*Epistolae*, Rome, 1863). Individual letters, written with greater or less attentiveness to Latin elegance, survive in astonishing quantities; even in the 18th century they were the normal means of communication among the learned, both nationally and internationally, though some evolutions are noticeable. One witnesses how, in the Republic of Letters, an individual might gradually switch to the vernacular while often retaining the use of Latin in some fields or for certain categories of addressees. The *Universalgelehrter* Gottifredus Guilielmus Leibnitius (Leibniz) (1646-1716), for instance, as specialists have shown, would use French in his missives to princes and courts and non-German members of the Republic of Letters, would turn to Latin when writing to German and Italian scholars and adopt his native language in his written contacts with merchants etc.; he would answer Italian letters in Latin and English ones in French; some 30% of his correspondence was written in Latin, 40 % in French and 20% in German.⁶⁵ Similar proportions are noticeable in the wide network of the Swiss scientist Albertus de Haller (Albrecht von Haller) (1708-1777), 21, 5 % of whose correspondence consists in Latin letters; the Latin tongue may have helped him to overcome the language barrier between him and his Italian and Scandinavian colleagues, but he also employed it in his contacts with

⁶⁵ Cp. Martin Stuber – Stefan Hächler – Hubert Steinke, ‘Albrecht von Hallers Korrespondenznetz. Eine Gesamtanalyse’, in Martin Stuber – Stefan Hächler – Luc Lienhard (eds.), *Hallers Netz. Ein europäischer Gelehrtenbriefwechsel zur Zeit der Aufklärung*, Studia Halleriana, 9 (Basel, 2005), pp. 1-216 (p. 96).

academics in Germany; German letters occupy 24 % of his correspondence, French, which is clearly in the ascendant, 39 % (the trend varies from country to country and also has to do with the field in which a particular erudite was active).⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, the majority of the Swede Ericus Benzelius's (1675-1743) correspondence with the learned throughout Europe is written in Latin. Women writers of letters were rare; an exception was the Swedish bluestocking Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659-1730), a belated heir of Anna Maria Schurmann (1607-1678); Brenner, too, wrote in several languages, devoted herself to Latin poetry and was a celebrity in her days.⁶⁷

Like orations, letters continued to offer a wide range of possibilities. The format was often used for biographies, autobiographies, satires, travel memories, short stories or what we would now call articles (much earlier, Iustus Lipsius (1547-1606) had issued *Epistolicae Quaestiones* (1577)) – but proper articles (often entitled *syntagma*, *schediasma*, *lucubratio*, *commentatio*, *quaestio*, *dissertatio*, etc.) also existed.

5. Various Prose Works

Travel stories, descriptions of regions or cities and similar texts often stand in between belletristic and scholarly literature: an early-17th century work like Lipsius' *Lovanium* (Leuven, 1605) is equally difficult to qualify. They often

⁶⁶ Cp. David Krebs, 'Latein als Medium wissenschaftlicher Kommunikation bei Albrecht von Haller', in Stuber – Hächler – Lienhard, *Hallers Netz*, pp. 351-370.

⁶⁷ Cp. Elisabet Göransson, *Letters of a Learned Lady. Sophia Elisabeth Brenner's Correspondence, with an Edition of her Letters to and from Otto Sperling the Younger*, Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia, 14 (Stockholm, 2006).

combine topography, history, early statistics and encomium. The genre persisted in late Neo-Latin literature. The Bavarian naturalist Peter Kolb (1675-1736) issued *Caput bonae spei hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), an account of his travel to South Africa; the work was a success and was translated into several languages, and it was also used by the aforesaid Hemmy for his oration on the Cape. At the end of the 18th century, Albertus Adamus Baric(s) (1742-1813) wrote *Statistica Europae*, a lengthy work on the history and actual situation (administration and law, education, trades and industry, etc.) of Spain, Portugal, Holland and Britain.⁶⁸ A peculiar, but interesting case is the young Swede Georgius Wallin's (1686-1760) *Lutetia Parisiorum erudita sui temporis* (Nürnberg, 1722), a traveller's narrative of a journey to Paris stressing the presence of learned persons in the French capital in the early-18th century; it is somehow related to Leo Allatius's (1586-1669) better known *Apes Urbanae* (Rome, 1633), a book on authors and writers active in Rome in the early 1630s.⁶⁹ A fascinating, now entirely forgotten work was dedicated by the Swiss natural scientist Johannes Jacobus Scheuchzerus (Zürich, 1672-1733) to the Royal Society in London.⁷⁰ In it, he described the eleven trips he had made in his native Switzerland to study zoology, botany, mineralogy, etc. It is not the kind of work one would read for one's pleasure. And yet, at times these reports contain truly exciting stories on folklore, adventures, and so on,

⁶⁸ Cp. Adalbert Adam Baric, *Statistica Europae 1792* (Zagreb, 2000-2001), 2 vols.

⁶⁹ Cp. Emin Tengström, 'A Neo-Latin Report from Early XVIIIth Century Paris', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 28 (1979), 258-293.

⁷⁰ On Scheuchzerus, see now William M. Barton's (unpublished) PhD thesis: *The Aesthetics of the Mountain. Latin as a Progressive Force in the Late Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (King's College, London, 2015).

written in a polished style. Only one example, taken from Scheuchzer's "Ouresiphoitès", 'walk through the Swiss mountains', from 1705 to the Limmern glacier in the Glarus Alps, canton Glarus:⁷¹

Accidit ut rupicapris insidias structurus ipse [Dominus Störius] et cum eo duo alii per rupes glaciales Limmerenses incederent, ipse autem "hodègos" praeiens, dum firmo pede super nivem se ingredi putabat, subito incideret in fissuram profundam. Socii, qui hominem ex oculis amisere, de vita boni viri tantum non desperantes, nihilominus omnes intentaturi vires, in proximam casam Alpinam, quae milliare circiter hinc distabat, migrarunt auxilia petitori. Hi, postquam pannos quosvis rudes in lacinias resciderunt, demissuri eas in fissuram et hominem extracturi, redierunt. Vir interim bonus, frigore semimortuus, dimidio suo corpore erat in angusto glaciali carcere detentus, umbilico tenus autem in aquam ceterum profundissimam simul demersus, undique adeo catenis aquae, glaciei, aeris gelidis constrictus. Nihilominus tamen tot remanserunt semianimi vires, quae suffecerunt ad circumligandum se funiculo quem salvatores demiserant. Huius ope ad summam fere fissurae marginem protracto, rupto subito funiculo, relabatur in pristinum carcerem, immo vero ex Scylla in Charybdim. Periculum reduplicavit fractura quam nunc passus est brachii, sed et funiculi dimidium, quod ipse secum in infortunii adaucti signum rettulit in foveam. Animo nondum despondent, reliquas ipsis

⁷¹ Johannes Jacobus Scheuchzerus, *"Ouresiphoitès" Helveticus, sive itinera per Helvetiae Alpinas regiones* (...) (Lugduni Batavorum, 1723).

lacinias denuo discindunt atque demittunt. Has de novo ipsius brachii fracti ope circumligat, temptaturus quid Dei providentia de se decreverit. Sic funiculi admodum debilis ope sed divina assistente gratia protractus in dias luminis auras in lipothymiam cadit, ex qua tandem ad se rediit. Eos, qui sibi opem tulerunt, oculis terrore tantum non congelatis, laeto tamen vultu aspexit et ita domum se deferri passus est; et nobis in hoc itinere fassus est vix temperare sibi posse a lacrimis, quotiens periculi tam evidentis ab una parte et divinae opis ab altera, memoria refricetur. Bono huic viro congratulati ex hac casa Alpina Gemschfayr ulterius progressi vidimus (...)." - "Here I left my compagnon, the hunter, Herr Störe. He told me an adventure that is not unimportant in this context. One day, he and two friends had climbed the Limmern Glacier to catch chamois ('rupicaprae'); he was the guide of the three and walked in front on what he thought to be snow, when he suddenly fell into a crevice; his companions, who could not see him anymore, were desperate and believed he must have died, but they nevertheless decided to do what they could and therefore went to an Alpine hut in the vicinity – it was at a distance of more or less one mile – to look for help. There they found some cloths, which they pulled to pieces; then they returned to let these strips down and to pull the victim out of the crevice. The good man was half-dead, a large part of his body being stuck in that narrow and icecold prison, hanging in the icy water (which was very deep) right up to his middle – in a word, all over was he thrown in gelid chains of water, ice and air; nevertheless, though he

was half-dead, he had just enough forces to tie himself with the rope the rescuers had let down. Thanks to that rope they could almost pull him out; he had almost reached the upper edge of the crevice, when the rope suddenly broke; so he fell back into his former prison, or rather went out from bad to worse ('relabitur e Scylla in Charybdim'), since he broke his arm in his fall and as an omen of even worse dangers had taken with him half of the rope into his cage. The rescuers do not give up; they torn the remnant pieces of cloth in two parts and let these down. Though the victim's arm is broken, he manages to tie himself up once more, just trusting in providence. Thus he was pulled out by means of a very weak rope but helped by the grace of God; once he had reached the surface ("in dias luminis oras") he lost consciousness ('in lipothymiam cadit'); the rescuers were shocked and almost frozen by fear, but finally he regained consciousness and looked at his compagnons with twinkling eyes. In these circumstances, it was possible to carry him home. Now, during our trip he told me that tears rose to his eyes when he thought back to how he had stood in danger of losing his life on the one hand and to God's help on the other. We congratulated the good man and continued our trip, leaving the Alpine hut Gemschfayr."

Exciting stories like this, which makes me think of Frison-Roche's novel *La grande crevasse*, are rather exceptional in Scheuchzerus. But one might wonder if Holberg was not familiar with, or even inspired by, these reports,

published and dedicated to the Royal Society of London: his Niels Klim subterranean trip starts in a similar way!

6. Inscriptions

Latin prose inscriptions, very often prepared with utmost stylistic care, were an established tradition in Neo-Latin literature, where we witness, from the 17th century on, real or fictitious inscriptions being gathered in collections entitled *Inscriptiones* (often accompanied by *Carmina*).⁷² At the start of the 18th century, baroque, mannerist, often moralizing epigraphs abounding in wordplay and astuteness to the point of becoming almost incomprehensible, inspired by the examples of the Italian Emmanuel Thesaurus (1591-1677) and the German Iacobus Masenius (1606-1681), were still being produced: pieces of this kind were written by, *inter alios*, the Austrian Jesuit Ignatius Weitenauer (1709-1783); they gradually abandoned the field to the classicizing inscriptions that had prevailed in the 15th and 16th centuries, with their concision, pure vocabulary and straightforward ideas. The most important manual for the creation of sound inscriptions was written between 1773 and 1779 by Stephanus Antonius Morcellius (1737-1821), who in his *De stilo inscriptionum* (Padua, second edition 1819-1822), illustrated with examples of his own, is still reacting against Thesaurus's *ellogia arguta*. Inscriptions with the function of dedications abound in 18th-century works;

⁷² One example out of many hundred collections: the poems and inscriptions of Dominicus Ludovici (1676-1743): *Dominici Ludovici e Societate Jesu Carmina et inscriptiones. Opus posthumum* (Neapoli, 1746).

these encomiastic and narrative, bookish inscriptions at times are more complex. Satirical inscriptions (in books) are attested as well.⁷³

7. Scholarly and Scientific Works; Journals

In the 18th century, Latin, though a neutral language, lost almost completely its eminent position in government, administration and diplomacy – except for the Catholic Church, as we saw above. As a language of international politics and diplomacy French took over that role in several regions from the first decades of the 18th century on – though anecdotes abound on the resort to Latin as an occasional intermediary language by late-18th- and early-19th-century princes, politicians and diplomats who did not share any other common tongue. "Pacis plerumque diplomata, legatorum ad principes litterae Gallicis exarantur vocabulis, quorum inter congressus optimatum constans est usus", wrote an expert in the field, the diplomat Carolus Gustavus Schultz ab Ascherade (1787). The classic exceptions to the rule were Hungary and Croatia, where the parliaments employed Latin until the mid-19th century: on the one hand because in the German world, Latin had sunk deeper roots and the Habsburg rulers considered Latin as a good *lingua franca* in their multilingual empire; on the other, because Croatia and Hungary, though eager to give an impetus to their own languages, saw in Latin a barrier against the encroachment of the German language; besides, Croats preferred Latin, a

⁷³ For a brief survey of the history of Neo-Latin inscriptions, see Dirk Sacré, 'Inscriptions', in Ford- Bloemendal – Fantazzi, *Brill's Encyclopaedia*, pp. 994-1007 (with further literature). For the case of the 18th-century Jesuit Guido Ferrari (+ 1791), who wrote many Neo-Latin inscriptions, see Maurizio Campanelli, 'Settecento latino II', *L'Ellisse*, 3 (2008), 85-110.

Croatian colleague told me, because there were discussions about which form of Croatian should be promoted. Anyhow, both the Hungarian and Croatian parliaments held their meetings in Latin, and the records of them were kept in that language, too. Reading these reports, steeped in a kind of juridical jargon, is not always an easy undertaking for an average reader of classical Latin, who will find many lexical and syntactical choices surprising.

In this context, a word might be added about Latin newspapers, a rare phenomenon which has hardly been studied. In Hungary (where before 1780 only Latin and German newspapers were issued) there appeared with irregular periodicity some 200 numbers of a *Nuntius veridicus ex Hungaria* (1705-1710/1711) with the intention to provide correct information from the Hungarian side to the international community on the ungoing war of independence. From March 1728 to the end of 1730 there was on the market a weekly newspaper produced in Bern and entitled *Commentarii rerum toto terrarium orbe gestarum*, which, as its title announces, contained international news, arranged by country, but also included reviews of important publications. There is hardly any literature about these newspapers, which are very hard to find.⁷⁴

“Invaluit nostro saeculo morbus, ut rei medicae doctores loqui amant, epidemicus, quo linguae imprimis Gallicae usus eruditissimis maxime sit familiaris”, the German erudite Ioannes Rudolphus Kieslingius (1706-1778) wrote in 1751

⁷⁴ Cp. H. Koller, ‘Eine lateinische Wochenzeitung des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die *Commentarii rerum toto terrarum orbe gestarum* des Hieronymus Stettler’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1981), 214-238 (with a survey of other Neo-Latin newspapers on pp. 236-238).

or 1752 in his *Commentatio de peregrinarum linguarum in re litteraria usu culturae linguae Latinae maxime noxio*, included in the *Acta Societatis Latinae Ienensis* (Jena, 1752): “there is kind of disease that is becoming epidemic in our times (to use medical language): the use of the French language is becoming very customary in the world of learning.” Nevertheless, the 18th century left behind an incredible amount of scholarly works in Latin, just as the 17th had done. The feverish activities of the savants and the risks besetting them became themselves the subject of treatises: their sedentary life was a threat to their health and necessitated a customized diet, hence the well-known Italian naturalist Ioannes Antonius Scopoli (1723-1788) wrote a *Dissertatio de diaeta litteratorum* (Innsbruck, 1743). From the 16th century on, specialisation in classical and antiquarian studies increased steadily. There was no rupture in that respect in the Neo-Latin scholarly production of the 18th century. “Satis iam inanibus subtilitatibus maiores nostri litarunt” (Nicolaus Skrlec Lomnicki, 1776): in the eyes of outsiders as well as of some scholars, there were academics whose exaggerated devotion to detail amounted to nitpicking. Hence there appeared satirical works, the most widely read of which were perhaps Joannes Burchardus Menckenius’s (1674-1732) *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (Leipzig, 1715), who laughed i.a. at scholarly debates over whether one ought to spell ‘Virgilius’ or ‘Vergilius’, and David Ruhnkenius’s inaugural lecture at Leiden, *De doctore umbratico*

(1761), denouncing pedantism and other defects of faculty members.⁷⁵

In the fields of literature and classical studies, an extensive manual such as Joannes Georgius Walchius's (1693-1775) *Historia critica Latinae linguae* (Leipzig, 1716; 1729²; 1761³), which can be called a 'Companion to Latin studies', shows how 18th-century scholars continued the tradition, elaborating critically on their predecessors' works. The majority of Latin scholars went on working on ancient and Neo-Latin texts (and their contexts), just as the preceding generations had done; they transmitted the Latin heritage and interpreted it for their times. The classics of humanist writers were edited time and again during the eighteenth century; that tradition broke off at the end of 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, an indication of the difficult phase Neo-Latin literature was then entering. Till then, scholars, though aware of the difference between ancient literature and the *recentiores*, would nevertheless devote themselves to both classical authors and humanist literature, as Heinz Hofmann⁷⁶ rightly stressed: thus David Hoogstratanus (1658-1724) edited both Cornelius Nepos (1706) and the Neo-Latin poetry (1711) of Ianus Broukhusius (1649-1707); Ioannes Salomon Semlerus (1725-1791) issued the works of Tertullian (1770-1773) and Erasmus's *Ratio seu methodus verae theologiae* (Halle, 1782); Petrus Burmannus (1668-1741) issued both Velleius Paterculus (1719) and an important collection of humanist

⁷⁵ Cp. *Davidis Ruhnkenii Oratio de doctore umbratico*, ed. Helgus Niktinski (Neapoli, 2001).

⁷⁶ 'Cornelis van Arckel und sein neulateinischer Freundeskreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 35 (1986), 169-218 (pp. 177-178).

letters, the *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* (Leiden, 1723-1727). The ongoing interest in canonized Neo-Latin texts resulted in monumental 18th century editions of 16th –century authors, such as the *Opera omnia* of Desiderius Erasmus by Ioannes Clericus (1657-1737), the copiously annotated edition of Petrus Lotichius's *Poemata omnia* (Amsterdam, 1754) by Petrus Burmannus Secundus (1713-1778), the *Opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782-1790) of Johannes Ludovicus Vives, preceded by an excellent *Vita Vivis*, by Gregorius Maiansius (1699-1781), or the *Opera omnia* (Leiden, 1725³) of Georgius Buchananus by Thomas Ruddimanus (1674-1757). This flow of publication came to an end in the Napoleonic era and would dry up almost entirely until the 20th century; as a consequence, most Neo-Latin authors were hardly read anymore, though there were a few exceptions, such as the new edition (Leipzig, 1834-1841) of Marcus Antonius Muretus's works by C. H. Frotscher (1796-1876) and the (admittedly short-lived) *Bibliotheca scriptorum Latinorum aetatis recentioris* in the last quarter of the 19th century.

There is no doubt that standard books such as Isaac Casaubon's on satire (1605) or Daniel Heinsius's on tragedy (1611) were still widely read, but the discussion was continued in works that enjoyed a success of their own in the eighteenth (and sometimes in the nineteenth) century. Carolus Porée (1675-1741), a Jesuit and renowned orator, held in Paris in 1710 a speech entitled *De satyra, utrum satyra in civitate bene morata et quatenus admittenda sit*. Franciscus Lang (1654-1725) left behind a *Dissertatio de*

actione scenica (Munich, 1725) offering a wealth of detailed instructions for actors;⁷⁷ similarly Andreas Friz exposed his views on Neo-Latin tragedy in a letter written in the first half of the 18th century;⁷⁸ Franciscus Neumayr (1697-1765) dealt i.a. with melodrama in his *Idea poeseos* (Ingolstadt, 1751). Michael Lilienthal (1686-1750) left behind a *Schediasma critico-literarium de philothecis varioque earundem usu et abusu* (Königsberg, 1712), discussing the origin (not older than the 16th century), the different forms, and the advantages, of *alba amicorum*. Paratexts were examined by Fridericus Petrus Tacke (1686-1745) in a *Commentatio historica et literaria de dedicationibus librorum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1733).

Old discussions were resumed time and again, but adapted to new realities. Didacus Abad (1727-1779), one of the best Neo-Latin poets from Spanish America and one of the Mexican Jesuits who came to Northern Italy with an important colony of expelled confrères, where they contributed to a new flourishing of Neo-Latin, took part in an old quarrel over the question of whether people born outside Italy were able to write Latin as well as Italians, and answered affirmatively in his *Dissertatio ludicro-seria* (Bologna, 1778).⁷⁹ In discussions of style one notices a remarkable continuity as well. Justus

⁷⁷ Cp. Franz Lang, *Abhandlung über die Schauspielkunst. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Alexander Rudin* (Bern – München, 1975).

⁷⁸ Cp. Andreas Friz's *Letter on Tragedies (ca. 1741-1744). An Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Contribution to Theatre Poetics, Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, 4 (Leiden – Boston, 2015).

⁷⁹ Cp. Diego José Abad, *Disertación joco-seria. Introducci3n, traducci3n y notas por Roberto Heredia*, Colecci3n Textos Novohispanos, 1 (México, 2000). For Abad and his confrère Landivar as excellent Neo-Latin poets, see Sacré, 'De litteris saeculi XVIII' (in the press).

Lipsius's (1547-1606) peculiar and unciceronian style was already criticised during his lifetime; the discussions and criticisms went on during the 17th and 18th centuries—which shows how indispensable Lipsius's writings had remained. Finally Lipsius was condemned yet again by Ioannes G. Heineccius (1681-1741) in the latter's often reissued *Fundamenta stili cultioris* (Leipzig, 1736), and then provocatively canonized as an author with a perfect style by the great German classical scholar, and Neo-Latin orator and poet Christianus Adolphus Klotzius (1738-1771) in his *Opuscula varii argumenti* (Altenburg, 1766). The *antibarbarus* theme, the effort to achieve a pure and classical Latin, was inherent in Neo-Latin literature from the start; in the 17th century it exploded, and was continued eagerly in the 18th century with works written in the vernacular and in Latin, such as Ioannes Fridericus Noltenius's (1694-1754) widely used *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum* (Venice, 1743) or William Massey's (1691-c. 1764) *Corruptae Latinitatis index* (London, 1755; in English), all of which would lead to the well-known *Antibarbarus* Frankfurt/M., 1834, etc.; in German) of Johann Philipp Krebs (1771-1850).

Treatises and exchanges on the question whether Latin was to be preferred to the vernacular, and whether it should be cultivated, go back to the 15th century, and the question continued and intensified in our period, as Neo-Latin literature appeared increasingly at risk of succumbing to the vernacular. Iacobus Burckhard (1681-1752) testifies to the fact that French was taking over the position of Latin in erudite Europe in his *Commentarii de*

linguae Latinae in Germania per XVII saecula amplius fatis (Hannover, Wolfenbüttel, 1713-1721).⁸⁰ Hieronymus Ferrius (1713-1786), an Italian pedagogue and Latinist, contested Jean d'Alembert's (1717-1783) influential stance against writing in Latin (*Sur l'harmonie des langues et sur la latinité des modernes* [Paris, 1753]) in his *Pro linguae Latinae usu epistolae L adversus Alambertium* (Faenza, 1771).⁸¹ At the end of the 18th century, with Neo-Latin's position becoming more problematic, this kind of discussion blossomed in all sorts of Latin writings, I will not mention these here. For rhetorical instruction, the 18th century often relied on older works such as G.J. Vossius's (1577-1649) and Nicolaus Caussin's (1583-1651) treatises, the influence of which is perceptible in works such as Theophanes (Feofan) Prokopovic's (1681-1736) *De arte rhetorica* (Kiev, 1706), an extensive manual of rhetoric emanating from the author's courses at the Mogila Academy in Kiev.

In other fields of the humanities, Latin suffered from the competition of the vernacular, but managed to maintain itself to some extent, varying from country to country and from discipline to discipline. Latin was still a passport for the international diffusion of scholarly works, but national audiences stood up for their rights. Academic works were often written in Latin. In the 18th century many a scholar started publishing in Latin and continued in the

⁸⁰ Cp. Walther Ludwig, 'De linguae Latinae in Germania fatis – Jacob Burckhard und der neuzeitliche Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache', in Id., *Supplementa Neolatina. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2003-2008*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, Noctes Neolatina, 10 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York, 2008), pp. 17-50.

⁸¹ Cp. Innocentius Parisella, 'Hieronymus Ferrius incorruptae Latinitatis vindex', *Latinitas*, 5 (1957), 210-223.

vernacular; others cultivated two or more languages all their lives. Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius (1672-1750), a polymath who was interested in medieval history, published his *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* (Milan, 1738-1743) in Latin, and spent the rest of his life translating them into Italian; other scholarly works he issued in Italian.

In what follows, we can only mention a selection of works to demonstrate how Latin culture remained important in the domain of the humanities, even in disciplines where one would not expect as much. Take art, for instance: Dominicus Antonius Marsella (1751-1835), who taught in Rome, wrote on the famous sculptor Canova a *De Antonio Canova Phidiae artis scientissimo commentarius* (Rome, 1824). A major philosophical work on aesthetics is Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's (1714-1762) *Aesthetica* (Frankfurt/Oder, 1750-1758). A remarkable piece of work is *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati Christianae non contraria* (Leiden, 1742): Iacobus Capitein (1717-1747), its author, was a black former slave from Ghana, who at Leiden University defended the compatibility of slavery and Christian freedom.⁸² Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius (1672-1750) delivered a plea in favour of a more rational attitude in matters of devotion in his *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio* (Paris, 1714). And everybody knows that we have a number of Latin works written by Immanuel Kant, and that the latter's main works were even translated into Latin for an international audience.

⁸² Cp. Grant Parker, 'Can the Subaltern Speak Latin? The Case of Capitein', in Yasmin Haskell – Juanita Feros Ruys (eds.), *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 360 (Tempe, 2010), pp. 241-258.

In the scientific field, the status of Latin remained unquestioned for a longer time than it did in the domains of literature and of scholarship in the humanities,⁸³ though the 18th century also offers many examples of scientists who eventually opted for the vernacular; in some disciplines, such as botany, medicine and pharmacy, the Latin tradition proved to be remarkably strong. Towards the end of the century, with opposition to Latin gaining force, the Spaniard Antonius Eximenus (Eximeno y Pajades) (1729-1808), himself a mathematician and musicologist, contended in response in his *De studiis philosophicis et mathematicis* (Madrid, 1789) that all sciences and disciplines should continue to be practised in Latin. During the age of Enlightenment, scientific writers still using Latin did not abandon the use of classical rhetorical techniques to stress the importance of their views and persuade their readers; they were often very sensitive to such notions as *perspicuitas* and *aptum*. Nevertheless, styles can vary from one author to another. Thus, the Swiss physician Samuel Augustus Tissot (1728-1797) used a plain style in his *Epistolae medico-practicae* (Lausanne, 1791), whereas his Croatian colleague Lucas Stullius (1772-1828) tried to employ Ciceronian diction in his *De febre scarlatina* (in his *Opuscula duo medica* [Bologna, 1829]). Bernardinus Ramazzini wrote an epochal work on occupational diseases of craftsmen (*De morbis opificum diatribe* [Modena, 1700]).

⁸³ Cp., for instance, Uwe Pörksen, 'Der Übergang vom Gelehrtenlatein zur deutschen Wissenschaftssprache. Zur frühen deutschen Fachliteratur und Fachsprache in den naturwissenschaftlichen und mathematischen Fächern (ca. 1500-1800)', *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 13 (1983), 227-258.

Scipio Maffei (1675-1755) complained in 1737 about the Italians writing their mathematical works almost exclusively in Latin, whereas the French used French. For some generations, however, Latin remained important in this field in many regions, especially in Germany, Scandinavia, Croatia and Hungaria: Rogerius Iosephus Boscovich from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) (1711-1787), who was also an excellent Latin poet, left behind works in the fields of mathematics (*Trigonometriae sphaericae constructio* [Rome, 1737]), astronomy and optics (*Opera pertinentia ad opticam et astronomiam* [Venice, 1785]), etc.; the Swiss Leonardus Euler (1707-1783) wrote i.a. *Introductio in analysin infinitorum* (Lausanne, 1748) and *Institutiones calculi integralis* (St. Petersburg, 1768-1770). In astronomy, Edmund Halley's (1656-1742) name remains famous; he wrote his *Astronomiae cometicae synopsis* (Oxford, 1705) in Latin. Galvanism stands at the core of Ludovicus Galvani's (1737-1798) *De viribus electricitatis in motu musculari* (Bologna, 1791). Let us round off this extremely short overview of post-1700 scientific literature with the Swede Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778) who was responsible for the classification of animals, plants and minerals with his *Systema naturae* (Leiden, 1735; expanded afterwards) and for the nomenclature of plants with his *Specimen plantarum* (Stockholm, 1753). Linnaeus sent many of his students on expeditions to gather materials on 'natural history' (at the time, botany was not established yet as an autonomous discipline). Upon their return, these students would issue 'diaries', composed entirely of detailed descriptions of

particular species. In 1754, Daniel Rolander (1723-1793) – a scientist on whom James Dobreff is working - was sent to Dutch Suriname, where he spent some months and kept an extremely interesting diary of hundreds of pages, which he later reworked with utmost care. This is not only a major source for the fauna and flora of Suriname, which it lists in unadorned fashion; it is conceived as entertaining literature, stuffed with anecdotes giving insight into eighteenth-century life in Suriname plantations. In a polished style, Rolander related among other things the arrival of a Dutch vessel from Guinea bringing slaves bought in Africa; he described the different dialects of these slaves, the way they had been distributed on the ship so that they could not conspire towards a revolt, and their appearances. This is the way the local slaves reacted to these strangers: [*Rolander's Diarium Surinamicum*, ed. J. Dobreff (in the press)] “Nigritae famuli Surinamenses, qui cymbam nostram ad navem egerant, irrisum ivere Nigritas advenas: hi vero mycterismos facientes, labium oris inferioris reflectebant, illis colaphos extensis bracchiis pugnisque minitantes. Hinc famuli nostri ‘Si verberibus delectamini, venistis iam in terram, ubi eiusmodi desiderii vestris satisfactum fore non dubitamus’. »⁸⁴ - « The servants from Suriname, black persons themselves, who had conducted our sloop to the ship, started laughing at the foreign Negroes; these made sarcastic remarks and their lower lips curled while they stretched out their arms, clenched their fists and threatened to beat them. Then our servants said: ‘well,

⁸⁴ Cf. James Dobreff, ‘Redux Rolander. Advancements in Rolander research along with the identification of an unknown Rolandian manuscript’, *Svenska Linn & illkapets arsskrift* 2008, 135-150.

if you like to be flogged, you are now in a region where people will certainly comply with your wishes!’.”

Journals were instrumental for the exchange of learning since the 17th century. They were a favourite medium for the diffusion of scholarly and scientific news, and reviews of new publications. Here too Latin journals alternated with vernacular ones. When the *Journal des Sçavans* was founded in 1626, knowledge of French could not be taken for granted by educated scholars abroad; therefore, the first two volumes were translated into Latin by a German scholar. The most famous Latin journals were undoubtedly the monthly *Acta eruditorum* (Leipzig, 1682-1731) and *Nova Acta eruditorum* (1732-1776), founded by Otto Menckenius (Mencke) (1644-1707) and continued by his son; the *Acta eruditorum* were meant as a pendant of the aforementioned French journal and contained mainly reviews of scholarly and scientific publications, without neglecting classical and Neo-Latin literature, but also published original contributions. The journal was followed by similar initiatives. Looking at the older journals of the Berlin Academy, one perceives the evolving position of Latin as a national and international language of scholarly communication: from 1710 to 1744 the *Miscellanea Berolinensia ad incrementum scientiarum (...) edita* were issued in Latin; thereafter the language became French for a few decades, before it shifted to German towards the end of the century, while still admitting Latin articles. The *Societas*

Latina Ienensis, founded at Jena University in 1734 and active until the mid-19th century, formed a bulwark against the proliferation of the vernacular in the academic world and the world of learning; it produced such journals or series as the *Acta* (later *Nova Acta*) *Societatis Latinae Ienensis* and *Exercitationes Societatis Latinae quae Jenae est*, publishing both scholarly and more rhetorical (or even poetic) contributions. It is a pleasure to read in Klotz's journal (the *Acta litteraria*), which contains i.a. interesting reviews of new Neo-Latin works.

8. Translations into Latin

Translations into Latin (a field in which Peter Burke⁸⁵ and Leonard Grant⁸⁶ have been working) deserve special mention. In the period we are dealing with, a double activity is noticeable: on the one hand, classical works and older and more recent Neo-Latin works were translated increasingly into modern languages; on the other, an enormous quantity of non-Latin works in every possible field was rendered into Latin for a variety of reasons. Certainly until the dawn of the 19th century, such translations made works accessible to an international readership. Furthermore, Latin editions endowed the translated works and their authors with prestige. From the 19th century on, with Neo-Latin largely eclipsed by the vernacular, Latin translations were used as a means to show that Latin, contrary to the general opinion, was perfectly able to voice modern reality and feelings; in other cases, the presence of classical motifs in modern literatures drew classical philologists to spend their leisure time coping with the challenge of an adequate Latin rendering, or displaying their virtuoso

⁸⁵ See, e.g., his article 'Translations into Latin in Early Modern Europe', in Id. – Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 65-80.

⁸⁶ W. Leonard Grant, 'European Vernacular Works in Latin Translation', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 1 (1954), 120-156.

skill in Latin. In the schools, Latin translations (of both prose and poetry) were used as means to bridge the gap between the ancient language and the pupils' modern way of life, and sometimes found their way to the Latin classrooms; for adults they will have served as entertainment. Not unsurprisingly, at least six full Neo-Latin verse translations of Boileau's famous *Art poétique* (1674) survive, three of which were made during the 18th century (Michel Godeau [+1736], Abbé Armand-Laurent Paul [1740-1809] and François Gacon [1667-1725]), the three other ones (by Jacques-Joseph Deglimes, J.-A. Chambonnet and J.-J. Laval) belonging to the 19th century.⁸⁷ Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) were often Latinized; among the translations, there is a successful paraphrase in hexameters (*Telemachiados libri XXIV*) by the American Oratorian Etienne Viel (1736-1821).⁸⁸ There also exist some more thematic collections of translations, such as Aldreanus Allegrini's Latin renderings of the poetical products of the members of two Roman academies.⁸⁹ Until the 19th century Greek authors were often published with Latin translations (an age-long tradition), and at times fresh Latin translations were added. Thus in the collection known as the *Editiones Bipontinae* (Zweibrücken and Strasbourg, 1779-1811) one can find new Latin translations of Aristotle's works (*Aristotelis opera omnia (...) novam versionem Latinam (...)* [Zweibrücken, Strasbourg, 1791-1800]) by Ioannes Theophilus Buhle (1763-1821). It would lead us too far astray to mention separate bilingual editions; one example will do, Longinus's influential *On the Sublime*, which was issued in Oxford, 1778 with the Latin translation by Ioannes Toupius

⁸⁷ On Gacon's translation, see Christopher Allen – Frances Muecke, 'Translation and Re-translation: Boileau's *Art poétique* Latinized', in Haskell – Feros Ruys, *Latinity and Alterity*, pp. 79-135.

⁸⁸ Cp. *Early American Verse 1625-1825. An Anthology*, ed. Leo M. Kaiser (Chicago, 1984), pp. 219-220.

⁸⁹ *Carmina ab utriusque Academiae tum Arcadum, tum Quirinorum pastoribus vernaculo sermone pronunciata, et dicta Clementi XIII Pont. Opt. Maximo. Latine effecta ab Alderano Allegrini atque ipsi Pontifici O. Maximo ab eodem dicata* (Romae, 1759).

(1713-1785) and critical and explicatory notes by David Ruhnkenius (1723-1798).

Works in the fields of religion (theological or devotional), politics, history, philosophy, geography, medicine, technology and science, literature, etc., were often translated into Latin for an international public of learned persons. Thus old-Icelandic historical texts and sagas were collected, translated into Latin and commented by Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791-1852): *Scripta historica Islandorum de rebus gestis veterum Borealium Latine reddita* (Copenhagen, 1828-1842). Even the works of Kant (who had written a number of treatises in Latin himself) were translated into Latin by Fridericus G. Born (1743-1807): *Immanuelis Kantii Opera ad philosophiam criticam* (Leipzig, 1796-1798).

It can be profitable to have a look at Neo-Latin translations for additional information. When Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) rendered into Latin Isaac Newton's *Opticks* (*Optice sive de reflexionibus, refractionibus, inflexionibus et coloribus lucis* [London, 1706]), he also rendered the additions the author had made. In his notes to the Latin translation (*De praestantia classicorum auctorum commentatio* [Leipzig, 1735]) of Anthony Blackwall's (1672-1730) *Introduction to the Classics* (1718), for instance, the Latin translator Georgius Henricus Ayrer (1702-1774) attempted to compose a canon of Neo-Latin authors who wrote good and elegant Latin, and therefore could be recommended to students of Latin; in this list, he also included some 18th-century prose writers such as Paulinus a S. Iosepho (1681-1754) for Italy,

the physician Richardus Mead (1673-1754) for England, and Ioannes Philippus Slevogtius (1649-1727) and Ioannes Daniel Schoepflinus (1694-1771) for Germany.

Some literary works were seen as abounding in political instruction; therefore Fénélon's *Aventures de Télémaque* was translated several times into Latin verse or prose. Gregorius Trautwein (1711-1785), for instance, issued (...) *Francisci Fenelonii (...) Telemachus (...), ob amoenissimam tum tradendae, tum addiscendae Christianae politices methodum (...) Latinitate donatus* (Frankfurt, 1744).

DRAMA

As for Neo-Latin drama, continuity and modest changes once again seem to be the key-word; no strong caesura is apparent after 1650.⁹⁰ The Jesuits deserve special mention for having attached so much importance to school drama and turned the performances into real festivals of Latin. The impact of their dramas should not be minimized, given that in large cities such as Aachen, Paris and Brussels, many thousands of spectators, including *le beau monde* and the intelligentsia, attended these spectacles which were sometimes staged for periods of three to five days consecutively. Compared to the 17th century, more dramas saw the light as printed books; moreover there is no doubt that the

⁹⁰ Cp. Stefan Tilg, 'Die Entwicklung des Jesuitendramas vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel Innsbruck', in Reinhold F. Gleis – Robert Seidel (eds.), *Das lateinische Drama der Frühen Neuzeit. Exemplarische Einsichten in Praxis und Theorie* (Tübingen, 2008), pp. 183-200. See also Robert Seidel's article in the same book (pp. 287-312) on a dissertation defending the performance of (Latin) drama with traditional arguments as late as 1767; and Nienke Tjoelker's chapter 'Developments and Innovations in the Eighteenth Century', in her book *Andreas Friz's Letter on Tragedies (ca. 1741-1744). An Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Contribution to Theatre Poetics, Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, 4 (Leiden – Boston, 2015), pp. 11-18.

Jesuits with their excellent administration had many manuscript copies made of other dramas, which circulated throughout the *Societas*. Thematically, no profound changes are discernible between the dramas of the 1650s and those of the 1750s: edifying stories taken from the Bible, sacred history, Jesuit Saints, and classical history prevailed. However, from the end of the 17th century onwards, recent history also was a subject for drama, for instance the Turkish threat. Furthermore, one observes a steady increase of the influence exerted by Corneille's dramas, and a tendency towards paying attention to civilian or political virtues, which reveals the *Zeitgeist* of the Enlightenment. Sample surveys of the corpus of surviving manuscripts of plays from the 1760s suggest that the high linguistic and stylistic standards of the early-seventeenth century could now and then, but were by no means always relaxed⁹¹ – though in some countries Jesuit spectacles were also staged in the vernacular. Apart from the well-known longer dramas, staged most of the time at the end of the school year, the 18th century in some countries witnessed a growing interest in shorter Latin dramas, or *Meditationes*, performed during Lent in churches, within the framework of the Society of Jesus's Congregations. In the regular, longer *Ordensdramen* of the Jesuits, Benedictines and Oratorians, however, more and more weight was given to *embolia* or intermezzi, consisting of secondary plays introduced within the framework of the primary ones, musical performances, or ballets; these became very popular during the eighteenth century. Thus, the dramas were adapted to the spectacles that had become fashionable in general culture. Formally, some innovations were introduced sporadically from the late-seventeenth century on. In the *embolia*, it became possible to introduce rhythmical instead of metrical lines, as one can see in the Salzburg Benedictine's Rufinus Widl piece *Clementia Croesi* (1767), for the embolium

⁹¹ Carpanus clearly wrote in the same sophisticated idiom as most playwrights of the 17th century; on his work see Valerio Sanzotta, 'Giuseppe Enrico Carpani e il teatro gesuitico in Arcadia', *Atti e Memorie dell'Arcadia*, 3 (2014), 243-274. In some plays of Anton Claus, another Jesuit, however, we witness a much more straightforward and easy, plain style: such is the case in his *Publius Cornelius Scipio sui victor* (1741), ed. Simon Wirthensohn, *Tirolensia Latina*, 9 (Freiburg/Br., Berlin, Wien, 2015).

of which young Mozart wrote the music.⁹² Moreover, through a certain fusion of genres and from a desire for innovation, in this case probably under the influence of Menippean satire, prose sections within a drama became possible: one finds these in the Austrian Benedictine Simon Rettenpacher's (1634-1706) comedy entitled *Iudicium Phoebi*. The Austrian poet Virgilius Gleissenberger (1685-1737) even introduced an entire comedy into his epic poem *Boleslais*, written on the medieval Polish king Boleslaus II.⁹³ Those Latin writers who discussed Neo-Latin drama in the eighteenth century were aware of the innovations that had been introduced and sometimes discussed these at length. Such is the case of Franciscus Lang's already mentioned (1654-1725) *Dissertatio de actione scenica*, an extremely interesting text, in which the Jesuit says that some adaptations are necessary in order to 'veterum sanctiones temporum nostrorum genio accommodare, inhaerendo quidem eorum vestigio quantum poterunt, aliquanto tamen plus dando libertati suae, quam stricta veterum severitas ad normam suorum temporum statuerat'⁹⁴ – "to adapt the rules of the ancients to the spirit of our age, while we stick as much as possible to them, but give them a bit more free rein than was conceivable in ancient times with their strictness". The influence of post-humanistic Neo-Latin theatre upon the vernacular needs to be explored. It seems highly improbable, to quote just one example, that the French Jesuit Charles Porée's *Brutus* (1708) would not have had any impact on Voltaire, who wrote a *Brutus* play in 1730 – Voltaire had been a pupil of Porée in 1709-1710 and kept in touch with his former teacher until the latter's death (1741).⁹⁵ For Neo-Latin theatre, the abolition of the Society of Jesus (1773) virtually marked the end point. When the Society was re-established in 1814, the custom of staging Latin drama in

⁹² Cfr. Thomas Lederer, 'The Clemency of Rufinus Widl. Text and Context of W.A. Mozart's First Opera', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 58 (2009), 217-373. The text of the play, however, would benefit from a revision.

⁹³ Cp. Elisabeth Klecker, "'Episches Theater" im Barock', *Wiener Studien*, 113 (2000), 335-358.

⁹⁴ Lang, *Abhandlung*, p. 85.

⁹⁵ Cp. Edith Flamarion, *Théâtre jésuite néo-latin et antiquité Sur le Brutus de Charles Porée (1708)* (Rome, 2002).

Jesuit schools seems to have perished almost entirely,⁹⁶ with a few exceptions: Alexandre de Gabriac (1827-1898) in France and Aloisius Palumbus (1820-1868) in Naples tried to revive the Jesuit drama; later on the Salesian Giovanni Battista Francesia (1838-1930) had some new Latin dramas performed from the 1860s on.⁹⁷

A related genre is that of the Latin musical oratorio, that flourished especially in Italy and Germany. It came into being in the 17th century. Many librettos still exist; some have been printed with the scores, some without; many are preserved as manuscripts, e.g. in the National Library in Rome. These works caught my attention when I was working on a late-17th – (and early-18th) -century Latin poet from Rome, who wrote the librettos for some short oratorios to be performed at the San Marcello there; the texts seemed to me light versions of drama, accessible to a larger audience; their style peculiar, with a mixture of rhythmical elements and prose, so as to constitute a kind of poetical prose. In Giuseppe Berneri's unpublished libretto on David and Goliath, for instance (we do not know who wrote the music for that piece),⁹⁸ the confrontation between David and Goliath opens with these words:

Golia: Unde venis? Tu quis es?

Haec audebis

Nec timebis

Robur mirum,

Fortem virum ?

Sic te prodit vana spes?

Unde venis? Tu quis es?

David : Ego sum qui te prosternam !

Audax derides

⁹⁶ See, however, Paul Shore – Maurice Whitehead, 'Crisis and Survival on the Peripheries: Jesuit Culture, Continuity and Change at Opposite Ends of Continental Europe, 1762-1814', *History of Universities*, 24 (2009), 173-205 (pp. 189-194).

⁹⁷ Cp. Roberto Spataro, 'Giovanni Battista Francesia autore di teatro latino', *Salesianum*, 74 (2012), 277-305.

⁹⁸ Giuseppe Berneri, *David Golie interfector* (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. Gesuitico 240, ff. 135v-139r).

Imbellem quia vides.
Sed timebis
Dum videbis
In me caeli vim supernam.
Ego sum qui te prosternam!

POETRY

1. Epic Poetry

Epic poetry, far from dying out, thrived. A recent inventory (made by L. Braun) of Neo-Latin epics in France between 1500 and 1700 shows that ancient, medieval and recent events continued to be at the core of the epic tradition, and makes us aware of some evolutions.⁹⁹ Thus the attention given to the composition of long epic poems, and their structure in twelve books after the *Aeneid*, seems to be something typical of the seventeenth century. The poems tended to become longer and longer – Jacques Mayre (1627-1694), who wrote several epic poems in the last quarter of the seventeenth century totalled some 157 books in about ten times as many verses as Virgil's *Aeneid*. The influence of modern models, written either in Latin (such as Bargaeus's *Syrias* [1591]) or in the vernacular (such as Tasso's *Gerusalemme*), is discernible. Christian epic poems, especially on Christ's life, persisted until the eighteenth century, often under the influence of Vida's *Christias*, but their interdependence has not been studied; in Italy, the excellent poet Tommaso Ceva (1648-1737) in his very readable epic *Jesus puer* (1690-1696) tried to renew the genre by introducing vivid scenes depicting women and children in Nazareth during Christ's childhood, and thus by bringing in modest characters gave a *comico-heroici natura* to his epic, as he himself said; these scenes herald the humorous-descriptive poems that became very popular in the eighteenth

⁹⁹ Cp. Ludwig Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae. Ein Repertorium der neulateinischen Epik Frankreichs (1500-1700)*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 38 (Leiden – Boston, 2007).

century.¹⁰⁰ The continuity of ‘classical’ themes is also clear from the better-studied epics on Columbus and the discovery of America, ranging from Julius Caesar Stella (sixteenth century) and Vincentius Placcius (seventeenth century) to Ubertinus Carrara and Johannes Christianus Aloisius Mickl (eighteenth century) – smaller descriptive poems on Columbus one continues to find until the late nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ Comparable to the epics on Columbus is José Mariano de Iturriaga’s poem *Californias* (1740), which deals with the Christianisation of Baja California, Mexico.¹⁰² The longer, original epics died out in the nineteenth century; some of the last examples dealt with Russian czars – an example is Francesco Filippi-Pepe’s (1737-1812) poem on Peter the Great (Teramo, 1789).¹⁰³

2. Didactic Poetry

Even more popular, perhaps the most popular and respected of the longer genres in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was didactic poetry, in which the Jesuits, but not only they, excelled (as Yasmin Haskell has demonstrated in several studies). The genre had been admired and practiced on a large scale by the humanists too - it was no coincidence that a large majority of those Scaliger had indicated as first-rank poets in his *Poetice* were authors of didactic poetry. Both with respect to content and as regards literary models, the genre offered almost unlimited possibilities. It excluded no subject and allowed long digressions; it enabled the poets to participate in the cultural, scholarly and scientific debates of their times: there was no modern invention, no philosophical system that was excluded from treatment in verse. At the same time, the didactic poets proved on the field how well Latin was able to communicate the most modern or intricate subjects. An excellent example is

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Tommaso Ceva, *Iesus puer. Traduzione e commento* a cura di Felice Milani (Milan, 2009).

¹⁰¹ Cp. Ubertino Carrara SJ, *Columbus. Carmen epicum (1715)*, ed. Florian Schaffenrath (Berlin, 2006).

¹⁰² Cp. José Mariano de Iturriaga, *La Californiada*, ed. Alfonso Castro Pallares, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 7 (México, 1979).

¹⁰³ Cp. *Del monumento a Pietro il Grande. Poema di Francesco Filippi-Pepe colla giunta di carme inedito dello stesso. Prima versione italiana* di Aurelio Saliceti (...) (Teramo, 1826).

offered by Marie-Antoine-François Chivot (1752-1786), who wrote on the origin of human language (*De inventione sermonis*).¹⁰⁴ Another forgotten, yet very interesting and elegant example is the poem the Dutch Jesuit Alexander Thomassen (1725/6 – 1798) wrote on the nature of monkeys and apes.¹⁰⁵ Next to the traditional didactic poem in several books, there developed in the eighteenth century a shorter, perhaps more descriptive than didactic type, e.g. on coffee, tea, barometers; a fair number of such shorter didactics can be found in the widely read anthology *Poëmata didascalica, nunc primum vel edita vel collecta*¹⁰⁶; both types survived during the late nineteenth- and twentieth centuries. For the shorter type, I only refer to the forgotten Mantuan poet Gaetano Buganza (1732-1812), in whose Latin poetry one can find semi-didactic poems on the construction of birdcages or on milk products.¹⁰⁷ Hieronymus de Bosch's (1740-1801) *Carmen de aequalitate hominum* (Amsterdam, 1793), is a late example of the traditional type.¹⁰⁸ The two types of didactic poems were in favour among physicians, astronomers, mathematicians and other scientists who also cultivated the Latin Muse: even Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) in his youth wrote a now entirely forgotten didactic poem on problems of physics, explosions and electricity.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, some types of didactics were more in favour than others; they often stood in a long tradition. Among these we find the anti-Lucretian type of philosophical poetry that had originated in the sixteenth century. It was such a popular genre during the *siècle des Lumières* and afterwards, that Pierre Brumoy (1688-1742) in his *Pensées sur la décadence de la poésie latine* did not hesitate to propose Lucretius as a unique model for Neo-Latin poetry. The

¹⁰⁴ First (posthumous) edition in Paris in 1807.

¹⁰⁵ *Pithecologia, sive de simiarum natura carminum libri duo, in gratiam reipublicae literariae* (Amstelaedami, 1774).

¹⁰⁶ Edited by François Oudin – Pierre-Joseph d'Olivet (first ed. Paris, 1749).

¹⁰⁷ *Poesie latine dell'abate Gaetano Buganza mantovano scritte sopra argomenti di costume moderno e familiare non trattati in prima da altro poeta latino* (...) (Firenze, 1787). The same Buganza also wrote particular, at times funny Latin plays, for instance on the building of Christmas cribs or on coffee houses. In general, his poetry is related to that of Joseph Addison.

¹⁰⁸ Cp. Hermann Wiegand, "Solventur vincula populi": Aufklärung und Französische Revolution im Spiegel der neulateinischen Dichtung', *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht*, 32/4 (1989), 59-87.

¹⁰⁹ Cp. *Il poemetto didascalico di Alessandro Volta con versione italiana* di Zanino Volta (Pavia, 1899).

champion here was perhaps Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (1661-1742), whose *Anti-Lucretius*,¹¹⁰ though published posthumously (1745), was already internationally famous during his lifetime (parts of it had been recited and published); it was a refutation of the sceptical viewpoints of Pierre Bayle, framed as a refutation of Epicurism, and based on Descartes's cosmology; Montesquieu was an enthusiastic reader of it: 'Nous lui devons cet ouvrage immortel dans lequel Descartes triomphe une seconde fois d'Epicure'.¹¹¹ Another popular poem in this vein was Iasaac Hawkins Browne's *De animi immortalitate* (1754).¹¹² Later on such Croatian exiles as Benedictus Stay, whom we mentioned earlier, continued the anti-Lucretian tradition in Rome. Under their influence, we witness a (hitherto unexplored) revival of Lucretian didactic poetry in the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in Italy. Medical didactic poetry, which was often modelled on Lucretius and Fracastoro's sixteenth-century *Syphilis*, flourished. Some of these medical didactic poems clearly influenced vernacular literature. Malcolm Flemyng's *Neuropathia sive de morbis hypochondriacis* (York, 1740), a poem which is said to be an important contribution to medical science, was reissued with an Italian translation in Rome in 1755; the Latin poem was also translated into Dutch verse by two doctors, Isaak Bilderdijk and Hendrik de Bosch (the translation, entitled *De zenuwziekte*, remained unpublished; the manuscript still exists at Leiden University). Hence it influenced *De ziekte der geleerden*, one of the most important poetical works (1806-1807) of the famous poet Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), as the Dutch poet himself acknowledged.¹¹³ A last subgenre of didactic poems I would like to mention is the georgic type, whose chief exponent perhaps was the Jesuit René Rapin (1621-1687) with his

¹¹⁰ Cp. Melchior de Polignac, *Anti-Lucretius of over God en de natuur. Boek 1, 5 en 9 met vertaling en aantekeningen* van P.M.M. Geurts (Assen, 1968).

¹¹¹ *Oeuvres*, ed. R. Gallois (Paris, 1985), p. 1253.

¹¹² Cp. David Money, 'A Symphony in Gray and Browne: Was Eighteenth-Century Didactic Poetry off Colour?', in Yasmin Haskell – Philip Hardie (eds.), *Poets and Teachers: Latin Didactic Poetry and the Didactic Authority of the Latin Poet from the Renaissance to the Present (...)*, Kleos, 4 (Bari, 1999), pp. 141-153.

¹¹³ Cp. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 274-275; *De dichtwerken van Bilderdijk*, 6 (Haarlem, 1857), pp. 363-452; R. A. Kollwijn, *Bilderdijk. Zijn leven en zijne werken*, 1 (Amsterdam, 1891), pp. 394-400.

Hortorum libri IV (Paris, 1665) on horticultural art, though the subgenre went back to Pontano's *De hortis Hesperidum*, on the cultivation of citrus trees. Even more popular than Rapin was the Jesuit Jacques Vanière (1664-1739), whose long *Praedium rusticum* (1730), with its 12000 hexameter lines, was a bestseller of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. His treatment was very extensive, including a book on viniculture and excellent wines, and on coffee.¹¹⁴ It has been argued that his poem influenced the new vogue of (pre)romantic French *poèmes de la nature* in the years 1750-1830, such as Pierre-Fulcran de Rosset's *L'agriculture* (Paris 1794) and Jacques Delille's (1738-1813) *Les Jardins* (Paris, 1780) and *L'homme des champs* (Strasbourg, 1802) – Delille was a professor of Latin at Paris. All in all, didactic poetry is one of the most fascinating genres of Neo-Latin poetry, where one feels that one has one's finger on the pulse of the period, to a much higher degree than, for instance, in Neo-Latin love elegy, where the Neo-Latin tradition (Pontano, Secundus, Lernutius, etc.) continued at least until the end of the eighteenth century, (see e.g. Laurentius Santenius [1764-1798], Iohannes Adam Nodell [1754-1814] and Gerardus D. Jordens [1734-1803] in the Netherlands), but produced very polished poems in which it is, however, quite difficult to discern anything personal going beyond traditional imitation. No wonder, then, that the later-seventeenth and eighteenth-century didactic genre has been the subject of relatively abundant research.¹¹⁵ From what has been said above, it is clear that Renaissance models continued to be imitated; characteristically, the famous *Poemata didascalica*, containing mainly poems by Jesuits, limit themselves to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century didactic poems but considered it normal to reissue the three didactic poems the famous sixteenth-century poet Vida had published.

In this genre, one example can show how some Renaissance works had become real classical poems and influenced later products. In the late-eighteenth

¹¹⁴ Cp. *La lyre jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730). Présentés, traduits et annotés par André Thill et Gilles Banderier*, Travaux du Grand Siècle, 14 (Genève, 1999), pp. 217-238.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*.

century Gadso Coopmans (1746-1810), a professor of chemistry at Franeker, Copenhagen and Kiel, recited a didactic poem at Franeker with the title *Varis sive Carmen de variolis* – a subject he was well acquainted with both from his medical practice and his personal life (one of his daughters died from the disease). In 388 elegant verses (elegiac distichs, because the poem is also an elegy on the death of his daughter), he described the illness, its origin and cure. The poem, however, was not of the ‘sachbezogen’ or technical type: for instance, he did not expand on inoculation (Dr Jenner’s merits in this respect were sung in dozens of Neo-Latin poems from the late-eighteenth- and the early-nineteenth centuries). Half of the poem was devoted to the origin of cowpox, and the final section dealt with the death of his daughter, in an elegiac mode. The poem became very popular; the first edition was followed in 1787 by another edition with a Dutch rendering; ten years later, an anonymous German poetical translation appeared in Schiller’s journal *Die Horen*, and the translator was said to be Goethe himself (but he was not, as a matter of fact). Actually, the Latin poem bears witness to the influence of Fracastoro’s *Syphilis* (1530), the structure of which was copied by Coopmans, who also imitated very many verses from his Italian predecessor. Moreover he inserted the classical theme of the revenge of the rejected lover which is also present in Fracastoro; the aetiological myth he created to account for the appearance of the disease recalls Fracastoro. In the latter’s work, the disease was named after its first victim, in Coopmans after the nymph who had inflicted it upon a shepherd who had rejected her love. Coopmans’s poem is thus an outstanding example (and not the only one) of the lasting influence of Fracastoro, whom Scaliger had canonized in his *Poetice* (1561), whom Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) and Gianvincenzo Gravina (in his *Della ragion poetica* [1708]) had recommended, whose text Alexander Pope had included in the second volume of his *Selecta poemata Italorum* (1740), and whose poetry Coopmans’s

own professor Johannes Schrader had eulogized in his poem *Pro poetis* (1759).¹¹⁶

3. Satirical and human Poetry

The late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century was also a period of humorous poetry with a touch of realism in the ecphrastic manner. Joseph Addison, who died in 1719, was rightly famous for his poems on puppet-shows (*machinae gesticulantes*), fairs and markets. Addison wrote most of his poems before 1700; only one was written in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁷ But his Latin verse remained extremely popular for more than a century; his miniature epic, the *Pygmaeogeranomachia* or battle of the pygmies and the cranes was imitated in France around 1824: in Paris, I found a poem written in Latin, but with a French title: *Combat mémorable entre les pygmées et les grues*; the Latin poem imitates Addison throughout, but does not mention Addison's name; on the contrary, its preface says: "Fragment d'un poème manuscrit en langue indienne, trouvé sous les ruines de Pygméopolis et traduit en vers latins par Mr. Fernel, de Neufchâtel".¹¹⁸ That type of poetry, however, was not limited to Britain. In Rome, the now completely forgotten Latin poet Giuseppe Berneri (1637-1701), whom we met before in the context of Latin oratorio, active in several Roman academies, did the same; he described (*Poesis iocosa* [Padua, ed. postuma 1715]) with some realism and humour the fashions of Rome, the rising popularity of coffee bars, games, and the sly sales methods of stallholders at Campo de'Fiori or of the (still existing) *Caldarrostarti*.¹¹⁹ This type of poetry is related to formal satire, which continued to flourish, but (unless it discusses literary matters) is often difficult to interpret for the modern

¹¹⁶ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'An imitator of Fracastoro's *Syphilis*. Gadso Coopmans and his *Varis*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45 (1996), 520-538.

¹¹⁷ Cp. Estelle Haan, *Vergilius redivivus. Studies in Joseph Addison's Latin Poetry* (Philadelphia, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'An heir to Joseph Addison: Théodule Paillard-Fernel', *Camenae*, 16 (January 2014) [on Internet].

¹¹⁹ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Sneeuwlandschappen, sneeuwballengevechten', in Id. – Toon Van Houdt (eds.), '*Nec scire nefas*'. *Nieuwe bijdragen over Neolatijn voor het onderwijs* (Amersfoort, 2013), pp. 335-419 (pp. 379-387 on Berneri).

reader, not only because of its extreme topicality (it usually deals with very concrete situations and personalities) but also because it is a genre that in Neo-Latin literature often lacks *perspicuitas* and can be very hard at times to understand from a purely linguistic point of view- the satires of Julius Caesar Scaliger are an extreme example of this difficulty. One of the most famous satirical writers of our period was the Italian Quintus Sectanus (Lodovico Sergardi, 1660-1726) who in a demanding style reacted against atheism, the mode in eighteenth-century Rome, and so on. There is almost no modern research on Sectanus (apart from a partial English translation), but we are happy enough to have at our disposal a late-eighteenth-century edition with commentary.¹²⁰ His way of writing was continued by ‘Caius Sectanus, Luci filius’, that is (as it seems) Iulius Caesar Cordara (1704-1785).¹²¹ The Croatian poet Iunius Restius (1755-1814) treated current politic developments in a plain style – in one of these he opposes the Anglomaniacs to the Gaulomaniacs who wonder if the French are going to try to conquer England: ‘Insania praeceps / quin excrevit eo, pars multa ut pignore pacto / certarint, an traiciant Galli’.¹²²

4. Minor genres and Anthologies

The eclogue remained one of the most popular genres, either as bucolic poem proper, or as the obvious form to use if one wished to add artistic lustre to occasional poems. Here too, we witness the fact that Neo-Latin models continued to be imitated. Sannazaro’s *Eclogae piscatoriae*, in which the idyllic scene is populated with fishermen, inspired Nicola Partenio Giannettasio (1648-1715) and Tommaso Niccolò D’Aquino (1665-1721) to similar eclogues.¹²³

¹²⁰ *Ludovici Sergardi antehac Q. Sectani satyrae* (Lucca, 1783), 3 vols.; this, however, is an *editio purgata*. See also *The Satires of Lodovico Sergardi. An English Translation and Introduction* by Ronald E. Pepin, Seventeenth-Century Texts and Studies, 4 (New York, etc., 1994). A critical and annotated edition of Sectanus with a study of his influence would be most welcome.

¹²¹ *C. Sectani L. fil. Sermones* (Bononiae, 1787).

¹²² Restius’s poems were issued after his death. Cp. Vladimir Vratovic (ed.), *The Croatian Muses in Latin. A Trilingual Anthology Latin – English – Croatian* (...) (Zagreb, 1998), p. 176.

¹²³ Cp. Marco Leone, *Geminae voces: poesia in latino tra Barocco e Arcadia* (Galatina, 2007), pp. 241-271; Claudia Schindler, ‘Nicolò Partenio Giannettasios *Nauticorum libri VIII*. Ein neulateinisches Lehrgedicht des 17.

Quite evidently, until the second half of the eighteenth century, publishing in Latin did not lose any attraction or importance within the *Societas Jesu*, the Neo-Latin poetical output of which is immense. Thanks to the extensive Jesuit network, the potential readership included the pupils, former pupils and teachers of hundreds of schools and some universities throughout Europe. The wide circulation of Jesuit publications is obvious to any scholar who has worked on them, since he or she will find in every (former) Jesuit library dozens of foreign editions. Unchanged or enlarged impressions were also issued from their presses. A late, but interesting example is the *Selecta patrum Societatis Jesu carmina*, which characteristically proposed Neo-Latin poetry from the eighteenth and the seventeenth centuries—: of this anthology there were editions at Genoa (1747), Venice (1751), Augsburg (1754), Cremona (1772) and Vienna (1785).¹²⁴ Smaller networks one can find on a local level (the uninterrupted Neo-Latin tradition in Rome, or the creative outburst of Neo-Latin in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Dubrovnik (Ragusa, Croatia)) or on a professional basis (physicians competing with each other in medical didactics, for instance).

It would be impossible to survey adequately the minor genres, such as verse fables, epigrams, emblems and so on, where the tradition of centuries was continued in quite a natural way.¹²⁵ In occasional poetry in particular, the late-seventeenth and the eighteenth century produced some extremely artificial products that according to some were responsible for the downfall of Latin's prestige. However, we ought to bear in mind that such 'excessive' poems were but a small portion of the entire production. Fundamentally, Neo-Latin poetry managed to voice the feelings, thoughts and realities of the successive periods in classical forms; on all major events, from the deaths of emperors and natural

Jahrhunderts', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 3 (2001), 145-176, who also discusses his *eclogues*.

¹²⁴ The Jesuits would also issue poetry written by pupils of their gymnasia, and these publications served more than one purpose. See, e.g., *Musae Leodienses, seu carmina a selectis scholarum superiorum discipulis proprio Marte composita et palam recitata* (Leodii, 1758).

¹²⁵ See, for instance, the collection of funeral poems issued by Alexander Kovasznai, *Carmina exequialia et paucula quaedam alius argumenti* (Utrecht, 1782); or the elegant collection of small poems in Iohannes Adamus Nodell, *Carminum sylloge altera, praeter elegias XXX varia varii generis poemata exhibens* (Rotterdam, 1796).

catastrophes to wars and the wreck of the Titanic, dozens of poems can be found. Delicious lyric poems continued to be written – just think of the Latin odes Dr. Johnson wrote on the occasion of his journey to the Hebrides in the 1770s.¹²⁶ Just as in vernacular poetry, stylistic modes followed each other; in an eclectic way, writers explored the possibilities of ancient Latin. There was a mannerist, baroque way of writing, characterized in poetry by linguistic and metric oddities and hyperbolic and antithetical figures that was popular during the seventeenth century, and a return to classicism in the eighteenth century. In the catholic world, seventeenth-century Neo-Latin poetry over several generations accepted the new programme of expounding Christian themes in the style of the best pagan poets (Hosschius, Wallius, Becanus, Maphaeus Barberinus or Urban VIII, Claude de Santeuil, etc.), and it seems to me that many an eighteenth-century poet followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. Enlightenment shone through many a composition in the eighteenth century. As a rule, the Neo-Latin poets' mastery of the language commands respect and admiration. In prose as well, the degree to which most of these writers discussed stylistic and linguistic matters and defended their own preferences astonishes the modern reader and proves their persistent concern for a correct and polished idiom. The debate over Lipsius's style, for instance—not so much an object of research as a heated controversy about whether or not it was licit to write Latin prose as Lipsius had done—went on from the late sixteenth- until the middle of the eighteenth century, and the participants in the debate were not minor figures.¹²⁷

Evolution in 18th Century Latin Literature

From the halcyon days of Humanism on, Latin had to cope with the vernaculars, and the battle was inevitably unequal. From the sixteenth century on,

¹²⁶ Cp. Niall Rudd, 'Samuel Johnson's Latin poetry', in Houghton – Manuwald, *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*, pp. 105-124.

¹²⁷ Cp. Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters*, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 3 (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 204-255.

complaints about the decline of the knowledge of Latin and the decay of (Neo-)Latin literature were a matter of course. The importance of these complaints should be neither overrated, nor minimized; their increasing frequency in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries might have contributed to the twentieth-century view that post-humanistic Neo-Latin was inferior and marginal. But other factors were constantly reducing the prestige of Latin, albeit without affecting its position in schools and universities: the gradual emancipation of science from the authority of the ancients (though many scientists continued to use Latin or were happy to have their works translated into that language, the Latin text constituting, so to speak, the official and dignified edition for the entire learned world), the Enlightenment with its critical views of tradition and its desire to instruct people in their own language (but many writers influenced by its ideas wrote in Latin, and Neo-Latin authors did not oppose the ideas of Enlightenment), the dispute in a Paris academy over the language to be adopted for inscriptions (but inscriptions continued to be written in Latin afterwards),¹²⁸ the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth century (but some ‘Anciens’ were ill-disposed toward Neo-Latin, and some ‘Modernes’ favoured it), the criticism of the fruitless methods of the schools and the doubts expressed by influential authors about whether it was even possible to write genuine Latin and to compose good poetry in a dead language.¹²⁹ Generally, the long reign of Louis XIV (1661-1715) is considered a period of peril and decline for Latin and Neo-Latin letters; at any rate, that is how it was seen in retrospect. Walter Savage Landor, for instance, had this to say, in his typical style, about that epoch: “Ludovicus XIV (decimus quartus) nullum alium sermonem praeter vernaculum ne in elementis quidem scivit, et adulationis necessitas in causâ fuit cur negligetur Latina.” – “Louis XIV did not know any other language than

¹²⁸ Cp. Tim Denecker, ‘Joannes Lucas SJ, *De monumentis publicis Latine inscribendis oratio* (Paris 1677): Introduction, Analysis of Assumptions about Language, and Annotated Edition’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 62 (2013), 523-581.

¹²⁹ Cp., for instance, Ren é Veenman, *De klassieke traditie in de Lage Landen* (Nijmegen, 2009), pp. 179-193.

French, not even the basics of any foreign language; and since it was absolutely essential to flatter the king, Latin was neglected”.¹³⁰ Admittedly, Louis’ prime minister Colbert seems not to have known much Latin, and the monarch himself promoted French as the second pan-European language and as a language of science, but there was a remarkable output of Latin poetry during his reign, which was also supported internationally by such prelates as Ferdinand von Fürstenberg (1623-1686), prince bishop of Paderborn and an excellent Neo-Latin poet himself. Under that same reign of Louis XIV, the most important Latin poets of the age, Claude de Santeuil (Santolius, 1628-1684) and his brother Jean-Bapiste (1630-1697) enriched the Paris breviary (1680) with many Neo-Latin hymns. Admittedly, the latter complained about the decline of Latin poetry, and the emergence of an audience of women who wished to read love poetry written in French and disliked Neo-Latin poetry; but he believed in the eternity of his own verse; and Commire (1625-1702) wrote a powerful reply in Latin verse, *Aeterna esse praemia poetarum qui Latine scribunt*, in which he stressed the immortality of Latin poetry as opposed to the French poems of such writers as Ronsard, whose outdated French was a pain to the ears (‘Ronsardus male barbaro/ molles aurículas murmure vulnerat’), and supplied a catalogue of ‘timeless’ Neo-Latin poets from the contemporary international scene.¹³¹

Then, in the middle of the eighteenth century, we have the negative attitude towards Latin in the *Encyclopédie*, generally considered as a summum of knowledge and wisdom (hence the sarcasm of Marcus Faustinus Gagliuffius (1765-1834) in his *Specimen de Fortuna Latinitatis*: “Dicesne tenebras nunc tandem evanuisse, quum Encyclopaediae Gallicae titulus nostras aures implevit?” – “Will you assert that every possible problem is solved now that

¹³⁰ Walter Savage Landor, *De cultu atque usu Latini sermonis et quamobrem poetae Latini recentiores minus legantur* (s.l., 1820), p. 178.

¹³¹ Reissued by André Thill (ed.), *La lyre jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730)* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 212-215. Still useful for this period: Montalant-Bougleux, *Santolius Victorinus. J.-B. Santeul ou la poésie sous Louis XIV* (Paris – Versailles, 1855); J.A. Vissac, *De la poésie latine en France au siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1862 = Geneva, 1971).

the they are quoting the famous *Encyclopédie Française* as an authority, all the time?”.¹³² The suppression of the Jesuits that followed undoubtedly was an additional, and in my opinion very heavy blow, since it put an end to an international network of champions of Latin and threatened to destroy one of the most important strongholds of Latin education with its emphasis on the active use of the Roman tongue.

It has been suggested that the eighteenth century was especially characterized by an increase in the size of the reading public. And one is indeed struck by the fact that vernacular translations, not only of humanistic, but also of contemporary Neo-Latin poems, either with the Latin text or published separately, reached their height in the eighteenth century (and, if I am not mistaken, became less numerous, at least in the case of contemporary Neo-Latin, in the course of the nineteenth century). This might suggest that knowledge of Latin was in decline, but also leads me to believe that among cultivated people there was an audience with a more limited knowledge of the Roman tongue that, in one way or another, continued to take an interest in contemporary Neo-Latin belles-lettres; and that in the nineteenth century there was still a large readership for Renaissance poetry, but dwindling interest in contemporary Latin poetry.

It has also been suggested that during the eighteenth century, the system of patronage, especially on part of the courts and the aristocracy, was less favourable towards Neo-Latin authors, and some Latinists, such as Jacob Burckhard in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, have adduced this as a motive for the gradual decay of Neo-Latin production (as Walther Ludwig has shown). There are, however, counter examples (Gagliuffius in the late-eighteenth and the early-nineteenth century relied on the protection of nobility); but as far as I know, almost no research has been done on this problem – a study of the paratexts of Neo-Latin editions of the period would be

¹³² (Turin, 1833), p. 22.

interesting.

The French Revolution naturally looked with some hostility upon the supporters and users of a language that must have been generally associated with the *Ancien Régime*. In the meantime, Romanticism with, i.a., its stress on originality and the values of ancient Greek civilization, did not embrace Neo-Latin *imitatio*. Inevitably one notices, especially while reading eighteenth- and nineteenth- century works, that Neo-Latin literature found itself much more often than before in a position of having to defend itself. But generally, Neo-Latin managed to survive and to adapt more or less to new situations. There was sometimes the feeling that Neo-Latin literature, due to an almost natural evolution, was past its peak – the ideas about the periodization of classical literature that had been worked out were applied to Neo-Latin writers too. Or one would blame the patrons of Neo-Latin, who stayed away. Sometimes, one would also adduce the indulgence shown for artificial poetry (anagrams, chronodistichs, echo-poetry, ect.) as a reason for the negative feelings Neo-Latin sometimes aroused. The interest in Latin poetry at schools was diminishing, one sometimes reads, whereas the vernacular became popular. But there was still hope that the situation would change in favour of Latin: perhaps, some authors suggested, there was insufficient awareness of all the excellent Latin that had been issued since the early-seventeenth century *Delitiae*-series had come out, and the schools needed better and more up-to-date anthologies of modern poetry so that students would realize the excellence of the Latin literature produced by their fellow countrymen – nationalistic feelings were coming in! Such ideas one can read in the preface to the *Recentiorum poetarum Germanorum carmina Latina selectiora*, collected by Ioannes Tobias Roenicke (Helmstedt, 1748, 2 vols),¹³³ or in Jacob Burckhard's *De linguae Latinae in Germania per XVIII saecula amplius fati* (Hannover, 1713). In the Netherlands, for instance, nationalistic motives were

¹³³ See I, 20 (in the *Praefatio*). There were similar collections of recent Neo-Latin other countries as well. In Poland, for instance, we find such collections as Iohannes Daniel Andreas Ianozki (ed.), *Sarmaticae litteraturae nostri temporis fragmenta*, I (Varsaviae et Lipsiae, 1773).

put forward to promote Neo-Latin poetry. Richard de Brueys (1778-1848), later a professor at Utrecht University, stressed that the Dutch tongue was almost unknown outside the Low Countries, depriving such distinguished poets as Cats and Vondel of the fame they merited, whereas, on the contrary, such Neo-Latin poets as Secundus, Heinsius, Grotius, Barlaeus, Francius, Relandus and other eighteenth-century authors had achieved international reputations; so native users of the Dutch language ought to follow the latter group - quite the opposite of the kind of discourse that was becoming increasingly popular and urging people to cultivate their own languages- : ‘Vos quibus a teneris Latium contingit adire,/ si patriae vos urget amor, si gloria gentis,/ a teneris mecum Latias invisite Musas.’).¹³⁴ The phenomenon is typical of the late eighteenth-century, it seems to me: by making inventories of the great Neo-Latin poets of one’s own country, one tried to incite men of letters to follow their example instead of yielding to the pressure of the vernacular. All in all, there was hope, a moderate hope, perhaps, that there was a future in store for Neo-Latin literature, along with the abiding recognition of how important Latin still was as the international language of erudition. The school system still gave Latin a unique position and its methods of active *imitatio* remained largely unchallenged. But by the end of the eighteenth century triumphalism became less sustainable.

A severe blow was delivered to Neo-Latin literature from within, however, when from the end of the eighteenth century on new German views on classical philology and *Altertumswissenschaft*, as promoted by such scholars as Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826), Johann August Ernesti (1717-1781), Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), spread through large parts of Europe and, in a process that took several generations, took possession of the schools and universities.¹³⁵ The importance of *imitatio*,

¹³⁴ See his *Carmen de colenda poesi* (’s-Hertogenbosch, 1795), ll. 96-98.

¹³⁵ For this period, see especially Arie Jan van Duyvendijk, *De motivering van de klassieke vorming. Een historisch-paedagogische studie over twee eeuwen* (Groningen – Djakarta, 1955); furthermore, P. Monroe (ed.), *A Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, 1912), s.v. ‘Latin language and literature in education’; W. Rein (ed.),

which until then had been pivotal in instruction, was gradually reduced, and that was what threatened the position of Neo-Latin; this tendency converged with the romantic ideas of direct and personal expression instead of bookish expression through imitation of literary models. The stress was now laid on precise knowledge of the ancient (or medieval) Latin language and even more on the cultures of the Greeks and Romans, on Antiquity or the Middle Ages, seen as objects of study that had independent value of their own, apart from their influence on later cultures. Over the long term, the consequences of these new views were far-reaching. The Neo-Latin tradition found itself severed from Latin; it is for that reason, I think, that Neo-Latin studies would have to be reinvented, so to speak, in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the adagium ‘Latine loquere, Latine scribe’ that had prevailed for centuries in the educational system next to ‘Latine lege’ lost its foundations; there was less use in trying to learn to write and speak elegant Latin, or Latin *tout court* – and why would anyone else care to write Latin, if the Latinists themselves abandoned it? Besides, the new philological tools produced by *Altertumswissenschaft* made it clear that many Neo-Latin works could not stand comparison with the subtleties of genuine ancient Latin¹³⁶ (the objection that Neo-Latin works were not meant for an ancient readership was pointless in view of the one-sided focus on Antiquity); or they acted to deter Latinists from

Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik (Langensalza, 1897), s.v. ‘Lateinischer Unterricht’; Joke Roelevink, ‘Het Babel van de geleerden. Latijn in het Nederlandse universitaire onderwijs van de achttiende en negentiende eeuw’, *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 1990, pp. 33-41; Andreas Fritsch, *Lateinsprechen im Unterricht. Geschichte – Probleme – Möglichkeiten* (Bamberg, 1990); Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, ‘The Ultimate Efforts to Save Latin as the Means of International Communication’, *History of Ideas*, 16 (1993), 51-66; Ludwig, ‘*De Linguae Latinae in Germania fatis*’; Jürgen Leonhardt, *Latein. Geschichte einer Weltsprache* (München, 2009), pp. 245-276. Some scholars, however, have stressed some forms of continuity during the era of great change: see, e.g., Sebastiaan Pieter van Bommel, *Classical Humanism and the Challenge of Modernity. Debates on Classical Education in Germany c. 1770-1860* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Utrecht University, 2013). A scholar such as August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845) was an enthusiastic writer of Latin: cp. Karl August Neuhausen, ‘Des Bild der Antike in den Bonner lateinischen Schriften August Wilhelm Schlegels’, in Astrid Steiner-Weber – Thomas A. Schmitz – Marc Laureys (eds.), *Bilde der Antike*, *Super alta perennis*, 1 (Göttingen, 2007), pp. 199-248.

¹³⁶ Hence even the Latinity of Marcus Antonius Muretus, who had been a ‘classical’ Neo-Latin author from the end of the 16th century on, was criticized at the end of the 18th century by David Ruhnkenius (1723-1798). At times, Muretus had used later Latin words and constructions, such as *iuxta* meaning ‘according to’ (‘iuxta praeceptum’), and Ruhnkenius condemned these. Cp. Oleg Nikitinski, *Lateinische Musterprosa und Sprachflege der Neuzeit (17. – Anfang des 19. Jhs.). Ein Wörterbuch* (in the press).

trying to write good Latin. Besides, what use was it to learn to express oneself in Latin? Thus, the importance of *Stilübungen* and *Stilseminare* might have diminished little by little, and the necessity of teaching in Latin was questioned (actually, from the sixteenth century on, there are scattered examples of professors who refused to teach in Latin). As far as I know, Latin as the language of instruction disappeared from the universities around the middle of the nineteenth century (in Belgium around 1830 for instance, in the Netherlands around 1865; and probably earlier in other countries). In some countries, there was disquiet at the idea that this might have negative effects on the number of foreign students enrolling. Latin must have disappeared gradually from the schools after the French Revolution, when curricula without Latin became possible. As a consequence, it was no longer possible to promote active Latin at school by citing the need for understanding Latin courses at the university or for writing Latin dissertations. Some scholars did ruefully point out that a passive knowledge of Latin could never be more than superficial knowledge. Around the end of the nineteenth century, it was observed (but are we allowed to generalize?) that even in Classical Philology the level of active knowledge of Latin was so low, that it became preferable for a student or a professor to express his thoughts in precise German instead of in clumsy and faulty Latin – therefore the use of Latin died out even in that discipline.

And yet, we may say with Galjuf (1765-1835), a Croatian active throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth century, and widely known as a very talented improvisator in Latin: "Ager Latinus nondum quievit fructusque etiam proferet (non dubitamus) uberrimos et suaves" "The Latin fields are not withered up yet; there's no doubt that they will yield a very rich harvest of delicious fruits."¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Marcus Faustinus Gagliuffius, *Specimen de fortuna Latinitatis* (Turin, 1833), p. 26.

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Abstract

Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) was one of the most representative and eminent poet and writer of the Italian Renaissance. Despite his importance comparable to that of Dante in the history of Italian and European literature, the research on Ariosto and his works is far more limited in Chinese academia. Remembered for his epic poem *Orlando furioso* (1516), Ariosto had also produced a number of Latin verses inspired by the classic model, genuine in feeling and also valuable as complementary materials for our interpretation of his remarkable romance epic. Up to now these Latin works have never been introduced nor translated in Chinese, this thesis will therefore briefly analyze Ariosto's Latin lyrics within the bibliographical context of the poet and reveal his inner world, aiming to provide more materials and arouse more interest on Ariosto and his works in China.

Key Words: Ariosto, Latin lyrics, Renaissance, classics

摘要

卢道维柯·阿里奥斯托(Ludovico Ariosto, 1474-1533) 是意大利文艺复兴时期最典型、最杰出的作家和诗人之一,虽然在意大利乃至欧洲文学史上的地位不逊于但丁,但相比后者国内对阿里奥斯托的研究却相对有限。虽然他早年创作的拉丁文诗歌不及其代表作《疯狂的罗兰》广为人知,但我们可以从中一窥古典人文教育对阿里奥斯托的创作产生的影响和作者的思想情感,对解读《疯狂的罗兰》也大有助益。本文试图通过对阿里奥斯托拉丁文诗歌的梳理与简要评介,弥补国内学界对阿里奥斯托及其拉丁文作品研究之阙如。

关键词: 阿里奥斯托 拉丁文诗歌 文艺复兴 古典

一、阿里奥斯托及其作品

谈起文艺复兴这个人才辈出的时代,被誉为“文艺复兴的先驱”的文坛三杰——但丁、彼特拉克、薄伽丘在国内学界是被长期研究的对象,而布鲁内莱斯基、达文西、布鲁诺、伽

利略、拉斐尔、乔托等才子巨匠也为中国学者们津津乐道，但意大利文艺复兴时期最典型、最杰出的作家和诗人之一——卢道维柯·阿里奥斯托在中国却没有引起足够重视和充分研究。他与米开朗琪罗同岁、与马基雅维利并身为意大利十六世纪文学两大符号，他的代表作《疯狂的罗兰》是意大利骑士传奇的巅峰之作，是欧洲文学史上最重要、最出色、最经典的作品之一。他前引古人，从西方古典文学中汲取养分、把中世纪文学体裁传承，又后启来者，对他身后整个欧洲文学产生了深远的影响。“如果说但丁是中世纪的最后一个诗人，那么阿里奥斯托则为文艺复兴画上了句点。”¹³⁸ 德桑蒂斯的评价体现出了阿里奥斯托在意大利乃至欧洲文学史上的地位。

除代表作骑士传奇《疯狂的罗兰》外，阿里奥斯托著作颇丰，体裁广泛，包括喜剧、讽刺诗、牧歌、颂词等等。他去世后，费拉拉作家乔万皮尼亚（Giovanni Battista Pigna）挑选了他的 54 首拉丁文抒情诗于 1553 年初版，但至今这些诗歌尚未作为拉丁文著作被系统完整收录并单独出版，国内对此也没有充分研究和中文译本。

二、 且学且思，且悼且歌

阿里奥斯托的拉丁文抒情诗共 67 首¹³⁹，主要创作于 1494 至 1503 年间，笔者将其标题与中文翻译整理如下：

| | | |
|------------|--|---------------------------|
| Carmen1 | AD PHILIROEM | 致菲力罗 ¹⁴⁰ |
| Carmen1 原稿 | ODE. DE VITA QUIETA AD PHILIROEN | 致菲力罗宁静生活的颂歌 |
| Carmen 2 | AD PANDULPHUM | 致潘多夫 ¹⁴¹ |
| Carmen 3 | EPITAFIUM FULCI AREOSTI | 福柯阿里奥斯托墓志铭 ¹⁴² |
| Carmen 4 | DE LAUDIBUS SOPHIÆ AD HERCULEM FERRARIÆ | 智慧颂（致费拉拉公爵埃克勒二世） |

¹³⁸ “In Dante finisce il medio evo; in Ludovico finisce il Rinascimento.” De Sanctis F. Storia della letteratura italiana[M]. Edizioni per il club del libro Novara, 1968.

¹³⁹ 笔者对比参照了阿里奥斯托作品全集的两部较系统和权威的版本：Ariosto L. Opere minori, ed. Cesare SEGRE, Milano-Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1954; Santoro M, Opere di Ludovico Ariosto, Volume terzo Carmina, Rime, Satire, Erbolato, Lettere, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1989

¹⁴⁰ 贺拉斯《歌集》中的人物。

¹⁴¹ 阿里奥斯托的亲戚与挚友。

¹⁴² 阿里奥斯托的亲戚。

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| | DUCEM II | |
| Carmen 5 | EPITAPHIUM REGIS FERDINANDI | 国王费南迪二世墓志铭 |
| Carmen 6 | AD PANDULPHUM AREOSTUM | 致潘多夫阿里奥斯托 |
| Carmen 7 | AD PETRUM BEMBUM | 致皮埃特罗·本博 ¹⁴³ |
| Carmen 8 | EPITAPHIUM FRANCISCI AREOSTI | 弗朗西斯科阿里奥斯托墓志铭 |
| Carmen 9 | AD ALBERTUM PIUM | 致阿尔贝托皮欧 ¹⁴⁴ |
| Carmen 10 | EPITAPHIUM NICOLAI AREOSTI | 尼科洛阿里奥斯托墓志铭 ¹⁴⁵ |
| Carmen 11 | DE QUINCTI VALERII UXORE | 坤奇奥瓦雷利奥之妻 |
| Carmen 12 | DE NICOLAO AREOSTO | 尼科洛阿里奥斯托 ¹⁴⁶ |
| Carmen 13 | EPITAPHIUM NICOLAI AREOSTI | 尼科洛阿里奥斯托墓志铭 |
| Carmen 14 | AD ALBERTUM PIUM | 致阿尔贝托皮欧 |
| Carmen 15 | AD HERCULEM STROZZAM | 致埃克乐斯特罗奇 ¹⁴⁷ |
| Carmen 16 | EPITAPHIUM COSMICI | 柯西莫墓志铭 ¹⁴⁸ |
| Carmen 16 原稿 | EPITAPHIUM | 墓志铭 |
| Carmen 17 | DE MEGILLA | 梅奇拉 |
| Carmen 18 | DE IULIA | 尤利娅 |
| Carmen 19 | DE VELLERE AUREO | 金羊毛 |
| Carmen 20 | DE CATELLA PUELLÆ | 少女的小狗 |

¹⁴³ Pietro Bembo(1470—1547)，文艺复兴时期作家、人文主义学者，阿里奥斯托好友。

¹⁴⁴ 加尔皮王爵。

¹⁴⁵ 阿里奥斯托的父亲。

¹⁴⁶ 致父亲的墓志铭。

¹⁴⁷ 费拉拉 15 世纪末 16 世纪初著名诗人。

¹⁴⁸ Niccolò Lelio Cosmico，埃克勒一世宫廷著名诗人。

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| Carmen 21 | IN LENAM | 斥老鸨 |
| Carmen 22 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |
| Carmen 23 | DE LYDIA | 莉迪亚 |
| Carmen 24 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |
| Carmen 25 | BACCHI STATUA | 巴克科斯雕像 |
| Carmen 26 | AD BACCHUM | 致巴克科斯 |
| Carmen 27 | DE BACCO | 巴克科斯 |
| Carmen 28 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |
| Carmen 29 | DE EULALIA | 爱乌拉利亚 |
| Carmen 30 | DE IULIA | 尤利娅 |
| Carmen 31 | DE VERONICA | 维罗妮卡 |
| Carmen 32 | DE CLYCERE ET LYCORI | 格里切拉与莉柯丽 |
| Carmen 33 | AD PUELLAM VENDENTEM ROSAS | 卖玫瑰的女孩 |
| Carmen 34 | IDEM | 同上 |
| Carmen 35 | DE LUPO ET OVE | 狼与羊 |
| Carmen 36 | DE BARDO POETA | 诗人巴多 |
| Carmen 37 | DE CALLIMACHO | 卡里马克 |
| Carmen 38 | DE EODEM | 同上 |
| Carmen 39 | AD AULUM | 奥罗 |
| Carmen 40 | AD PUERUM | 致男孩 |
| Carmen 41 | DE PUERO MORTUO | 死去的男孩 |
| Carmen 42 | IN VENEREM ARMATAM LACEDAEMONE | 致斯巴达戎装维纳斯 |
| Carmen43 | DE TRIVULTIA | 特里乌齐亚 |
| Carmen 44 | DE EADEM | 同上 |
| Carmen 45 | EPITAPHIUM PHILIPPAE | 菲丽帕墓志铭 |
| Carmen 46 | EPITAPHIUM EIUSDEM | 菲丽帕墓志铭 |
| Carmen 47 | EPITAPHIUM LABULLAE | 拉布拉墓志铭 |

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|--------------|--|------------------|
| Carmen 48 | EIUSDEM | 拉布拉墓志铭 |
| Carmen 49 | EPITAPHIUM MANFREDII | 曼弗雷迪墓志铭 |
| Carmen 50 | EPITAPHIUM | 墓志铭 |
| Carmen 51 | EPITAPHIUM BADINI | 巴迪诺墓志铭 |
| Carmen 52 | AD TIMOTHEUM BENDIDEUM | 致提莫德本迪德 |
| Carmen 53 | EPITHALAMIUM | 祝婚诗 |
| Carmen 54 | DE DIVERSIS AMORIBUS | 善变的爱 |
| Carmen 55 | EPITAPHIUM IANI FRANCISCI GONZAGAE | 詹弗朗西斯科贡扎加墓 志铭 |
| Carmen 55 原稿 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |
| Carmen 56 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |
| Carmen 57 | IN HIPPOLYTUM ESTENSEM EPISCOPUM FERRARIAE | 致费拉拉主教伊波利托 |
| Carmen 58 | EPITAPHIUM LUDOVICI AREOSTI | 卢德维科阿里奥斯托墓 志铭 |
| Carmen 58 原稿 | IDEM | 同上 |
| Carmen 59 | EPITAPHIUM HERCULIS STROZZAE | 埃克勒斯特罗齐墓志铭 |
| Carmen 60 | AD FUSCUM | 致弗斯科 |
| Carmen 61 | DE RAPHAELE URBINATE | 乌尔比诺的拉斐尔 |
| Carmen 62 | AD ALPHONSUM FERRARIAE DUCEM III | 致费拉拉公爵阿方索三 世 |
| Carmen 63 | EPITAPHIUM ZERBINATI | 杰比那墓志铭 |
| Carmen 64 | IN OLIVAM | 致橄榄树 |
| Carmen 65 | DE PAUPERTATE | 论贫穷 |
| Carmen 66 | DE POPULO ET VITE | 杨树与藤蔓 |
| Carmen 67 | SINE INSCRIPTIONE | 无题 |

在内容上，这些抒情诗或致以当时的贵族名流，如加尔皮王爵阿尔贝托皮欧（Alberto Pio）、费拉拉主教伊波利托（Ippolito II d'Este）等；或文人雅士，如皮埃特罗·本博（Pietro Bembo）、埃克乐斯特罗奇（Ercole Strozzi）；或亲朋好友，例如潘多夫、本迪德等等。诗人时而歌颂，比如因其老师思伯雷托（Gregorio Elladio da Spoleto）从法国返回而欣喜（第9歌《致阿尔贝托皮欧》），时而哀悼，为逝去的王公亲友而悲歌：《致埃克乐斯特罗奇》即为15世纪著名诗人迈可尔马儒洛（Michele Marullo Tarnaniota）的去世而创作，在诗中作者向斯特罗奇表达了听闻迈可尔的死讯悲痛不已的心情和对死者的崇敬和欣赏。不幸的是，斯特罗奇于1509年被谋杀身亡，阿里奥斯托又为其撰写了墓志铭（《EPITAPHIUM HERCULIS STROZZAE》）。

此外，诗歌中某些内容还可作为史实佐证材料，如在《致潘多夫》中作者提到查理八世南下这一历史事件，《祝婚诗》则成为卢克雷齐亚·波吉亚¹⁴⁹（Lucrezia Borgia）和阿方索公爵的大婚的见证，《致阿尔贝托皮欧》则是因王爵之母卡特莉娜（Caterina）被女仆毒杀而奉上的挽歌。有趣的是，作者还为自己撰写了墓志铭，虽然这些诗句最终没有刻在他的墓碑上，我们却可以从中体会出作者年轻时就已经坦然面对死亡的态度。

值得注意的是，阿里奥斯托在题材上时常从古典文学中获取灵感，在风格上多以贺拉斯、卡图卢斯、奥维德、提布鲁斯、泰伦提乌斯等古罗马诗人的作品为典范。如《斥老鸨》与卡图卢斯第42歌（Adeste, hendecasyllabi, quot estis omnes undique, quotquot estis omnes...）联系紧密，因失恋而创作的《莉迪亚》则模仿了提布鲁斯第二书第三歌，倾吐了被心上人拒绝的不如意。第19歌《金羊毛》中，诗人借古希腊神话故事亚尔古英雄随伊阿宋到海外觅取金羊毛的故事，谏言埃斯特宫廷借法国路易十二战胜威尼斯之际插手威尼斯事务以便趁机收复波勒西讷¹⁵⁰等地¹⁵¹。

三、专情文学，矢志不渝

《善变之爱》（De Diversis Amoribus）是这些作品之中的代表作，这首带有自传特点的长诗并不局限于爱情主题本身，同时反映了作者对人生的态度与思索。

¹⁴⁹ 罗马教宗亚历山大六世的私生女。

¹⁵⁰ Polesine，古地名，位于今意大利威尼斯罗维戈省地区。

¹⁵¹ Scevola Mariotti, *Italia Medievale Umanistica II*, 1959, pp.509-512.转引自 Santoro M ed., *Opere di Ludovico Ariosto*, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1989

Est mea nunc Clycere, mea nunc est cura Lycoris,
Lyda modo meus est, est modo Phyllis amor.
Primas Glaura faces renovat, movet Hybla recentes,
mox cessura igni Glaura vel Hybla novo.
Nec mihi, diverso nec eodem tempore, saepe
Centum vesano sunt in amore satis.
.....
Non in amore modo mens haec, sed in omnibus impar;
Ipsa sibi longa non retinenda mora.

作者是风流多情的，如他所说，即使上百名女子也无法满足他对爱情的渴望，而自己不仅在爱情上见异思迁，在其他事上也暮楚朝秦，缺乏耐心（*mens impar*）。

Hac me verbosas suasit perdiscere leges,
amplaque clamosi quaerere lucra fori;
.....
Iuratusque pio celebri sub principe miles,
excepto horrissonae martia signa tubae.

在父亲的意志下，阿里奥斯托早年不得不学习了五年的法律（1489-1494），后终于得到父亲允许师从思伯雷托学习古典文学。作为家中长子，在父亲去世后他又不得不在宫廷谋职以承担养家糊口的重任。被迫的法律学习、供职埃克勒公爵一世朝廷、军旅生涯等前尘往事在这首诗中回放，作者从这种动荡多变、听命于人的生活中分明体会到人生意义的不完整（“*Dum vaga mens aliud poscat, procul este, Catones*”），而在此期间他也没有放弃文学创作。阿里奥斯托在他人意志与自我诉求之间探寻存在的方式，在养家糊口的现实束缚、服务宫廷

的职责和寄情笔端的文学热忱之中不肯妥协苟且。有趣的是，即使爱情善变，作者的爱情火焰永不熄灭（*igne tamen perpete semper amo*）；即使人生经历起落曲折，作者的探寻永不停歇；即使年轻时很少持之以恒，他最终伏案三十年创作和修改他的巨著《疯狂的罗兰》直至去世，用丰富奇特的想象为我们创造了一个融爱情与战争、女子与骑士、罪恶与美德、欲望与信仰于一体的传奇世界，成就了意大利文艺复兴文学的巅峰之作。

结语

阿里奥斯托对文学的追求是纯粹的，而文学于他则是存在的意义。他的拉丁文诗歌在文学史上的重要性或不及《疯狂的罗兰》这一代表作，但作为文献资料我们可以从字里行间一窥古典人文教育对阿里奥斯托的创作的启发与滋养，以及他的生活与情感对其创作所产生的影响，对更深入地解读诗人的其他作品也大有助益。本文只利用有限的篇幅浅尝一隅，望日后诗人阿里奥斯托及其作品在国内能够得到更多的关注和研究。

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拉丁文化在中国

古希腊罗马人名地名汉译说明及改进方案

雷立柏（拟稿）

共同声明：

“致力于古典学在中国发展的我们觉得目前的古希腊罗马译名情况不很理想，应该改进。中国学界应该用更严谨、更科学的标准让译名逐渐走向统一，不再让读者因‘塞涅加、塞内加、塞内卡’、‘菲利普、腓力、菲利伯斯’、‘波爱修，波伊提乌’、‘安提阿、安提约基亚、安条克’多种译名而感到困惑。我们希望，中国读者能更全面掌握古人名称的发音及其意义，因此我们建议放弃部分汉语译名，支持广泛使用另一些译名。我们也希望出版界尊重原文并尽可能保留外国人名的 ABC 原文。

“在今天的小型会议中，我们谈论下列译名方案，并达成某种译名上的共识。我们认为，其他学者、译者和编辑人士也应该参考我们共同拟订的译音表和一些重要人名地名的翻译方案。我们希望，更多学者和出版界的要注意到译名问题并提供宝贵意见。我们知道，这些问题需要长期讨论，逐渐改善。”

参与会议人士

译名说明和改革方案

长期以来，西方古代人名、地名的汉译构成很大的问题。在 1851 年的《拉汉词典》中，“Homeros”译“合默罗”，1909 年的《英华大字典》译“花谟”，今天译“荷马”，但也有“侯默”的译法。实际上“荷马”既不反映希腊语的发音（侯梅若斯），又不代表英语的（侯梅尔），而是一种中国式的、远离原文的翻译，不是很严谨的翻译。从译名无法还原

ABC 的原名。这类的例子很多。

部分译名根据英语发音，所以远离原来的古代发音，比如“西塞罗”（Cicero）古代发“克伊克若”，而“色雷斯”（Thrace/Thracia）古代发“特日阿克”或“特日阿克伊阿”，“查士丁尼”（Justinianus）皇帝应该写成“尤斯提尼阿努斯”。部分中国译者和学人已经开始摆脱英语发音的影响，他们将“朱庇特”（Iupiter/Jupiter 接近英语发音）改成“尤皮特”（接近古拉丁语发音）。

许多译名给中国学生造成一定的麻烦，尤其那些不规范的译名。比如，为什么 Ne 开头的名称在汉译有那么大的差别？Nestor、Nero、Nerva 和 Nestorius 为什么译“内斯托尔”、“尼禄”、“涅尔瓦”和“奈斯托里乌斯”（或“聂斯托里”）？

在西方语言中，古人的名称也不一致，发音也不通，比如 Cicero 的名字在德国发“此伊则若”，意大利是“奇切若”，英国则“西瑟若”。部分汉译名顺从英语发音，所以造成“西塞罗”、“朱庇特”、“哲罗姆”等翻译。

中国读者因译名的同音字感到困惑：为什么有“尔”“耳”和“珥”“穆”“慕”“幕”和“姆”，“卢”“鲁”和“路”，“罗”和“洛”，“拿”和“纳”，还有“弗”“夫”“福”？拉丁语的 Romulus 写“罗幕路斯”“罗慕卢斯”或“若姆鲁斯”？这些都增加译名问题的难度，如果能简化就应该简化。

部分汉字在表达发音方面有严重的缺陷，比如“伽”有三个发音（jia, ga, qie），所以“伽利略”应该发“Galilue”，但大家都（错误地）说“Jialilue”。因此，应该用“嘎”来代替它。

因此，我们建议改进古代人名、地名的汉译。因为影响很大，需要逐渐进行改变。第一阶段（从现在开始）：决定一个共同的译音表，这样淘汰部分汉字，比如“珥”和“耳”，统一用“尔”。多用 ABC 原名写在汉译名后（括号中）。注意到那些较少见的名称（比如“伽图”“德尔图良”“塞内卡”“卡尔塔苟”）用新的、严格靠近原文发音的译名。

第二个阶段（可能要从 2020 年开始）：逐渐改变那些常见的人名，比如“荷马”改成“侯梅若斯”，甚至可能还要把“罗马”改成“若马”。

第三个阶段：（可能要从 2040 年开始）：许多人名的汉译无论如何都不能令人感到满足，比如希腊语单词“Sokrates”有“救助的力量”这样的意思，所以无论是“苏格拉底”或“索克拉特斯”，都没有表达这种和“救助”和“力气”有关系的含义。因此，最理想的表达仍然是用 ABC 的写法。我们认为，中国文献和出版物的长期目标应该是在汉语中有很

多 ABC。所以，在那个阶段，不应该写（现状）“苏格拉底启发了柏拉图的思想”，也不应该写

（第二阶段）“索克拉特斯（Sokrates）启发了普拉托（Platon）的思想”，而应该写

（第三阶段）“Sokrates（索克拉特斯）启发了 Platon（普拉托）的思想”，或

“Sokrates 启发了 Platon 的思想”。

为了进行这种改变，译者和出版社编辑人士应该有共同的译音表。我们建议采用这个方案（本表参照罗念生和顾枝鹰先生的表）：

| 元音 辅音 | A | E | I | O | U | Y | AE,OE,AI | AU | |
|------------|---|---|----------|----------|---|-----------|----------|----|------|
| | 阿 | 俄 | 伊 | 欧 | 乌 | 于 | 埃 | 奥 | |
| C,K, CH | 卡 | 克 | 克伊 | 阔 | 库 | 克于 | 凯 | 考 | 克 |
| G | 嘎 | 格 | 格伊 | 苟 | 古 | 格于 | 盖 | 高 | 格 |
| T(TH) | 塔 | 特 | 提 | 托 | 图 | 特于 | 太 | 陶 | 特 |
| D | 达 | 得 | 迪 | 多 | 杜 | 迪 | 代 | 道 | 得 |
| P | 帕 | 佩 | 皮 | 颇 | 普 | 皮 | 派 | 泡 | 普, 颇 |
| B | 巴 | 贝 | 比 | 波 | 布 | 比 | 拜 | 保 | 布 |
| N | 纳 | 内 | 尼 | 诺 | 努 | 女 | 奈 | 瑙 | 恩 |
| M | 马 | 梅 | 米 | 摩 | 姆 | 米 | 麦 | 茂 | 姆 |
| R | 拉 | 瑞 | 瑞 | 若 | 茹 | 瑞, 日 于 | 莱 | 绕 | 尔, 日 |
| L | 拉 | 勒 | 利 | 罗 | 卢 | 吕 | 莱 | 劳 | 勒 |
| S | 撒 | 瑟 | 西 | 索 | 苏 | 叙 | 塞 | 扫 | 斯 |
| H | 哈 | 赫 | 希 (耶) | 侯 (霍) | 胡 | 赫于 | 海 | 浩 | 赫 |
| V | 瓦 | 维 | 维 | 沃 | 乌 | 维 | 外 | 奥 | 沃 |
| F, PH | 法 | 菲 | 菲 | 佛 | 弗 | 菲 | 菲 | | 弗 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| I | 亚 | 耶 | 伊 | 尤 | 尤 | | | 要 | 伊 |
| Z | 匝 | 泽 | 此伊 | 邹 | 组 | 此于 | 宰 | 早 | 此 |
| X | 克撒 | 克瑟 | 克 斯 伊 | 克索 | 克苏 | 克叙 | 克塞 | 克扫 | 克斯 |

根据这张译名表应该在译名中停用部分汉字，比如：

用“维”，停用“韦”“苇”“威”等。（“韦斯帕芴”：“维斯帕西安”）

用“利”，停用“里”“黎”“莉”“历”等。（“”：“”）

用“卢”，停用“路”“鲁”等。

用“姆”，停用“慕”“木”“穆”。

用“纳”，停用“拿”“娜”“那”。

用“尔”，停用“耳”“珥”等。

用“得”，停用“德”。

用“迪”，停用“蒂”“狄”“第”等。

用“比”，停用“庇”“彼”。

用“撒”，停用“萨”“札”等。

用“内”，停用“聂”“涅”。

用“米”，停用“弥”“密”。（“多密善”：“多米提安”）

从“信、达、雅”来看，译名应该

- （1）尽可能接近原名发音（对“信”的追求），
- （2）帮助读者从译名还原 ABC 的名称（对“达”的追求），
- （3）尽可能回避奇特的、汉译名少用的汉字，比如“拔”“璧”“珥”“汉”“喀”“庇”“墨”“幕”“涅”“忒”“体”“佗”“屋”“昔”“芴”等（对“雅”的追求）。

请大家参照下列翻译表。我们认为，“简略译名”（右边）值得推广，并希望通过“简略译名”方案进一步统一汉译名。在学术性较强的文章中，应该用希腊语或拉丁语原文的译名。拉丁语的后缀（-us）和希腊语的后缀（-os）都算是“对的”，比如“泡卢斯”和“泡罗斯”（Paulus/Paulos）指同一个人，而在《新约》中，他是犹太人，取了典型的罗马名字（Paulus），

但其著作都是希腊语的，英语的简略 **Paul** 可以引发汉语简略的“泡勒”或“泡罗”。

从历史影响来看，拉丁语译名的影响更大，所以拉丁语的 **Plato**（普拉托）比希腊语的 **Platon**（普拉顿）更可取。因此，在“简略译名”方案中，我们较多倾向于采纳或参考拉丁语译名。

| 目前较通用译名 | 希腊语原文及译名 | 拉丁语原文及译名 | 简略译名（多参考英语的简略方式） |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| in use now | Greek version | Latin version | Simplified |
| 阿基琉斯，阿喀留斯，阿基勒斯 | Achilleus 阿克伊勒乌斯 | Achilles 阿克伊勒斯 | Achilles, Achill 阿克（伊）勒斯 |
| 阿伽门农 | Agamemnon 阿嘎门农 | 同前 | 同前 |
| 埃涅阿斯 | Aineias 埃内阿斯 | Aeneas 埃内阿斯 | Aeneas 埃内阿斯 |
| 亚历山大城，亚历山大里亚 | Alexandreia 阿勒克散得瑞亚 | Alexandria 阿勒克散得瑞亚 | Alexandria 阿勒克散得城 |
| 亚历山大 | Alexandros 阿勒克散得若斯 | Alexandrus 阿勒克散得茹斯 | Alexander 阿勒克散得 |
| 安波罗修斯 | | Ambrosius 安波若修斯 | 前同 |
| 安提阿，安条克 | Antiocheia 安提欧克亚 | Antiochia 安提欧克亚 | Antioch 安提欧克（亚） |
| 阿波罗 | Apollon 阿颇伦 | Apollo 阿颇罗 | Apollo 阿颇罗 |
| 阿瑞斯 | Ares 阿瑞斯 | | Ares 阿瑞斯 |
| 亚里士多德，亚历斯多德 | Aristoteles 阿瑞斯托特勒斯 | 同希腊 | Aristotle 阿瑞斯托特 |

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 雅典娜 | Athena 阿特纳 | Athena / Minerva 阿特纳 | Athena 阿特纳 |
| 雅典 | Athenai 阿特奈 | Athenae 阿特奈 | Athens 阿特奈，阿典 (?) |
| 奥古斯丁 | | Augustinus 奥古斯提努斯 | Augustine 奥古斯丁 |
| 波爱修，波伊提乌 | | Boethius 波俄提乌斯 | Boethius 波俄提乌斯 |
| 布鲁图斯 | | Brutus 布茹图斯 | Brutus 布茹图斯 |
| 迦太基 | | Carthago 卡尔塔苟 | Carthago, Carthage 卡尔塔苟，卡尔塔格 |
| 加图，伽图，卡托 | | Cato 卡托 | Cato 卡托 |
| 西塞罗，西赛罗 | | Cicero 克伊克若 | Cicero 克伊克若 |
| 君士坦丁，康士坦丁 | | Constantinus 阔恩斯坦提努斯 | Constantine 昆斯坦丁 |
| 科林斯，哥林多 | Korinthos 阔任托斯 | Corinthus 阔任图斯 | Corinth 阔任特，阔任图斯 |
| 狄安娜，戴安娜，黛安娜 | | Diana 迪阿纳 | Diana 迪安娜 |
| 第欧根尼 | Diogenes 迪欧格内斯 | 前同 | Diogenes 迪欧格内斯 |
| 以弗所，厄弗所 | Ephesos 俄菲索斯 | Ephesus 俄菲苏斯 | Ephesus 俄菲苏斯 |
| 伊壁鸠鲁 | Epikouros | Epicurus | Epicurus |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 俄皮库若斯 | 俄皮库茹斯 | 俄皮库茹斯 |
| 欧里皮得斯 | Euripides 俄乌瑞皮得斯 | 前同 | Euripides 俄乌瑞皮得斯 |
| 欧罗巴 | Europa 俄乌若帕 | 前同 | Europa 俄乌若帕 |
| 伽尤斯，盖乌斯 | | Gaius 嘎尤斯，盖乌斯 | Gaius 盖乌斯 |
| 伽尔巴 | | Galba 夏勒巴 | Galba 嘎勒巴 |
| 高卢 | | Gallia 嘎利亚 | Gaul 嘎利亚 |
| 伽鲁斯，加卢斯 | | Gallus 嘎卢斯 | Gallus 嘎卢斯 |
| 格列高利，贵格利， 额我略，国瑞 | Gregorios 格瑞苟瑞欧斯 | Gregorius 格瑞苟瑞乌斯 | Gregory 格瑞苟瑞 |
| 汉尼拔 | | Hannibal 哈尼巴勒 | Hannibal 哈尼巴 |
| 希腊 | Hellas 赫拉斯 | | Hellas 赫拉斯 |
| 赫拉克勒斯 | Herakles 赫日阿克勒斯 | Hercules 赫尔库勒斯 | Heracles 赫拉克勒斯 |
| 赫尔墨斯 | Hermes 赫尔梅斯 | | Hermes 赫尔梅斯 |
| 赫西俄德，何西俄德 | Hesiodos 赫斯伊欧多斯 | Hesiodus 赫斯伊欧杜斯 | Hesiod 赫西欧得 |
| 哲罗姆，耶柔米， 热罗尼漠 | | Hieronymus 耶若尼莫斯 | Jerome, Geronimo 耶若尼莫（斯） |
| 荷马，侯默 | Homeros | Homerus | Homer |

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|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | 侯梅若斯 | 侯梅茹斯 | 侯梅尔，侯梅茹斯 |
| 贺拉斯 | | Horatius 侯日阿提乌斯 | Horace 侯拉斯，侯拉提乌斯 |
| 爱任纽，依雷内 | | Irenaeus 伊任奈乌斯 | Irenaeus 伊任奈乌斯 |
| 依西多，伊西多鲁斯 | | Isidorus 伊斯伊多茹斯 | Isidore 伊西多尔 |
| 朱诺，尤诺 | | Iuno 尤诺 | Juno 尤诺 |
| 朱庇特，尤皮斯 | | Iupiter 尤皮特尔 | Jupiter 尤皮特 |
| 查斯提尼安，犹 斯定尼安努斯，朱斯 丁尼安 | | Iustinianus 尤斯提尼阿努斯 | Iustinian, Justinian 尤斯提尼安 |
| 朱文纳尔 | | Iuvenalis 尤文纳利斯 | Iuvenalis, Juvenal 尤文纳利斯 |
| 李维 | | Livius 李维乌斯 | Livy 利维乌斯 |
| 卢克莱修 | | Lucretius 卢克瑞提乌斯 | Lucretius 卢克瑞提乌斯 |
| 麦凯纳斯 | | Maecenas 麦凯纳斯 | Maecenas 麦凯纳斯 |
| 墨涅劳斯 | Menelaos 梅内劳斯 | Menelaus 梅内劳斯 | Menelaus 梅内劳斯 |
| 墨丘利 | | Mercurius 梅尔库瑞乌斯 | Mercury 梅尔库瑞 |
| 尼禄 | | Nero 内若 | Nero 内若 |
| 涅尔瓦 | | Nerva | Nerva |

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| | | 内尔瓦 | 内尔瓦 |
| 内斯托尔 | Nestor 内斯托尔 | 前同 | 同前 |
| 奥德修，奥德修斯 | Odysseus 欧得瑟乌斯 | Odysseus 欧得瑟乌斯 | Odysseus 欧得修斯 |
| 俄狄浦斯 | Oidipus 欧伊迪普斯 | Oedipus 欧俄迪普斯 | Oedipus 欧俄迪普斯 |
| 奥利根，奥立金 | Origenes 欧瑞格内斯 | Origenes 欧瑞格内斯 | Origen 欧瑞根 |
| 奥尔菲 | Orpheus 欧尔菲乌斯 | 前同 | Orpheus 欧尔菲乌斯 |
| 奥维德 | | Ovidius 欧维迪乌斯 | Ovid 欧维得 |
| 帕里斯 | Paris 帕瑞斯 | 前同 | Paris 帕瑞斯 |
| 保罗，保禄 | Paulos 泡罗斯 | Paulus 泡卢斯 | Paul 保罗，（泡勒） |
| 彼得，伯多禄 | Petros 佩特若斯 | Petrus 佩特茹斯 | Peter 佩特，佩特尔 |
| 腓力，飞利普 | Philippos 菲利颇斯 | Philippus 菲利普斯 | Philipp 菲利普（斯） |
| 腓尼基亚 | Phoinike 佛伊尼克，颇伊 尼克 | Phoenicia 佛伊尼克亚 | Phoenicia 佛伊尼克亚 |
| 柏拉图 | Platon 普拉顿 | Plato 普拉托 | Plato 普拉托 |
| 庞培 | | Pompeius 颇姆佩乌斯 | Pompey 颇姆佩，彭佩乌 斯 |

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|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 普洛米修斯 | Prometheus 普若梅特乌斯 | 前同 | 前同 |
| 普罗佩提乌斯 | | Propertius 普若佩尔提乌斯 | Propertius 普若佩尔提乌斯 |
| 昆体良 | | Quintilianus 克文提利阿努斯 | Quintilian 昆提利安 |
| 罗慕卢斯，罗木 路斯 | | Romulus 若姆卢斯 | Romulus 若姆卢斯 |
| 西皮俄 | | Scipio 斯克伊皮欧 | Scipio 斯克伊皮欧 |
| 塞涅加，塞内卡 | | Seneca 瑟内卡 | Seneca 塞内卡 |
| 苏格拉底 | Sokrates 索克日阿特斯 | Socrates 索克日阿特斯 | Socrates 索克拉特斯 |
| 索福克勒斯 | Sophokles 索佛克勒斯 | Sophocles 索佛克勒斯 | Sophocles 索弗克勒斯 |
| 苏埃托尼乌斯 | | Suetonius 苏俄托尼乌斯 | Sueton 苏俄托尼乌斯 |
| 叙拉古 | Syracusai 斯于日阿库塞 | Syracusae 斯于日阿库塞 | Syracuse 西拉库塞 |
| 塔西佗 | | Tacitus 塔克伊图斯 | Tacitus 塔克伊图斯 |
| 泰伦斯 | | Terentius 特任提乌斯 | Terence 特任提乌斯，特 任斯 |
| 德尔图良，戴尔都良 | | Tertullianus 特尔图利阿努斯 | Tertullian 特尔图利安 |
| 特拜，忒拜，底比斯 | Thebai 特拜 | Thebae 特拜 | Thebes（英） 特拜 |

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| 特奥克里图斯 | Theokritos 特欧克瑞托斯 | Theocritus 特欧克瑞图斯 | Theocrit 特欧克瑞特 |
| 修昔狄德 | Thoukydides 图克于迪得斯 | Thucydides 图克于迪得斯 | Thucydides 图克于迪得(斯) |
| 图拉真 | | Traianus 特拉亚努斯 | Trajan, Trajanus 特拉来努斯 |
| 特洛伊, 特罗亚 | Troia 特若亚 | Troia 特若亚 | Troy (特若伊) 特若亚 |
| 推罗, 提洛 | Tyros 提若斯 | Tyrus 提茹斯 | Tyre 提茹斯 |
| 瓦罗 | | Varro 瓦若 | Varro 瓦若 |
| 维纳斯 | | Venus 维努斯 | Venus 维努斯 |
| 维吉尔 | | Vergilius 维尔格利乌斯 | Vergil, Virgil 维尔格勒 |
| 韦斯帕芑 | | Vespasianus 维斯帕斯伊阿努斯 | Vespasian 维斯帕西安 |
| 色诺芬 | Xenophon 克瑟诺佛恩 | 前同 | Xenophon 克瑟诺芬 |
| 宙斯, 丢斯 | Zeus 泽乌斯 | Zeus、Iupiter 泽乌斯 | Zeus 泽乌斯 |

研讨拉丁文罗马法的 若干基础概念

Michele Ferrero（麦克雷）- 齐文君

导言

罗马法典以拉丁文书写而成。如果我们能充分地讨论传统上属于拉丁语罗马法的基础语汇，并且对比与之对应的中文概念，及其在中文语境下的意涵，那么这对于中国-墨西哥文化学术交流十分有益。因为了解彼此的文化背景，将更有助于我们建立互信和友谊。¹⁵² 儒学传统至今仍对中国有深远的影响。因此下面将列举具体的拉丁文的罗马法的语句，和儒家思想做一对比。诚然法学领域并非古典语言学者研究的专长。然而，在中国的拉丁语教学实践中，老师会向学生们介绍来自罗马法学传统的例句。

通过学生的反应不难发现，很多例句如果翻译成汉语，表达的意思往往和原文有出入。语言的差异实际反映了文化、哲学、宗教以及历史学背景的诸多差异。先要理解，然后才谈得上见解。所以我们要先过“理解”关。

法学文化的彼此理解是当代全球化交流进程的重要元素。法学离不开术语，如何翻译或者说从何种角度理解这些法律名词呢？

中西方的文化都和法律规范有很深的渊源。西方的法学体系从来没有彻底打破罗马的传统。严格来说罗马法包括从十二铜表法(公元前449)到公元529年颁出的民法典的法学脉络。因此西方的法律术语有两个源流：古罗马的法律和基督教传统。拉丁法律术语的影响一直持续到今天。而儒家的生活方式在古老的中国持续了上千年，并且以新儒家的面貌和现代化的中国一同迈入二十世纪。汉语言和拉丁语的差异折射了儒家精神与罗马法学观念的迥异的背景。认识到不同的传统对语汇带来的影响，是增进文化之间交流的第一步。下面是若干实例。

法律与社会

¹⁵² 第二届中国—墨西哥国际学术研讨会，参见拉丁语言文化中心大事记。

对罗马人来说，法律是共同生活的必要工具。*(societas)*。人们在一起，就必然要达成普遍的行为规范，并最终表述成为精确的法律语言。

“Ubi societas, ibi ius” [Where there is a society there is a law (= legal system)][只要有社会的地方就有法律（法律系统）]

在罗马人的眼中，野蛮人使用武力和暴力，而文明人使用法律和规则。武装冲突不是唯一选项，法律是替代和避免暴力的工具。然而冲突升级的时候，法律就难以发挥作用了：

“Inter arma silent leges” [Among weapons the laws are silent][在武器之间，法律是沉默的]

与之不同的是，儒家传统注重体验“家庭”，而并不是“社会”。社会的人际关系本质上是对家庭中的人际关系的反映和折射。而家庭里没有法律。儒家传统将成文的法律引入人际关系的思考是很后来的事，并始终没有将其视为不可或缺的存在。儒家的方法论是在家庭生活的传统中学习什么是恰当的分际。暴力的替代选项是和谐，而不是法律。

这不是细小的差别。对罗马人来说，成文法综合了社会共识，以促进更好的共同生活。而对儒家来说，人际关系的形成是自发的，行端表正，进退有礼，这要通过教养来养成，并非通过设定一系列规则。今天我们能听到北京地铁的广播不时提醒乘客向老人让座，是“中华传统美德”的一部分。西方人更倾向于在声明合同条款的基础上开始业务合作，而中国人更愿意从私人情谊入手来开始一桩生意。儒家并不认为所有的人际关系都能够并且应当由法律约束。权威者教化子民，确保自古以来的优良传统得以因循。同时古罗马的权威者（国王、元老或皇帝）订定法律，由法官来执行。成文的如美国宪法，或者英国大宪章，在西方被视为立约者和主体之间的关系的最好保障。

罗马人致力于将“人性”的观念（*humanitas*）精确地转换成法律条文。希腊人发现了“人性”的观念，却未能将其在法律中体现。罗马人做到了。所以法律成为获得完满的人性的主要途径。

关于婚姻的法律是这种方法论的很好的范例。“古典的婚姻法可能是罗马的法学天赋取得的最了不起的成就”。¹⁵³

古代中国传统把丈夫和妻子的关系称为“五常”之一。耶稣会传教士利玛窦注意到这点并在日记中写道：“他们特别关注五常，即父子、夫妇、君臣、兄弟和朋友。他们认为其他国家不在意这些关系。”¹⁵⁴然而儒家并不认为需要法律来约束这些关系。靠智慧就足够了。

¹⁵³ SCHULZ Fritz, *Classical Roman Law*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951, p.103.

¹⁵⁴ D'ELIA, P.(ed), *Fonti Ricciane: Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato,

“唯女子与小人为难养也，近之则不孙，远之则怨”。¹⁵⁵

儒家并没有像古罗马人那样对妻子的权利进行民法角度的精确阐述。罗马人则很早就就在法律层面讨论了妻子是否有权利拥有自己的财产，并且她处置自己的财产不必经过丈夫的同意。¹⁵⁶

法律与权威

谁拥有立法和执法的权威？中世纪的托马斯·阿奎那总结了古罗马人关于法律的观点。“法律是对共同的善的理性的规范[*rationis ordinatio*]，由负责照顾社会的人制定和颁布。”[神学大全 Ia-IIae Q. 90, a. 4].

这里有几个拉丁法律观念的要素：理性，共同的善，负责照顾社会的人。

“共同的善”是指法律是对普遍的和共享的关于正确的社会行为的观点的表达。罗马人说：

“Consensus facit legem” [consent makes the law][共识产生法律].

罗马的法律区分了不变的自然法（*ius naturale*），某种程度和动物王国联结（亚里士多德关于动物的研究中已有体现）和特定时空背景由人类创造的不断改变的文明法（*ius gentium* 或者 *ius civile*）。

罗马法对 *ius naturale* 的定义是“大自然已经教育所有的动物，*ius*不是只为人类这一特定族群，而是为所有在同一片天空，同一片陆地或者同一片海洋出生的所有的动物”。因为“繁衍和教育孩子”被所有的动物实践的，是 *ius naturale* 的一部分，奴隶制，私有财产，政治社会，则更多的是依照 *ius gentium*¹⁵⁷。

“关键的文本是乌尔比安在《学说汇编》提到的民法（*ius civile*）和另外两种的联系：*ius civile*不是完全从 *ius naturale* 或者 *ius gentium*出发来的，也不互相隶属，我们对普遍的*ius*加加减减，形成自己的法律，这就是*ius civile*。”¹⁵⁸

“*ius naturale*的最终的特征是超验的人类的善作为最突出的全面的无差别的对*ius*的使

1942-1949 (3 vols), vol 1, p 180.

¹⁵⁵ 论语阳货 17:25

¹⁵⁶ SCHULZ Fritz, Classical Roman Law, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951, p.131. See also: GRUBBS Judith Evans, Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood, Routledge, London, 2002

¹⁵⁷ ZUCKERT Michael P., "Bringing Philosophy down from the Heavens": Natural Right in the Roman Law, *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter, 1989), pp. 74

¹⁵⁸ ZUCKERT Michael P., "Bringing Philosophy down from the Heavens": Natural Right in the Roman Law, *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter, 1989), pp. 80

用，我们已经在罗马的法律文献中注意到了”。¹⁵⁹ 西塞罗，同意斯多噶学派的观点，将自然法看作“令行禁止的正确理由”¹⁶⁰。传统形成的风俗习惯既有善良风俗也不乏限制和损害弱势群体权利的习俗，比如年龄、性别以及种族的歧视。自然法作为*ratio legis*推动着修改和订定法律，促进社会改善既有的价值观而朝着更进步的方向凝结新的共识。西塞罗的思想影响着文艺复兴之后的许多时代思潮。弗朗西斯·培根设想的新亚特兰蒂斯¹⁶¹、卢梭提出的社会契约¹⁶²可以说是在政治科学、社会学范畴延伸了古罗马的法学理性。

自然被罗马人视为法律的基础，因为自然是神圣的。所以在古代法律是自然律的解释，由国王/祭祀或神职订立¹⁶³。实际上很早就有证据显示罗马的法官们会在做法律决定之前寻求法学家和专家的帮助¹⁶⁴，不过被强烈地和明确地和神圣性联结在一起：崇拜仪式和法律是相关联的。¹⁶⁵

例如英文字“Obligation”，源自拉丁语的“*ob-ligo*”，约束，通过宣誓，用宗教的方式，召唤神祇作为见证人。¹⁶⁶

罗马史上代表人民的立法者的角色由神职担任转变为由国王担任，是罗马法学传统的一个很大的成就。共和的罗马认为法律由人民订立，通过他们的代表，为了人民。真正的权力是法律本身。

“Lex rex” [The law is king][法律是最高的权力].

但是权力来自对一个更高的体系的忠诚：自然律，即*ius naturale*。这样的世界观认为所有人在法律之下，没有人例外：

“Nemo est supra leges” [No one is above the law] [没人在法律之上].

同时法律包括人类生活的所有面向并且应能够解决任何问题：

“Ubi ius ibi remedium” [where there is legal right, there is a solution][哪里有法律权利，哪里就有解决方法]

¹⁵⁹ ZUCKERT Michael P., "Bringing Philosophy down from the Heavens": Natural Right in the Roman Law, *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter, 1989), pp. 82

¹⁶⁰ ZUCKERT Michael P., "Bringing Philosophy down from the Heavens: Natural Right in the Roman Law", *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter, 1989), pp. 76

¹⁶¹ cf. Stephan Otto hg. *Geschichte der Philosophie III* (Reclam, 1984), pp. 378

¹⁶² cf. Rainer Specht hg. *Geschichte der Philosophie V* (Reclam, 2004), pp. 78

¹⁶³ MANNINO, Vincenzo, *Introduzione alla storia del diritto privato dei Romani*, Giappichelli, Torino, 2011, p. 50-51.

¹⁶⁴ RADIN Max, "Fundamental Concepts of the Roman Law", *California Law Review*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (Jul., 1924), pp. 393-410, p. 404.

¹⁶⁵ MANNINO, Vincenzo, *Introduzione alla storia del diritto privato dei Romani*, Giappichelli, Torino, 2011 . p. 62.

¹⁶⁶ RADIN Max, "Fundamental Concepts of the Roman Law", *California Law Review*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (Jul., 1924), pp. 393-410, p. 407.

ius naturale 是有力量的和权威的，因为它最终取决于一个更高的权力，即自然。他们使用这样的表达：

“Ratio legis” [The law’s foundation][（法律用语）法律基础，法律的基本原则],
意思是法律的权力来自它和更高秩序的基础联结。

所以罗马法律是形而上（或自然的）秩序在社会范畴的应用。

中译“自然法”，“自然”这个词语并不像在古代西方世界的语境那样强烈。借鉴动物和自然界能更好的反观人类，儒家并没有这样的观念。自然是人与世界的和谐的环境，与法律或规则没有直接的关系。我们不会向动物学习如何更好的做人，而是向祖先和先贤学习。

儒家衡量道德社会生活的标准是一个和谐幸福的家庭，每个家庭成员为了共同的福利努力，扮演各自的角色和完成特定的义务。每个家庭成员的家庭地位和社会地位决定了其义务为何。

正名，遵守古代明君传下来的道而成义，成为君子，完满的道德个体。孔子强调道德义务的标准来自古代先贤的示范，由他们传下来礼的形式。只有建立在“礼”基础上的社会才能变得富裕并且和平，因为它顺应天道，而天道蕴含在“礼”中¹⁶⁷。

所以传统上，法律只是古代中国权力者手中的众多工具之一。对更高的道德律的应用不属于法律，而是“教”的范畴。“法律从而成为管理人民的手段，而不是人民限制权力者的手段。权力者和人民从来是不平等的。”¹⁶⁸ 即使在现代中国有时你会听到人们讨论“法治”和“法制”的区别。“法治”是指法律应该治理国家的法学原则，而“法制”是指用法律推行具体政府职能的既定政策。道德教育比起法律，让社会更好。

法律和个体自由

很多关于法律的拉丁语句显示出行为本身和行为目的、动机、结果以及行为人的原因之间的重要区别。

这随着基督教的影响和耶稣明确教导更加明显，行为本身与其动机之间是有区别的。¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ See IVANHOE, P.J., *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition. The Thought of Mencius and Wang Yang-ming*. (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1990), p.5.

¹⁶⁸ ZHANG Xiangming, On Two Ancient Chinese Administrative Ideas: Rule of Virtue and Rule by Law, *The Culture Mandala: Bulletin of the Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies* (2002). BEVIR, Mark. *The Encyclopedia of Political Theory* page 162.; MUNRO, Donald. *The Concept of Man in Early China*. P. 4.; GUO, Xuezhai. *The Ideal Chinese Political Leader: A Historical and Cultural Perspective*. Page 152.

¹⁶⁹ See the strong words of JESUS against the Pharisees, who do certain good actions only to be seen by men, not for God (Mt chapter 6)

基督教还引进了一个新的概念，原罪与犯罪必须受到严厉谴责但是罪人与罪犯可以被原谅和救赎。

因此拉丁法律传统包括尽可能精确地区分对一个行为和其行为者的表达。例如：

“Ex opere operantis” [(Depends on) the person doing it][这件事依靠谁做的];

“Ex opere operato” [(Depends only) on the thing itself][这件事自己有效果，不管谁做的];

“Finis operantis” [The target of the doer (= the personal intention)][行为者的动机/意图];

“Ratione personae” [Because of the person involved][（法律用语）属人原则，属人管辖].

因为这种区别，罗马人想将过去的行为和个别情况联系起来的时候，他们还采取了具体步骤。他们这样表达：

“Damnatio memoriae”¹⁷⁰ [Damnation of memory, shame brought on the memorial of someone; to wipe a person from the historical record][直译是:对记忆的惩罚]意为消除（因为某些重大罪过）特定人物的功绩的历史记录，让其在后世看来仿佛不曾存在]

这对于一个强调行为自身和行为人的区别的体系来说显然是一个极端的选择。

在拉丁传统中“社会”(*societas*)和“自由意志”(*liberum arbitrium*)可能会有冲突，法律的任务是使之和谐。这个西方的概念在自由的通常定义上达到顶峰：你的自由结束于你邻居的自由的开始之处。

这种对个人责任的坚持来到西方主要是有两个渊源：亚里士多德对动机所做的深入研究，在中世纪由阿奎纳发扬，基督教教导在上帝面前的个人责任。

阿奎纳解释为四种原因，即，最终原因，正式原因，效率原因和物质原因。(《神学大全》*Summa Theologiae* II-II, 27, 4) “动机”和“目的”是任何道德或法律调查的必须特征。没有动机就没有人的行为，没有美德或原罪。土地与石头没有动机；只有人才有。

动机就是一个行为的原因，是灵魂的力量。“动机”是我们“为什么”做，或者，换句话说，我们行为的“起因”。我们称一个行为的“动机”，就是对“为什么你做这个或者做那个”这个问题的回答。这些所谓的一个行为的“起因”，或者“为什么的原因”是非常复杂的，也被亚里士多德和托马斯·阿奎纳明确考察过。

问题的关键在于事实上根据亚里士多德-托马斯主义体系，一个起因可能是四重的。“既然起因说到了好几种意义，事实证明一件事有许多起因，并非偶然。”¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ 同 *abolitio nominis* 意思相近, *damno* 的宾语为属格，作为法律术语的动词(*verba iudicialia*)多遵守特殊的语法规则 cf. Rubenbauer / Hofmann *Lateinische Grammatik* (Munich 1995), pp.156

¹⁷¹ ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V, 2, 1013, quoted in REITH, H., *The Metaphysics of St. Thomas Aquinas*. (Milwaukee: The

沿着这条线，在西方世界，心理学也得到蓬勃发展：科学分析人们做事的原因，为了什么，动机为何，起因何在。一个最终的起因是：目标。一个效果的起因是：选择个人历史的重量。一个正式原因：“做正确的事”的观念。

儒家传统并没有太多致力于通过起因的复杂性的观点去研究行为。心理学并不是中国古代的科学。正如 H·芬格莱特说的：“孔子只是观察和报道了事情的真相；‘仁’是人们决定顺从于‘礼’……并没有步步分析如何做到‘仁’。”¹⁷²

李光世在一篇关于儒家传统中的个人自治的观点文章中，认为“不同于亚里士多德的人性模型，儒家成就概念中没有目的论维度。”¹⁷³ 一个切合过去的圣贤之道（礼）的人，就是有德之人。“传统暨文化可以培养一个人做出可靠的和睿智的选择能力。”¹⁷⁴ “言传是分享生活方式的重要步骤。”¹⁷⁵

事实上，对于罗马人来说，法律也可以来源于习惯：

Ex usu [out of habit][根据惯例]

但这只是一个例外，并非规定。

按照芬格莱特的说法：“孔子在《论语》中并未对选择和责任做概念上的区分，因为个体发挥本体论意义的选择的最终力量从而创造属于自己的精神归宿，这样的观念中个体的选择和个体的使命是紧密交织的。”¹⁷⁶

因此在儒家传统，“个体责任”的概念就是与社会相一致。行为是社会互动的结果，不是个人选择。个人行为通常是对其他人的行为的模仿，最好是向统治者和先贤的模仿。要去选择一个人的、独特的、唯一的生命历程是不可能的，因为正确和错误都是社会决定的，不是由个人决定的。

所以我们面临另一个对拉丁语中法律与正义的重要的深刻的中文理解：什么是法律中的客观事实？法律中有没有客观性？

法律：客观性和主观性

Bruce Publishing Company, 1958), p. 364.

¹⁷² FINGARETTE, H., *Confucius. The Secular as Sacred*, op. cit. p.51.

¹⁷³ LEE, Kwang-sae, “Some Confucianist Reflections on the Concept of Autonomous Individual”, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 21 (1994), p.57

¹⁷⁴ *Idem*, p.51.

¹⁷⁵ *Idem*, p.53.

¹⁷⁶ FINGARETTE, H., *Confucius. The Secular as Sacred*, op. cit., p.18.

罗马法希望是公平和普遍。根据鲁道夫·里特尔，“罗马法的主要观点是平等。”¹⁷⁷法律要达到完全的公平，一方面需是抽象的，以避免徇私；但更要具体，需一直考虑不同的情况。这是罗马法的巨大挑战：在接受个人的行为是复杂和独特的同时，如何确保特定情境下一个人（比如一个有钱有势的人）不会改变法律的权力或范围。

因此，在拉丁法律传统中，我们可以看到两组句子。一方面强调的是客观性。

“Ignorantia legis non excusat” [The ignorance of the law is not an excuse] [法盲不算借口；不知法律也不能免罪].

“Dura lex sed lex” [The law is harsh but is law and must be respected][法律严苛,但是作为法律,必须得到尊重].

Vis legis [The power of the law] [法律的力量].

Ex officio [By virtue of the office itself][根据职权所当然]

Ex lege [From the law][按法律]

“Ad rem” [Directed to the matter itself][指向事物（或问题）本身],

恰恰表明法律的需求高于个例；另一方面，法律涉及个例。所以我们可以找到如下表达：

“Ad hominem” [Directed to a particular person][人身攻击].

“Lex ad personam [law made for a specific person][法律与特定的人相关].

“Nulla poena sine lege” [No penalty without a law] [罪刑法定原则].

罗马人曾说：

“Summum ius summa iniuria” [Supreme justice, supreme injustice][最高的正义就是最大的不义],

意思是，有时法律愈严苛，不正义的空间就越大。

在声明法律作为普世的和渴望承认每个人的独特性之间，总是摇摆不定。他们总是努力将法律置于人类的弱点之上。这并不容易。谈到那些有义务执行法律的人们，他们还说过：

“Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?” [who will guard the guards?][谁来保卫那些卫士们?]

对于精准的强烈愿望似乎占了上风。这也许是罗马法对今天的法律最大的贡献。

在我看来中国传统对从真正的人际关系中抽象出的一种模式的“客观性”强调甚少。

儒家传统的主要目的是成为君子，严格遵循礼，找到自己在社会中的地位并力行美德。

由于人性是普遍规律的反映，或曰天道，这种道德的过程不需要任何外部干预（神，约束，

¹⁷⁷ According to Rudolph Ritter von Jhering (also Ihering), *Geist des römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung* (1852–1865) two volumes (Quoted by Radin, p.393) 《不同发展阶段中的罗马法精神》二卷本。

警察），而只有研究（“格物”），反映（“致知”），并符合先贤之礼。君子通过修身能达到完满。一旦学会如何合乎道德地生活，他就可以通过“正名”投身到社会的进步。

在这个总的教导下，西方的主观观点和客观观点之间的区别在此并不适用。在中国传统中，“客观”和“主观”之间有一个“关系”概念，这个概念的重要性相当于西方的“真理”的观念，甚至更加重要。

由此我们转到罗马传统与中国传统相遇的另一个重要因素：在一个法律体系中绝对价值的地位。

法律和道德/形而上学

法律和道德生活的关系即法学与哲学的交锋。法律是不是实现高尚道德生活的手段呢？或者只是管理社会的工具？语言和翻译都陷入了这个问题的复杂性当中。

罗马人认为他们的法律能够使人民过得更好吗？有句不太流行的俗话：

“Leges sine moribus vanae [laws without good morality are vain][法无德不立].

然而，同时他们也这样说：

“Iustitia est obtemperatio legibus” [Justice is obedience to the law] [正义就是服从法律].

对于罗马人来说，正义是非常崇高的理想。

“Veritas iustitia libertas” [Truth justice freedom][真理正义自由] 是罗马人的主要价值。将“正义”等同于服从法律，意味着将法律的价值提升到形而上学，近乎于神圣的地步。如上所述，罗马人的法律与宗教是相连的。

罗马人甚至说：

“Fiat iustitia et pereat mundum” [let justice be done, let the world collapse (= even if the consequences are disastrous)!][让正义实现，哪怕天崩地裂]（神圣罗马帝国）

这样看来对于罗马人来说，法律不仅能够引领社会秩序更能导引道德的善（正义）。遵从法律就是实现正义，而正义就是道德的善。所以对于罗马人来说，法律是道德的善的主要渊源：

“ius est ars boni et aequi” [law is the art of good and fair]¹⁷⁸.法是善良和公正的艺术。

罗马人相信法律不仅可以创造秩序，并且确实使人变好。有些观察家，主要是在罗马帝国时期，在看到法律与道德不再并肩而行时感到大失所望：

“Corruptissima republica, plurimae leges” [The most corrupt is a state, the most laws there

¹⁷⁸ Dig. 1, 1, 1, 1; Bract, fol. 2b.

are][国家越腐败法律越繁杂]

尼禄身边的讽刺作家佩特罗尼乌斯曾忿忿地说：

“Quid faciant leges, ubi sola pecunia regnat? [What laws can do, where only money rules?] [在金钱至上的地方，法律能做什么？]

这种态度反映出一种理想主义走向失望的转变：法律本应该让人更好，但实际上并非如此。

后来，随着犹太基督教传统的影响，法律重新成为善良与神圣道德生活的基础。这不是由人决定善与恶。这是犹太基督教的神启（创世纪）的基本教导。上帝的律法是《旧约》的道德教导的中心。法律，特别是《十诫》，是上帝亲自进行的正确道德行为的教导。同时，圣保禄明确了这一点：法律并不使人变好，只有基督的恩典能。¹⁷⁹

随着基督徒人数增长到超出了犹太疆界，基督教与希腊文化和拉丁文化世界相接触，一些与之相关的介于“善”与法之间的神学问题开始出现。

一方面，早期的基督徒毫不犹豫地认为即使“在教会之外，在异教徒的生活里，或者在有害的异端邪说中，也闪耀着美德及忠实于道德法则的例子。”¹⁸⁰

另一方面，同样是这些早期的基督徒，还说过拉丁和希腊传统的“异教”美德永远不能被视为道德生活中的至善，只有天主才能是。¹⁸¹事实上基督教不能接受拉丁和希腊对善的概念的局限性和差异。例如，缺乏关于原罪、恩典和复活的神启，使异教徒的美德理想仅限于少数特别杰出的人。在希腊和拉丁文学与哲学中，“美德”是圣人或者英雄的特质，¹⁸²而不属于卑微的仆人。

正如奥古斯丁写的：“那么，为什么你们这些品格高尚的罗马人，雷古鲁斯(Regulus)、司凯沃拉(Scaevola)、西庇阿(Scipio)以及法布里克(Fabricius)家族的后代们，为什么不让你们的心奔向这些更好的东西？看看这些东西与粗俗的傲慢还有骗人的魔鬼的邪恶的区别。无论你们的天赋可能有多么伟大美好，都需要真正的虔诚使之纯粹和完美。”¹⁸³

对于基督徒来说只有神律引领向善良，民法只有在与神律保持一致时才可以。只有在不与道德命令冲突时（服从天主高于服从人的行为准则），民法才是必须遵循的（“凯撒的归凯撒”）。

¹⁷⁹ Cf for example the *Letter to the Romans*.

¹⁸⁰ PELIKAN, J., *Christianity and Classical Culture. The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p.141.

¹⁸¹ See IACOANGELI, R., “Humanitas classica e sapientia christiana in S.Ambrogio”, in FELICE, S. (ed), *Crescita dell’Uomo nella Catechesi dei Padri (et apost-nicena)*, (Rome: LAS, 1988), p.155.

¹⁸² “Ordinary men have no arete; and whenever slavery lays hold of the son of a noble race, Zeus takes away half of his arete – he is no longer the same man as he was. Arete is the real attribute of the nobleman.” JAEGER, W., *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), vol. I, p.5.

¹⁸³ ST. AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*, II, 29. Translated by Walsh, Zema, Monahan, Honan. (New York: Image Books, 1958), p.76.

正义就是与天主的意愿相一致，那是高于一切的。

因此，举例来说，神父可以拒绝透露忏悔中听到的秘密，这是罪人与神之间的神圣之会。¹⁸⁴与神的关系高于人类的法律。

这个信条引起了一个新的问题：法律是从神来的还是也可以来自人民的“共识”？一句流行的话这样总结此事：

Vox populi, vox Dei [The voice of the people is the voice of God] [人民的声音就是上帝的声音].

事实上，这句话已经背离了其本意，这句话原是公元 798 年学者阿尔昆写给查理曼大帝的信中的。完整引文如下：

Nec audiendi qui solent dicere, Vox populi, vox Dei, quum tumultuositas vulgi semper insaniae proxima sit.[那些人不该听那种坚持说人民的声音就是上帝的声音的话，因为群众的喧闹总是非常接近于疯狂].

然而大众传统给这句话赋予了更积极的意义。政治家操纵人群胜过服从神律，更乐于坚持第二种意思。

不同的是，对孔子来说，法律只是对社会缺乏道德的善的最后的补救，而非后者的渊源。在英语中，“犯罪”和“原罪”有所区别。在汉语中不明显，“罪”包含了这二者。

儒家思想中的良好的道德生活不需要法律。想必对孔子来说法律并不使人变好。他更坚持“耻”的概念。“耻”事关个人，而与遵守成文律法或者对受惩戒的恐惧无关。“导之以政，齐之以德，民免而无耻。导之以德，齐之以礼，有耻且格。”¹⁸⁵

古典儒家的道德至善体系是基于社会生活和人际关系而非由上至下的对个人的惩罚。墨子批判了这个说法，提出了一个更功利的观点，认为上天给予各种制裁以引人们兼爱。¹⁸⁶对孔子来说，在良善道德生活中不需要刑罚。儒家的君子遵循圣贤之礼。社会生活本身，通过“仁”的美德与“耻”的意识，使正人君子对自己的行为从内心感到志得意满或自我鞭策。

孔子认为，当时社会失序并非因为缺少律法，而是缺乏对“仁”的价值与意义的明确教导，而“仁”正是人与人之间的适当关系。

他认为要恢复治平的唯一方法就是使社会生活复礼，这样，为君者就会清楚有道明君应该做的，贵族则知道贵族应该做什么，大臣知道大臣应该做什么，平民也知道平民应该做什么（政者正也，子帅以正，孰敢不正）。孔子称之为“正名”，将之看作“至德”。¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Today's so-called "Attorney client privilege", by which a lawyer might know the truth about his client yet can be legally bound not to disclose it to the society, is inspired by that tradition.

¹⁸⁵ 《论语·为政第二》3.

¹⁸⁶ 冯友兰《中国哲学史》前文引用文献，卷 I，《子学时代》，p.99.

¹⁸⁷ 冯友兰《中国哲学史》前文引用文献，卷 I, p.59.

结论

做一个简单的结论，作为在中国的拉丁语老师，我可以说中国学生每当遇到拉丁语的法律术语时总是感到有一些迷惑。首先困惑于西方对人类行为分类进行精确描述的愿望。其次困惑于罗马人对法律的客观性的强调。最后，他们不解为何在解释罗马法时似乎没有必要明显缺乏真正的人际关系。

拉丁语的复杂而精准的语法没有使之变得更容易理解。

另一方面，在古罗马法律传统中有着深刻的人类智慧。其与儒家传统的差异并非障碍而是一个丰富的渊源。不同传统的相遇总是为人们对生命的意义与最好的为人之道 提供新的洞察。

中国学生在学习拉丁传统中可以收获新的启发，西方学生学习中国的儒家思想也将获益匪浅。

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拉丁语言文化中心大事记（2015-2016）

7 月 2015 -6 月 2016

拉丁语言文化中心举办第五届拉丁语暑期课程

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/132>

2015 年 6 月 22 日至 7 月 4 日，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心（*Latinitas Sinica*）举办第五届拉丁语暑期课程。本年度注册学员数为 200 余人，来自中国大陆的诸多省市以及欧美部分地区。

拉丁语作为整个西方文化的基石，是深入研究欧洲历史、文学、语言、哲学、宗教的必修课程，也是医学、植物学、法学等众学科的基础语言。近年来，东西文化交流日益深入，越来越多的人渴望学习拉丁文，然而现在国内的拉丁文教学资源有限，仅有个别高校和研究机构开设了课程，无法满足拉丁文学习者的需求。为了让更多的人能够学习拉丁文，北京外国语大学拉丁语言文化中心在 2011 年开办了首次拉丁语暑期班，这一传统延续至今。

本年度任课教师包括拉丁语言文化中心主任麦克雷（*Michele Ferrero*）教授、中国社会科学院杜大伟（*Quentin Dauthier*）教授、美国圣本笃军事学校卫欣齐（*Anthony Wesolowski*）教授、德国慕尼黑大学 M.A. 齐文君，中国海外汉学研究中心和拉丁语言文化中心成员罗莹博士、张明明博士以及北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心博士生胡文婷同学。海外汉学研究中心硕士生李先慧同学担任本届拉丁语暑期课程的秘书和助教。

本年度课程设有 2 个初级班、1 个中级班，教学内容主要集中于拉丁文法，同时介绍古罗马和中世纪文化，拉丁历史、诗歌、谚语、文章选读以及拉丁文在当今世界的应用。

学生基本教材是麦克雷教授所著《拉丁语基础教程》（商务印书馆 2014 年版），另配有一些辅助资料，包括字典和网上资料(*online resources*)等。开幕式由北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院副院长陈瑛教授致开幕辞。

作为北京外国语大学服务社会的举措之一，本课程坚持免费对公众开放。其主旨在于希望通过拉丁语这一津梁，促使中国大众更为深入地了解西方语言与文化，并可以此为参照，更为深入地反思中国语言与文化。



拉丁中心 2015 年国际拉丁语暑期班在罗马举办

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/131>

北京外国语大学的 10 名学生以及欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心主任麦克雷教授，在罗马参加了由北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心（*Latinitas Sinica*）和罗马慈幼大学一同举办的第二期暑期拉丁语言与基督教古典文化课程。

本期课程于 2015 年 7 月 6 日至 8 月 1 日在罗马举行，由宗座慈幼大学古典学系与北京外国语大学拉丁语言文化中心合作举办。在开学典礼上，慈幼大学副校长柯福莱（*Coffele*）致欢迎辞。

此次课程共有 30 名学生参加，历时 4 周，其中 27 名学生来自中国，另有三名外国学生分别来自美国、印度和埃塞俄比亚。中国学生都来自著名高校和研究机构：北京外国语大学、中国社科院研究生院、北京理工大学、中国政法大学、北师大高中。

课程任课老师为慈幼大学古典学系主任桑米兰教授（*Miran Sajovic*），北京外国语大学拉丁语言文化中心主任麦克雷教授以及中国社科院研究生院教师杜大伟教授（*David Quentin Dauthier*），助教为慈幼大学古典系的张佩琪小姐（*Constance Cheung*），和师大高中司保红老师。

此外，此次暑期课程邀请了许多客座教师分享他们的专业知识：福思科（*Fusco*）教授（拉丁文学），曼托瓦尼（*Mantovani*）教授（中世纪哲学），帕斯夸莱提（*Pasqualetti*）教授（媒体和通信），布拉祺（*Bracchi*）教授（印欧语系），帕瓦尼托（*Pavanetto*）教授（拉丁语），梁教授（教会历史）。

此次暑期课程不仅包括每天六个小时的教学，还包括游览罗马的名胜古迹，如罗马斗兽场，圣彼得大教堂，卡拉卡拉浴场，西班牙广场，地下墓穴等，还有意大利中部和中世纪小镇阿西西。



拉丁中心麦克雷教授在第二届中国-墨西哥国际学术研讨会上就拉丁语与法律发表演讲

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/477>

“为了解西方法律来源，必须研究拉丁语法律术语。”这是在墨西哥举行的研讨会上得出的关于拉丁语的结论。

9月14日至16日，“从对话到理解”——第二届中国—墨西哥国际学术研讨会在我校举行。研讨会由我校主办，墨西哥国立自治大学、墨西哥国立自治大学-北京外国语学院墨西哥研究中心、我校西葡语系、世界亚洲研究信息中心协办。

本次研讨会主题为“从对话到理解”。研讨会涉及西班牙语教学、文学、历史、文化、经济、法律、中拉关系等多个主题，共分为12场会议。研讨会期间，来自墨西哥国立自治大学、中国人民大学、北京第二外国语学院、首都师范大学、社科院及我校的40余名代表均就不同问题宣读论文，并与参会嘉宾和听众进行交流讨论。

拉丁语言文化中心麦克雷教授参加了第一天第七组的发言，主题为法学。他的演讲题目是“关于一些罗马法律概念的中文翻译”。自古以来，西方国家在其法律制度中纳入了许多古罗马法的元素，西方的法律制度也从未完全打破过古罗马传统。麦老师的发言重点介绍了一些法律拉丁语词汇以及其汉译，他特别指出，由于中西哲学传统不同，一些词的用法在汉语中发生了变化。

我校党委书记韩震、墨西哥驻华大使温立安、墨西哥国立自治大学副校长特里戈出席开幕式并致辞。开幕式由西葡语系主任刘建主持。为深化双方的学术科研合作，扩大教师学生交流的范围，墨西哥国立自治大学将在2016年举办第三届中墨学术研讨会。

<http://news.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/251247>



麦克雷教授在国家图书馆举办拉丁语讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/499>

2015年09月26日，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心麦克雷（Michele Ferrero）教授在国家图书馆古籍馆临琼楼2层参加文津讲坛“中国传统经典的对外翻译与传播”系列讲座之六，并做了题为“拉丁语与汉学传播”的学术报告。

文津讲坛开办十多年来，已成功举办讲座七百多期，得到了读者们的广泛好评。文津讲坛每场讲座到场听众少则一百多人，多则三四百人，听众来自社会各界，文化水平不同，职业也多种多样，但对知识的渴求却不分层次。每一位老师虽研究领域不同、讲课方式不同，却同样给读者带来了知识上的享受。

本期讲坛的主题为“中国传统经典的对外翻译与传播”，旨在介绍中国传统文化通过汉籍翻译、汉学研究走出国门、走向世界的情况。

麦克雷教授指出，千百年来在欧洲大陆广泛流传的有关中国的文献资料大多是由拉丁语记载，1550至1780年，这类拉丁文献的数量达到顶峰。麦教授以拉丁语典籍中“中国”一词的演变为线索，梳理了西方世界从古罗马直到18世纪间与涉及中国的重要拉丁文献。

麦克雷教授认为，在古罗马，人们将中国同丝绸联系在一起，用 *Seres* 一词代指中国或丝绸之路沿线国家。中世纪时，人们称中国为“*Tartaria*”或“*Cathay*”。随着地理大发现与新航路的开辟，欧洲与中国有了更加紧密的联系。有关中国的拉丁文献数量在这一阶段不断增长，内容形式也更加多样，出现了拉丁语的中国区域地图、拉丁语汉语词典等。甚至中国儒家经典也开始被译成拉丁语在欧洲传播。17世纪后，通过来华传教士的进一步推动，大量涉及中国风土人情、典籍制度、汉语教学、科技文化等方面的拉丁语书籍在西方世界出版。

最后，麦克雷教授鼓励在场的听众尝试依据自身专业从不同角度思考以上拉丁语文献，为中西文化交流的蓬勃发展做出努力。听众就自己感兴趣的问题与麦教授进行了交流和讨论。

本次讲座涉及海外汉学、历史学、语言学等学科中的诸多问题，为中外文化交流史的研究提供了崭新的切入视角与详实的文献资料。在两小时的演讲中，麦克雷教授展示了大量拉丁语书籍与手稿的图片，其扎实的文字功底和流利的汉语表达更获得了在场师生的一致钦佩。



拉丁语言文化中心举办“奥古斯丁《忏悔录》”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/857>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2015 年 10 月 19 日周一，系列讲座第一讲“奥古斯丁《忏悔录》历史意义及其中文翻译与出版”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为赵建敏老师。

赵建敏博士，奥古斯丁研究专家，比利时鲁汶大学法律博士，上智编译馆出版社主编，《天主教研究论辑》主编。

讲座包括奥古斯丁生活和历史背景（古罗马历史），古罗马文学重要作品对奥古斯丁的拉丁语影响，《忏悔录》历史意义和《忏悔录》中文翻译与出版四部分。

拉丁中心成员张明明博士主持讲座，中心成员北外拉丁语老师李慧，欧语学院吕妍老师等和校内、外 **50** 位多师生及各界友人参加了讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁中心麦克雷教授在河南安阳参加首届中国国际汉字大会

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/851>

2015年10月20日上午，首届中国国际汉字大会在河南安阳隆重开幕，本次大会由中国人民对外友好协会、北京外国语大学、河南省政府外侨办、安阳市政府、中国文字博物馆、安阳师范学院共同主办。

我校党委书记韩震、中国人民对外友好协会副会长户思社、河南省人民政府副省长张广智、安阳市委书记丁巍以及蒙古国驻华大使馆参赞图穆尔·蒙克杰雷尔在开幕式上致辞；清华大学教授、中国文字博物馆馆长李学勤及德国美国兹大学教授柯彼德在大会上作了主旨发言。

“汉字里的中华文化”国际学术论坛作为大会一项重要议程，在举办当天就吸引了来自国际知名汉学家和各国致力于中外文化交流的专业人士、外国驻华使馆文化使节、海外孔子学院代表、中国文字博物馆《汉字》国际巡展国外方主办机构代表、海外华文教育机构代表、海外知名汉字爱好者以及国内知名学者，他们就“汉字里的中华文化”进行了深入的交流与探讨。印度尼赫鲁大学的海孟德教授、我校拉丁语言文化研究中心的麦克雷教授、韩国庆星大学的河永三教授、我校东西方关系中心主任田辰山教授等在论坛上发言。

麦克雷教授的发言是关于西方来华传教士用拉丁字母转写汉字的历史，他特别强调，传教士们的汉字罗马化方案对今天的汉语拼音方案有影响，对西方人汉语学习以及中西文化交流做出了重要贡献。

这次大会以汉字为载体，以“汉字里的中华文化”为主题，以汉字论坛和汉学家进校园为主线，将历史溯源与当代考察结合、文字研究与文明探讨结合、文化对话与社会互动结合，旨在搭建一个高层次、可持续、具有国际影响力的中外文化对话和文明互鉴平台。



拉丁语言文化中心举办讲座“荷马：故事演唱家”

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/873>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2015 年 10 月 27 日周二晚 **7:00**，系列讲座第二讲“荷马：故事演唱家”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为[美]杜大伟（**David Quentin Dauthier**）老师。

杜大伟老师是中国社会科学院研究生院的英语与西方古典语言专家，精通拉丁语、古希腊语、中古英语等多种古代语言。他也是拉丁中心顾问。讲座主要围绕着“荷马是谁”，“荷马史诗如何被创作出来”，“荷马诗歌的韵律如何”三个问题展开。这些问题是荷马研究中的热点和难题，而杜老师通过对这些问题深入浅出的讲解，生动地展示了荷马史诗及荷马研究的魅力。整个会场座无虚席，掌声不断。

拉丁中心成员李慧老师主持讲座，来自北大的康士林教授，穆启乐教授，人大的 **Pickus** 教授，以及校内、外近 **100** 多位师生参加了讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁语言文化中心举办讲座“色诺芬：哲人与修辞家”

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/909>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于2015-2016 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2015 年 11 月 4 日周三晚 6:00，系列讲座第三讲“色诺芬：哲人与修辞家”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为中国人民大学文学院古典文明研究中心的彭磊老师。彭磊老师，中山大学哲学系宗教学专业博士，自 2009 年起在中国人民大学文学院从事教学与研究，主要研究领域为古希腊哲学和莎士比亚戏剧。他的编著有《叙拉古的雅典异乡人：柏拉图〈书简七〉探幽》（2010），《莎士比亚戏剧与政治哲学》（2011）等。

在讲座中，彭老师首先介绍了色诺芬的生平和著作，由此引出古今对色诺芬评价不一的问题：古代学者对色诺芬评价甚高，而近现代哲学家却忽视甚至贬低色诺芬作品的价值。彭老师分析了该现象的原因，并且通过从哲学和修辞学的角度来举例分析色诺芬作品中关于苏格拉底的文段，展示了色诺芬作品结构之精妙和思想之深邃。

拉丁中心成员张明明主持讲座，拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师，拉丁语教研室李慧老师，以及校内、外近 40 多位师生参加了讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁语言文化中心举办“中世纪拉丁和教会法文献”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/921>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于2015-2016 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2015 年 11 月 19 日周四晚 6:00，系列讲座第四讲“中世纪拉丁和教会法文献”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为北京大学彭小瑜教授。

彭小瑜，北京大学历史系学士、硕士，美国天主教大学博士，现任北京大学历史学系教授。主要研究方向为教会史、教会法、美国天主教思想和历史。著有《教会法研究：历史与理论》（商务印书馆，2003 年）、《基督教与近代西方民族国家》（江西人民出版社，2011 年）等。

彭教授的讲座内容以中世纪拉丁语的重要性开篇，驳斥了“中世纪不如古典”这个观点。之后介绍了十二世纪意大利修道士约翰·格拉蒂安（Gratianus）所编纂的《格拉蒂安教令集》

（又称《教会法汇要》，该作品吸收了前人的成果，又在编纂方法和体例上进行了革新，是教会法历史上的转折点。最后，彭教授以教会婚姻法问题为例，介绍了教会法的运行机制。拉丁中心成员张明明博士主持。拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师，拉丁中心成员北外拉丁语老师李慧以及 50 位校内、外师生参加讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



“拉丁歌在中国”第四届拉丁歌会

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/924>

更新于 2015-11-26

2015 年 11 月 22 日，北京外国语大学欧语学院拉丁语言文化中心（*Latinitas Sinica*）组织举办了“拉丁歌在中国（*Cantores Sinenses*）——第四届拉丁歌会”，吸引了大量中外拉丁语爱好者。

北外欧语学院院长赵刚教授和社会科学院研究生院拉丁语专家杜大伟（*David Quentin Dauthier*）教授为本次歌会致开幕辞。

得益于拉丁中心主任麦克雷（*Michele Ferrero*）教授的精心筹备以及演出者的热情与才华，本次歌会为公众奉献了丰富而精彩的节目。节目包括：

北外拉丁诗社 **Phoebe Chorus:**

Ad Lesbiam. Catulli Carmen V.; Ad Fratrem mortuum. Catulli Carmen CI.; Ad Leuconoem. Horatii Carmen I, 11

北外欧院合唱团：

Est Europa nunc unita, Gaudeamus

北京文艺复兴小型合唱组 **Beijing Renaissance Ensemble:**

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina(c.1525-1594)Missa Papae Marcelli: Kyrie, Gloria

圣乐联盟歌咏团：

Gregorian Chant: Asperges me ; Tomás Luis de Victoria: Ave Maria; Pie Jesu

Carpe Diem 北京师范大学附中

Noster Gallus est Mortuus, Tu es Sol Meus.

北京青年拉丁合唱团：

Dona nobis Pacem; Tantum ergo

北京南堂国际合唱团：

O bone Iesu miserere nobis; O Jesu vita mea; O Salutaris Hostia; Pie Iesu

中央音乐学院学生祝君灿、雷可帆：

Panis Angelicus

在每一首歌之后还设有游戏环节，答对问题的观众还获得了拉丁中心准备的精美奖品。

歌会最后，李慧老师致辞，对所有参加者的精彩表演以及参与本次歌会组织工作的各位朋友表达了谢意，与大家相约来年第四届拉丁歌会再度欢聚。不少外国老师和其他学校的师生也观摩了本次歌会。



拉丁中心帶學生參觀利瑪竇等傳教士墓地

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/930>

2015年11月12日和2016年5月28日，兩次，拉丁語班部分研究生、本科生以及中國海外漢學中心學生在拉丁中心外籍專家麥克雷（Michele Ferrero）教授和沈昌瑞先生的帶領下參觀了位於北京黨校內的利瑪竇及明清以來外國傳教士墓地。

墓地現位於北京市委黨校內，名為“柵欄墓地”。據史料記載，當時為了建造仁恩寺，楊姓太監共花費了四萬只金條，但仍然沒能阻止官府沒收這塊土地。沒收後的柵欄別墅被稱作“柵欄官地”。自明神宗特別降旨將柵欄官地賜予利瑪竇作為墓地後，柵欄官地改名“柵欄墓地”。除了著名的利瑪竇、湯若望、南懷仁等傳教士外，還有60余名其他傳教士的墓碑坐落在此處。

“柵欄墓地”專家沈昌瑞老師熱情詳盡地介紹了墓地的歷史和現狀。麥老師還為大家講解了墓碑上的符號以及碑上拉丁文的含義。

利瑪竇墓碑上拉丁文如下：

**“D.O.M. MATTHAEUS RICCI, ITALUS MACERATENSIS. SOC. IESU PROFESS IN
QUA VIXIT ANNOS XLII, EXPENSIS XXVIII IN SACRA APUD SINAS EXPEDITIONE,
UBI PRIM.CUM CHRI FIDES TERTIO IAM INVEHERETUR SOCIORUM DOMICILIA
EREXIT TANDEM DOCTRINAE ET VIRTUTIS FAMA CELEBER OBIT PEKINI
A.C.MDCX. DIE XI. MAII AET. SUAE LIX”**

中文：

利先生，諱瑪竇，號西泰，大西洋意大里亞國人。自幼入會真修，明萬曆壬午年航海首入中華行教。萬曆庚子年來都，萬曆庚戌年卒，在世五十九年，在會四十二年。



拉丁语言文化中心举办“维吉尔的秘密”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/935>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2015 年 12 月 2 日周三晚**6:00**，系列讲座第五讲“维吉尔的秘密”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为北外老师，拉丁中心主任麦克雷教授。

麦克雷教授，意大利汉学家，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院客座教授、拉丁语言文化中心（*Latinitas Sinica*）主任，**1994** 意大利都灵国家大学拉丁语和希腊语博士，**2003** 台湾辅仁大学神学博士。曾在台湾、上海、耶路撒冷等地从事教学与研究工作。研究领域包括传教士研究、汉学史、中西比较文化等。主要著作：《汉学中的精神》（*Spiritual Sinology*）、《利玛窦〈天主实义〉中的德性教化》（*The Cultivation of Virtue in Matteo Ricci's The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*）、《拉丁语基础教程》等。

麦老师的讲座分两部分，第一部分介绍维吉尔的生平和时代，并概括他著作影响深远的“秘密”，即他的史诗故事的趣味性、拉丁语言的优美性、思想内涵的深刻性和普世性。第二部分以大量的幻灯片和图片详细介绍史诗《埃涅阿斯纪》故事情节，包括特洛伊王子埃涅阿斯如何逃脱特洛伊城，如何历险抵达意大利以及在拉提姆地区建立国家的过程。

拉丁中心成员张明明博士主持。拉丁中心成员北外拉丁语老师李慧以及**60**位校、内师生参加讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等 诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



意大利维真古典学院校长访问我校

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/997>

3月23日下午，意大利维真古典学院校长路易吉·米拉利亚（Luigi Miraglia）访问我校，副校长闫国华会见了路易吉·米拉利亚一行。



闫国华介绍了我校在人才培养、教学科研、国际交流、社会服务等方面的情况，他表示，北外目前开设72种外国语言，并计划开设所有与中国建交国家的官方语言，开设语种将达到100种。北外希望在拉丁语教学和研究方面与意大利维真古典学院开展深入合作。

路易吉·米拉利亚表示，维真古典学院已经和世界上100多所大学建立合作关系，希望双方从学生交换走出合作的第一步。维真学院将给北外教师和学生提供前往意大利学习拉丁语、古希腊语以及古典文化的机会，并提供奖学金。

意大利维真古典学院是专门从事拉丁语、古希腊语、西方古典哲学、历史、文学等学科的教学和科研机构，是世界上唯一一所拉丁语、古希腊语为教学、科研和日常交流用语的学校。创始人及校长米拉利亚博士是知名的拉丁语文学家、教育家。学院致力于推广人文主义教育理念以及独特、高效的古典语言教学法。

欧洲语言与文化学院副院长董希骁、欧洲语言与文化学院拉丁语教研室主任李慧等参加了会见。

（国际处 杜书灵）

拉丁语言文化中心举办“柏拉图和精神性的爱”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1013>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于2015-2016 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2016 年 3 月 18 日周五 2:00，系列讲座第六讲“柏拉图和精神性的爱”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为人民大学雷立柏教授。

雷立柏, Leopold Leeb, 1967 年生于奥地利，1995 年来中国大陆，1999 年获得北京大学哲学系博士学位，2004 年以来任中国人民大学文学院教授，所教授的课包括：“拉丁语基础”，“古希腊语基础”，“拉丁语文学史”，“古希腊文学史”，“欧洲中世纪文学史”；中文著作四十多种，包括《张衡、科学与宗教》、《古希腊罗马与基督宗教》、《基督宗教知识辞典》等。

讲座内容分两部分：第一部分介绍柏拉图其人，所处时代以及他对西方文化的影响。雷教授特别介绍了柏拉图的学校：柏拉图约公元前 387 年结束旅行返回雅典，并在雅典城外西北角创立了自己的学校—即著名的柏拉图学院，这所学院成为西方文明最早的有完整组织的高等学府之一，后世的高等学术机构也因此而得名。第二部分是关于柏拉图和精神性的爱，对于柏拉图来说，爱是什么，爱的种类，爱从何而来，雷教授总结道，柏拉图的爱就是对美好事物的喜爱，一种追寻完美的体验，能够为精神带来满足，我们每个人都应去追求这种精神圆满境界。之后，雷教授回答了在座同学的问题。

拉丁中心成员张明明博士主持。拉丁中心成员北外拉丁语老师李慧以及 60 位校、内师生参加讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁语言文化中心举办

“大学与修院之间：托马斯·阿奎那”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1023>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2016 年 3 月 29 日周二 6:00，系列讲座第七讲“大学与修院之间：托马斯·阿奎那”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为北京大学历史系博士研究生惠慧。

讲座分三部分。第一：托马斯·阿奎那的生活和时代。托马斯·阿奎纳（Thomas Aquinas，约 1225 年—1274 年）是中世纪经院哲学的哲学家和神学家。他是自然神学最早的提倡者之一。天主教教会认为他是历史上最伟大的神学家。他是西欧封建社会基督教神学和神权政治理论的最高权威，经院哲学的集大成者。他所建立的系统的、完整的神学体系对基督教神学的发展具有重要的影响，他本人被基督教会奉为圣人。

第二：托马斯·阿奎那的神学大全。托马斯的神学和哲学思想，集中概括在他的主要著作《神学大全》中。这部标志托马斯主义的著作分为三部分，包括 38 篇论文，631 个问题，3000 个条目和 10000 个异论，是一部中世纪经院哲学的百科全书。第三：托马斯·阿奎那的影响：他也是托马斯哲学学派的创立者，成为天主教长期以来研究哲学的重要根据。许多现代的伦理学家，包括天主教徒或非天主教徒在内，开始主张阿奎纳的美德伦理概念可能可以用作取代康德的功利主义学派。

拉丁中心成欧洲语言与文化学院拉丁语教研室主任李慧主持。拉丁中心主任麦克雷，60 位校、内师生参加讲座。本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁语言文化中心举办

“大卫，古代伟大国王的悲惨生活和它对今天的意义”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1032>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2016 年 4 月 12 日周二 6:00，系列讲座第八讲“大卫，古代伟大的国王悲惨生活和它对今天的意义”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人中国人民大学大卫·皮卡斯（David Pickus）副教授。

大卫·皮卡斯（David Pickus）美籍历史学家、犹太学家，副教授，自**2013**年在中国人民大学历史系任教。**1999**至**2013**曾任教于美国亚利桑那州立大学。

以色列国王大卫的故事被诸多文学、艺术作品不断传颂和演绎，但是这个故事是否真实可信，作者的写作意图是什么？没有任何其他文献能够进行说明和佐证。虽然如此，但是故事本身给我们传达了十分丰富的信息。首先，大卫的故事不是一个王的故事，而是四个王的故事，是古代犹太人对“我们需要什么样的领导”这一问题的探索。其次，大卫王的成功和失败说明，他并不是一个完美的偶像，而是一个既有优点又有缺点的复杂形象，他的形象的复杂性正是人性复杂性的写照。

皮卡斯老师的演讲十分生动、富有激情、深入浅出、引人入胜，受到在场听众的广泛好评。拉丁中心成员北外拉丁语教研室主任李慧老师主持讲座。拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师以及**40**位校内、外师生参加了讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。

拉丁语言文化中心举办

“话语的力量——西塞罗与修辞学”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1037>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于**2015-2016** 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2016 年 4 月 26 日周二 6:00，系列讲座第九讲“话语的力量——西塞罗与修辞学”在北京外国语大学图书馆三层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语教研室主任、拉丁中心成员李慧博士。

李慧老师毕业于罗马慈幼宗座大学基督教与古典文学专业。她的讲座分三部分，首先，她对西塞罗的生平和著作进行了梳理，然后就西方古典修辞学在古希腊、古罗马的发展以及西塞罗对修辞学的贡献进行了简要介绍，最后，她以西塞罗的著名演说词《反喀提林》为例，分析修辞学的具体应用，展示了拉丁语言的魅力。李慧老师强调，修辞学是解读西方文献的钥匙，无论是研究古代还是现代文献，都应给予足够的重视。李慧老师的演讲富有激情、深入浅出，受到在场听众的好评。

拉丁中心成员张明明主持。欧语学院院长赵刚教授，拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师以及 **40** 位校、内师生参加讲座。

本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座设有奥古斯丁，荷马，色诺芬，维吉尔，柏拉图，西塞罗，托马斯·阿奎那，塔西佗等诸讲。欢迎本校师生和语言爱好者参加。具体时间地点可关注拉丁语言文化中心网站通知、海报及麦克雷教授微博。



拉丁语言文化中心举办欧盟使馆开放日音乐表演

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1041>

2016年5月6日是欧盟驻华代表团使馆开放日，拉丁语言文化中心和北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院在欧盟驻北京代表处组织了一场欧盟盟歌表演。拉丁语言文化中心主任麦克雷老师带领北京外国语大学古典音乐协会的同学参与了此次活动。

上午9点，在麦老师的带领下，北京外国语大学古典音乐协会室内乐团同学来到了欧盟大使馆，作为受邀表演嘉宾演奏欧盟盟歌，同学们精彩的演出引起在场听众的热烈反响。之后，同学们还作为中国大学生代表与来自欧洲的大学生共同参与使馆组织的国际热点问题探讨。欧阳玉红积极参与了环境问题的讨论，周云岭、何润哲和陈心如也分别参与了关于就业问题、社会归属问题和教育问题的探讨，发表了精彩的陈述。

（赵桐编辑）



拉丁语言文化中心举办

“重建历史？塔西佗与罗马帝国时期的历史写作”讲座

<https://europe.bfsu.edu.cn/archives/1044>

北京外国语大学是我国讲授世界语种最多的高等学府，也是我国从事外国研究的重镇。在从事语言的实用型教学之外，有系统地引导广大师生关注古代语言和古典文化，不仅可加深其对现代语言的了解，也可推动其对所研习的文明体系的认知。有鉴于此，北京外国语大学欧洲语言文化学院拉丁语言文化中心与国内外从事古代文学研究的重要学者合作，特于2015-2016 学年举办“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座。

2016 年 5 月 12 日周四下午六点，系列讲座第十讲“重建历史？塔西佗与罗马帝国时期的历史写作”在北京外国语大学图书馆四层学术会议厅开讲，主讲人为北京大学历史系范韦理克（Hendrikus van Wijlick）副教授。范韦理老师来自荷兰，英国杜伦大学古典学博士毕业，主要研究领域是罗马共和国末期和帝国初期历史及古罗马与近东古代国家关系。

古罗马的历史学家普布里乌斯·克奈里乌斯·塔西佗（Publius Cornelius Tacitus，约公元 55～120）继承并发展了 Livius 和 Sallustius 的史学方法，在罗马史学上的地位可对比修昔底德在希腊史学上的地位。范老师的讲座首先介绍了塔西佗的生平和主要著作，然后以《编年史》为例，说明塔西佗的历史叙述并非完全客观公允，而是隐藏了他的个人观点，最后总结了塔西佗历史著作的重视细节、文献来源丰富等特点。

讲座之后，一位同学就“塔西佗陷阱”（Tacitus Trap）的含义和背景进行提问，拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师就塔西佗为什么要写历史著作进行提问。

拉丁中心成员北外拉丁语教研室主任李慧老师主持。拉丁中心主任麦克雷老师，社会科学院拉丁语老师杜大伟，以及 40 位校、内师生参加讲座。

本次讲座是本学年“西方古代经典对西方语言、文学和思想的影响暨它们在中国的翻译与传播”系列讲座的最后一讲，讲座结束时，麦老师致结束语，感谢各界师生的参与和支持，邀请大家继续关注下一系列讲座。



一些拉丁班 2015-16



