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Preface

This is a volume about the use of French in European language communities outside France. It surveys a dozen such communities. Its main focus is on the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the nineteenth, although it also touches at certain points upon earlier and later periods. Each chapter aims both to provide a *tour d'horizon* of the use of French in a given community and to illustrate the phenomenon by means of a more detailed description and appraisal of certain aspects of it.¹

The volume is conceived primarily as a contribution to the field of historical sociolinguistics. Contributors therefore explore such matters as the use of French as a prestige language and lingua franca, bilingualism and multilingualism, language choice, code-switching, variations in usage depending on class or gender, language attitudes and language education. However, it also attempts to bring the approaches and preoccupations of other disciplines (for example, social, cultural, intellectual and political history and the history of education, the book and the press) to bear upon the study of language in historical situations. Its socio-historical and socio-cultural subject-matter includes the association of language variety with the court, the nobility or some other social milieu or group, the function of French as a vehicle for the transmission of foreign cultures and the role of language in the formation of identity of various kinds, national, social and personal.

The material in the volume arises mainly out of a series of seminars on francophonie across Europe which was organized in the University of Bristol during the calendar year 2012. (The term 'francophonie' is discussed in our introductory chapter.) This seminar series was one element of a project based

1 Chapter 4 has been translated by Derek Offord from Italian, with generous help from Judith Bryce and Mair Parry of the University of Bristol. Chapters 5–7 and 9–12 have been translated, also by Derek Offord, from original French versions, in consultation with Vladislav Rjéoutksi and Gesine Argent.

in Bristol on 'The History of the French Language in Russia' and it was originally conceived as a means of providing an important pan-European context for the study of French in a single language community. Details of the series and recordings of all but one of the seminar papers, together with information on the Bristol project as a whole, may be found on the project website at <<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/french-in-russia>>. In order to provide slightly fuller treatment of the subject, we have supplemented the material yielded by these seminars with two chapters commissioned from scholars who did not contribute to the series (Chapters 9 and 11). However, we are of course aware that even a survey of francophonie in a dozen communities provides only a partial picture of the phenomenon and that many other communities might also be usefully examined (Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Portugal are but a few examples), if space allowed.

In addition to the twelve chapters in the volume on individual language communities, we offer two introductory chapters. The first of these (by the co-editors of the volume) is designed to define the parameters of the subject and ground our treatment of it in linguistic scholarship. The second (by Peter Burke, one of the pioneering students of the social and cultural history of language use) broaches the subject of diglossia in early modern Europe. This latter chapter derives from a keynote lecture delivered by Professor Burke at an international conference held in the University of Bristol in September 2012. In our concluding chapter, finally, we set out some cautious generalizations about the evolution of French as a social and cultural phenomenon in the period with which we are concerned.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) of the UK, which fully funds our project on 'The History of the French Language in Russia'. We also warmly thank Nils Langer of the University of Bristol and Wim Vandenbussche of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel for their suggestions and encouragement over the years during which the project has been unfolding and Laurel Plapp of Peter Lang for her editorial oversight and advice while this volume has been in preparation.

Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent, Derek Offord
Bristol, November 2013

I European Francophonie and a Framework for Its Study

From the late seventeenth century to around the mid-nineteenth century the French language served within Europe as an international *lingua franca*, as Latin had in the Renaissance and as English serves, on a global scale and across a wider social range, in the modern world. From the age of Louis XIV, whose personal rule began in 1661 and who died in 1715, French became the European language of diplomacy, aristocratic society, science, learning and literature. (We use the word ‘literature’ here as it will frequently be used in this volume, in the broad sense of ‘letters’.) French was spoken at the courts of enlightened monarchs of cosmopolitan outlook, such as Frederick II of Prussia (reigned 1740–86), Catherine the Great of Russia (1762–96), Joseph II of Austria (Holy Roman Emperor, 1765–90) and Gustav III of Sweden (1771–92). Its spread was assured by the importance, in its time, of the body of letters written in it. This corpus included both the influential neo-classical artistic models provided in the late seventeenth century by Boileau, Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère and others and the social, political, moral and philosophical works produced in the eighteenth century by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, d’Alembert and other *encyclopédistes* [Encyclopaedists] and representatives of the Enlightenment. The French language was also carried abroad (for instance, to England, parts of Germany, the Netherlands and Russia) by refugees from the France of the Sun King, that is to say by Huguenots fleeing from religious persecution after Louis’s revocation, in 1685, of the Edict of Nantes, which had previously afforded protection to these Protestants. The spread of French in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe was further assisted by the development of a discourse originating

in France and accepted elsewhere about its supposed universality and by assumptions about the qualities that it displayed, at least when writers and speakers observed *bon usage* [correct usage], as prescribed by Vaugelas in his *Remarques sur la langue française* [*Remarks on the French Language*] (1647). Long ago, Ferdinand Brunot charted this spread of French and described the functions of the language and its glorification in his monumental *Histoire de la langue française* [*History of the French Language*]. More recently, Marc Fumaroli has paid nostalgic tribute to the French language and the cultural achievement associated with it under the *ancien régime* in his book *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (translated into English in 2009, with insensitive Eurocentrism, as *When the World Spoke French*).

The purpose of this volume on European francophonie (we shall define the term shortly) is to provide a fresh, broad survey of the adoption of French by royal courts and/or certain elites, the effects of this development and reactions to it. Our survey has a broad geographical sweep, dealing with the history of French in a dozen countries or regions across Europe. After a chapter of a general nature by Peter Burke on the phenomenon of diglossia in Europe as a whole, Ad Putter and Marianne Ailes offer an account of the use of French in medieval England. (In a number of respects the history of Anglo-Norman prefigures the history of French in other countries in the later period with which this book is primarily concerned.) Alda Rossebastiano, Nadia Minerva, Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau, Manuela Böhm and Ivo Cerman then proceed to examine the history of the use of French in Piedmont, Italy more generally, the Netherlands, Prussia and Bohemia respectively. Next, we turn to countries or regions nearer to Europe's geographical periphery, with chapters by Amelia Sanz, Begoña Regueiro, Luis Pablo and Silviano Carrasco on Spain, Maciej Serwański and Katarzyna Napierała on Poland, Margareta Östman on Sweden and Ileana Mihaila on the Romanian Lands. In the penultimate chapter Derek Offord considers Russia, which was often perceived as standing on Europe's eastern cultural margin as well as on its geographical edge. Finally, Laurent Mignon discusses the use of French in Turkey, which, like Russia, straddles Europe and Asia and which could be imagined as a cultural borderland or – unlike Russia – as part of the orient.

The chronological span of the twelve chapters that deal with specific countries or regions is also very wide, stretching (if we leave aside the chapter on medieval England) from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth. The focus varies from chapter to chapter, since French was adopted and had its heyday at different times in different countries. The eighteenth century is of particular importance in many chapters because it was then that the cultural and linguistic effects of the dispersal of the francophone Huguenots and of the Age of Enlightenment, in which French writers had played a leading role, were most widely and strongly felt. Moreover, francophonie is associated with the courts of eighteenth-century monarchs who aspired to be regarded as enlightened and with the European aristocracies that flourished in that century and for some time after the French Revolution, up until at least the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth French was also spread by Napoleon's conquering armies and by French occupation of foreign lands. Then, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Romantic counter-current to the Enlightenment and the rise of nationalism affected language attitudes, sharpened consciousness of vernacular varieties and generated resistance to the predominance of French. At the same time, the position of the nobility, the social stratum which had most valued French as a prestige language, began to be weakened in many European countries by economic, social and political change in the industrial age, and francophonie accordingly took on different connotations. Nonetheless, French continued in the mid-nineteenth century, even after the value of French as cultural capital had begun to decline, to serve as the vehicle for influential ideas and culture, expressed in new works of political thought and imaginative literature, which spread to nations undergoing modernization.

Before exploring the history of French across Europe and over this time span, though, we need to offer some working definitions and consider some of the claims made about the French language in the period during which it enjoyed such prestige. We need also to survey the literature written to date on the subject and indicate what help existing scholarship in the relatively new discipline of historical sociolinguistics can afford us in our investigation. We therefore set ourselves the following aims in this introductory chapter. First,

we shall define the concept of francophonie and reflect on the relationship between what we call ‘modern francophonie’ (a phenomenon beginning, strictly speaking, in the second half of the twentieth century) and ‘European’ or ‘historical francophonie’ (by which we mean a phenomenon beginning in the seventeenth century that was prevalent throughout Europe).¹ Second, we shall dwell on the notion of French as a ‘universal’ language, which became firmly established in the period of historical francophonie and to some extent foreshadowed the notions of French as a language of ‘civilization’ in the first half of the twentieth century and of modern francophonie in the later twentieth century. Third, we shall outline the work that has already been done by scholars on the phenomenon of historical francophonie, both in Europe as a whole and in particular European speech communities. We shall also refer to modern sociolinguistic literature on matters relevant to our enquiry, such as language spread and bilingualism; this literature, of course, was not available to early students of our subject such as Brunot. Finally, we shall elaborate on the capacity of historical sociolinguistic scholarship to augment the limited amount of research already carried out on the use of French as a prestige language.

‘Modern francophonie’ and ‘European’ or ‘historical francophonie’

The term ‘francophonie’ is problematic in at least two ways. First, it is used in a number of meanings. Although an online Larousse dictionary gives only one meaning (‘group of countries which have in common the total or partial use of the French language’),² it is used in other senses as well.

- 1 Note that we do not use the term ‘European francophonie’ to refer to European speech communities that are francophone today, such as Belgium or Switzerland.
- 2 <<http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/francophonie/35065>> (accessed on 01.11.2013).

It may be defined, according to Dennis Ager, for example, ‘in three ways: by the use of the French language; by membership of a formal, organized community of nations; or by the acceptance and promotion of a set of values and beliefs.’³ Second, the term may nowadays be applied retrospectively. Although it was coined as far back as 1880 by the French geographer Onésime Reclus, as a means of classifying the peoples of the world by the language they spoke,⁴ it did not come into common use until the 1960s, after it had appeared in a ground-breaking publication in the journal *Esprit* [*Mind*].⁵ Nonetheless, contemporary scholars may also speak of a ‘first francophonie’⁶ which developed before the 1960s, during the Third Republic (1870–1940), when the political, economic and cultural influence of France as a colonial power was still growing, especially in northern and western Africa and south-east Asia. The term has also come in recent times to be used by scholars to denote the spread of French within Europe from the seventeenth century, that is to say before the development of the French colonial empire beyond Europe, and we ourselves shall use it in this sense.

Before explaining the use of the term ‘francophonie’ in the period to which it may most uncontroversially be applied, the period from the 1960s

- 3 Dennis Ager in his foreword in *‘Francophonie’ in the 1990s: Problems and Opportunities* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996). The term ‘francophonie’ is now often used with a capital ‘F’ in what is roughly the second meaning defined by Ager, the creation of a formal community supported by institutions such as those we mention below, while francophonie with a lower case ‘f’ is used to mean all people who use French: see Thang Phan and Michel Guillou, *Francophonie et mondialisation. Histoire et institutions des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Belin, 2011), 14–17.
- 4 In his work *France, Algérie et colonies* (Paris: Hachette, 1880). As recent scholarship has shown, the term was coined by Reclus not in order to develop an intercultural dialogue (the aim of theoreticians of modern francophonie, as we shall see) but to sustain French republican colonialism in Africa. The imposition of French, the ‘language of civilization’, and of republican ideals, Reclus hoped, would help France to resist the rise of more powerful languages and cultures, especially the English language and British culture and German language and culture after the German victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. See Luc Pinhas, ‘Aux origines du discours francophone’, *Communication et langues* 140 (2004), 69–82.
- 5 ‘Le français langue vivante’, *Esprit*, November 1962.
- 6 Phan and Guillou, *Francophonie et mondialisation* 13.

on, we shall briefly pause on the attitude towards the French language that developed during the earlier colonial period in the twentieth century, because that attitude is foreshadowed, we shall argue, by language attitudes that developed as far back as the seventeenth century, early in the period with which this book is concerned. That is to say, linguists writing around the time of the First World War regarded French as intrinsically superior to other languages, or most other languages. Thus Joseph Vendryes claimed that modern languages like French and English (which it had become impossible after the First World War to leave out of the list of supposed languages of civilization) possess ‘extreme flexibility’ and ‘facility’ and that French in particular is ‘exact’ and ‘clear’. In a similar spirit, Antoine Meillet saw a hierarchy of languages with French at the top. ‘There is no common measure’, he confidently asserted, ‘between the intellectual and social value of the French language and those of the Breton and Basque languages’. The notion that French enjoyed an advantage over other languages by virtue of its supposed precision, clarity, elegance and beauty was propagated in the media and school textbooks.⁷ French was conceived as a prime example of a ‘language of civilization’. The use of such languages was considered one of the most efficient means of fighting ignorance and poverty, because they supposedly gave access to civilization itself. (‘Civilization’ is to be understood here as western civilization; consequently, the notion of the language of civilization, it has been argued, served implicitly to maintain the colonial system.⁸) While the national languages of developing countries were considered ‘language prisons’ for their speakers,⁹ and use of them in

7 This information about the views of Vendryes and Meillet and about the media and textbooks is taken from Javier Suso López and Eugenia Fernández Fraile, ‘Aux origines de la francophonie: la notion de “langue de civilisation”’, in *L’Emergence du domaine et du monde francophones, Documents SIHFLES* 40–1 (2008), 38, 39, 35. It should be said, though, that Meillet did not believe that the status of a language depended on the cultural level of the people who spoke it.

8 Jean-Yves Mollier, ‘Introduction’, in *L’Emergence du domaine et du monde francophones*, 19.

9 This image, used by Meillet, was later borrowed by the French Minister of Education, André Marie, in an official publication, *Le Français élémentaire* (Paris: Publication

education was accordingly prohibited,¹⁰ French was presented as a medium through which culture, equality and justice could be transmitted.

However, after the Second World War, or more particularly after the disintegration of the French colonial empire in the 1950s and 1960s, the notion of 'language of civilization' was abandoned because its overtly colonialist overtones were now unacceptable. It was replaced by the notions of the 'language of culture' and 'French language and civilization.' No longer was French seen as a vehicle for the imposition of values on impoverished peoples who were supposed to be backward; rather it was a means of transmitting French culture and the French way of life without claiming that economic and social problems could be overcome by this means. This sort of change in the way in which a language is viewed in fact betrays a common strategy. When it is no longer acceptable to claim authority through political coercion, it has been argued, language communities frequently utilize discourses of precious cultural heritage, diversity and open harmonious communication in an attempt to retain their power.¹¹ Institutions were now created whose function it was to support a kind of 'French Commonwealth', and it was in this connection that the modern conception of francophonie, sometimes referred to as 'second francophonie', came into being in the 1960s. These bodies and associations, some of them governmental or intergovernmental, included CREDIF¹² and BEL¹³ (both of which were founded in 1959), ACCT¹⁴ (founded in 1970; it became

de l'Éducation nationale, 1955): see López and Fernández Fraile, 'Aux origines de la francophonie', 43.

10 *Journal Officiel*, 10 May 1924: see Henri-Marcel Bot Ba Njock, *Le rôle des langues dans le développement de l'éducation et de la vie sociale et économique* (UNESCO working document, 1985), 2.

11 Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller, *Discourses of Endangerment: Ideology and Interest in the Defence of Languages* (London: Continuum, 2007), 6.

12 Centre de recherche et d'études pour la diffusion du français [Research and Study Centre for the Spread of French].

13 Bureau d'étude et de liaison pour l'enseignement du français dans le monde [Study and Liaison Office for the Teaching of French in the World].

14 Agence de coopération culturelle et technique [Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation].

the Intergovernmental Francophonie Agency¹⁵ in 1995 and in 2005 was officially renamed the OIF¹⁶), the Association of Partly or Wholly French Language Universities (founded as early as 1961), the International French Language Council, the International Association of French Language Parliamentarians,¹⁷ WorldTV5 and The Senghor University of Alexandria. Since 2002, when a meeting of the OIF took place in Beirut, a ‘third francophonie’ has emerged: the colonial and postcolonial understandings of francophonie have been abandoned in favour of the aspiration to create, in the words of Thang Phan and Michel Guillou, ‘world-wide units of exchange and inter-cultural dialogue’ which are more forward-looking and attuned to life in the globalized world.¹⁸

Studies of the francophonie that emerged in the 1960s have generally omitted to investigate the ascendancy and hegemony of French as an international cultural language in Europe in the period with which this book is primarily concerned, as if this previous development had nothing in common with what we are calling ‘modern francophonie’.¹⁹ Such studies also greatly outnumber those on the spread of French in the earlier period. A recent bibliography of works on francophonie written over the

15 Agence intergouvernementale de la francophonie.

16 Organisation internationale de la Francophonie [International Francophonie Organization]. The OIF works with some other organizations such as the AUF (Agence universitaire de la francophonie [Universities Francophonie Agency]). See the website of the OIF at <<http://www.francophonie.org>> (accessed on 26.10.2013).

17 Association des universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française (AUP ELF), Conseil international de la langue française and Association internationale des parlementaires de langue française respectively.

18 Phan and Guillou, *Francophonie et mondialisation*, 15. Since its meeting in Montreux in 2010, the OIF has had fifty-three member states, three associated states and nineteen states with observer status.

19 See, e.g., Xavier Deniau, *La Francophonie* (Paris: PUF, 1983 [in the series ‘Que sais-je?’]), where only two pages (46–7) out of about 130 are devoted to European francophonie. Similarly, in a two-volume history of the French language by Jean-Pol Caput, *La langue française. Histoire d’une institution* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1972, 1975), there are no more than thirty pages on this subject out of a total of about 600 and these are based mainly on the findings of Brunot (see n. 38 below).

period 1980–2005 clearly reveals the imbalance between the two fields of research: in a section arranged by geographical location, the part relating to Europe, in which French spread in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, runs to twenty pages out of some 140, and those twenty include research on France and on Belgium and Switzerland, where French is spoken by many people as a mother tongue.²⁰ Nor has study of the earlier period enjoyed such large-scale, institutional support as study of modern francophonie, which touches upon political, cultural and economic relations between twentieth- and twenty-first-century France and its former colonies and, more broadly, relations among all French-speaking areas of the modern world.

And yet, the view of the French language that flourished in the colonial period and has to some extent underpinned modern attempts to bring about a political, cultural and economic rapprochement of French-speaking countries in fact has much in common with views of French and French culture that were formulated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the popularity of French in Europe was reaching its height.²¹ Factors similar to those invoked by Ager in the definition of modern francophonie cited at the beginning of this section may apply to the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century world as well, entitling us to think of a historical form of francophonie that preceded the modern phenomenon. For one thing, the French language was indeed used internationally in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Again, its use did imply acceptance or promotion of a set of values. Even the second factor mentioned by Ager, membership of a formal, organized community of nations, may be applicable to some degree, inasmuch as the French language was a tool with which ruling classes could

20 Jürgen Erfurt and Maria Amelina, *La francophonie. Bibliographie analytique de la recherche internationale 1980–2005* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011).

21 Gabrielle Parker shows that widespread francophonie and ideas about the universality of French are linked in similar ways in the historical period we examine, on the one hand, and the period of modern francophonie, on the other, in her chapter “Francophonie” and “universalité”: evolution of two notions conjoined, in D. Murphy and C. Forsdick, eds, *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction* (London: Hodder Arnold Publication, 2003), 92–101.

inscribe themselves and the nations they represented in a pan-European community. In particular, it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that various writers created an idealized image of the French language and succeeded in establishing the view of it as 'universal', thus preparing the ground for the notion of French as a 'language of civilization'. We shall now turn to this earlier discourse about the nature of French.

The idealization of the French language: Its 'universality'

Bold claims about the qualities that French possessed (its concision, naturalness, clarity and so forth) and its consequent suitability as a universal language were already being made in the seventeenth century. For example, Louis Le Laboureur affirmed in his treatise *Avantages de la langue française sur la langue latine* [*The Advantages of the French Language over Latin*] (1669) that French had clarity because its syntax reflected the 'order of thought which is that of Nature'. Being the most 'natural' language, Le Laboureur maintained, French was also the most 'accomplished'.²² Two years later, the French Jesuit Dominique Bouhours was developing assertions of this sort into an argument about the desirability (and likelihood) of the universal use of French. Eugène, one of the characters he presented in his *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* [*Conversations between Ariste and Eugene*] (1671), expresses the hope that French will become the common language of all mankind. This wish, Ariste responds, will surely be fulfilled, for even those nations which hate the French nation nevertheless love the French language, so that Frenchmen abroad already have no need to be familiar with any foreign tongue. Moreover, Ariste claims, French uniquely possesses the qualities required in a language fit to play a universal role. Considering 'the [state of] perfection in which [French] has existed for

22 Louis Le Laboureur, *Avantages de la langue française sur la langue latine* (Paris: chez Guillaume Le Luyne, 1669), 174.

some years now', he muses, 'are we not bound to acknowledge that it has something noble and august about it, which makes it almost the equal of Latin and raises it infinitely above Italian and Spanish, the only living languages that can reasonably [hope to] compete with it?'²³ French is superior to all other modern languages, Bouhours believes, because it is guileless, clear, concise, pure, polite, better able to express tender feelings and more natural.²⁴

By the early eighteenth century, Gilles Siouffi has observed, there was 'a sort of consensus around the image of the language':

We are in the middle of a period of idealization. The purity of Racine's tragedies is praised to the skies. [...] Those who want to write are preoccupied with meticulous research into 'grammatical perfection' of detail (good prepositional government, position and number of adjectives, questions of rhythm, 'number'). [...] Fear of seeing the language become corrupted and debased gives rise to the first manifestation of academicism in the history of French.²⁵

Voltaire too extolled the French language and its native speakers: 'Of all the languages of Europe', he wrote, 'French is bound to be the most general, because it is the most fitting for conversation: it has taken its character from that of the people who speak it.'²⁶ Such ideas were shared by many members of the extended francophone community in Europe and were propagated by teachers of the language across the continent. In 1757, for instance, an obscure French teacher at Moscow University, Guillaume Raoult, declared in a speech that he delivered at a public meeting before courses began:

I may tell you without fear of being accused of bias or partiality that the French language that has been adopted by all civilized nations has become the Universal Language. [...] I could show it to you, clear, swift and concise, in our historians;

23 [Dominique Bouhours], *Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Amsterdam: chez Jaques le Jeune, 1671), 47.

24 *Ibid.*, 66.

25 Alain Rey, Frédéric Duval and Gilles Siouffi, *Mille ans de la langue française. Histoire d'une passion* (Paris: Parrin, 2007), 772.

26 *Dictionnaire philosophique*, in *Cœuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. Louis Moland, 50 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1877–85), vol. 19, 566.

manly and harmonious in our orators; simple, natural and elegant in light poetry; rich, bold and sublime in the ode, the epic poem and Tragedy.²⁷

Perhaps the most important step towards the establishment of a conceptual link between the French language and notions of civilization, though, was taken when the Royal Berlin Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts invited participants in a competition of 1783 to explain what had made the French language universal, why it deserved this privileged position and whether it could maintain it. Of the two authors who shared the prize, Johann Christoph Schwab and Antoine de Rivarol, it was the latter who became the more famous, thanks to his treatise 'De l'universalité de la langue française' ['On the Universality of French']. Rivarol did not use the word 'civilization' in his treatise, but there is a close connection between his vision of France as the cradle of cultivated society and the view of the French language as perfect and therefore destined to become universal and a tool of civilization. As this treatise played an important part in the development of arguments about the universality of French, we shall pause here on Rivarol's reasons for thinking that a universal language was needed and that French could and should fulfil that function.

Rivarol considers a 'peaceful empire of letters' preferable to the empire of arms established by the Romans. In such an empire, a universal language would be a vital peace-keeping tool. The existence of several languages in such an empire would be 'fatal to genius', because precious time would have to be spent learning them. Thus Rivarol imagines a republic being formed across the world 'under the domination of the same language'.²⁸ French would be the cement that would hold together

27 Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), fond 199, opis' 2, delo 805, fols 1–2 v. The expression that we have translated as 'all civilized nations' is 'toutes les nations policées' in Raoult's original. We are grateful to Dmitrii Kostyshin for bringing this document to our attention.

28 Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la langue française* (Paris: Obsidiane, 1991), 7; available online at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k63229414.r=Rivarol%2C+Antoine+de.langEN>> (accessed on 28.10.2013).

this 'federal republic of Europe'. It could offer, through translation, a universal medium facilitating cultural exchange.²⁹ Rivarol attempts to show the unique suitability of French for this peace-keeping, facilitating role by comparing it to other languages (German, Spanish and Italian) which might be contenders for it.

There is a strongly essentialist element in Rivarol's argument in favour of French as a universal language. According to Rivarol, languages have certain innate qualities and flaws, their own *génie* [genius], which may explain their success or failure. This genius is linked, Rivarol believes, to the organization of each language and in particular to its pronunciation. German is rich but rough, Spanish hides its 'poverty', Italian is soft but makes for slow, monotonous prose and so on. These traits, Rivarol claims, are an expression of the character of the speakers of the language and the climates in which they live.³⁰ The French language, like the French people, has 'grace' and 'politeness'. It is 'manly' compared to Italian. It is 'sure', 'honest', 'sociable' and 'reasonable'. In short, it is 'not the French language any more, it is the language of the human race'.³¹ Continuing in an essentialist vein, and like Le Laboureur a century earlier, Rivarol states that word order in the French sentence (subject, verb, object) corresponds to the 'natural' mode of thought of all people. He condemns inversions because he thinks they are contrary to this 'natural' order. English, by contrast, has 'the audacity of languages with inversions' but also the 'obscurity' which is a feature of such languages.³² Central to Rivarol's argument is his belief that French is characterized by *clarté* [clarity], to which naturalness contributes: 'what is not clear is not French', he famously declared.³³ It is because English lacks

29 *Ibid.*, 45.

30 *Ibid.*, 23.

31 *Ibid.*, 44–5.

32 *Ibid.*, 37. Rivarol even detected the existence of 'servile' forms in English, which he considered astonishing in the language of a free nation.

33 Rivarol's view that there is a connection between word order and the 'clarity' of a language was already being challenged by French linguists such as Françoise-Urbain Domergue at the time of the French Revolution: see Gilles Siouffi, 'De l'"universalité"

clarity that French, rather than the language of France's rival, has become the *lingua franca* of Europe.³⁴

To these arguments about the intrinsic qualities of French, Rivarol added extrinsic reasons for its spread, reasons of a sort that modern linguists may find more compelling. For one thing, historical, linguistic and cultural factors, Rivarol believed, militated against the success of German, one of the languages with which French had to compete: the German Empire was just a 'shadow' of Caesar's, there were too many German dialects and there was no rich German literary tradition. French, on the other hand, benefited from France's geographical position: the country was in the middle of Europe, between the north and the south, which at that time were considered fundamentally different from one another. French, Rivarol supposed, was easier to learn than German for those who already had competence in Latin. Furthermore, he claimed, 'a rich language [had] never belonged to an ignorant and poor people'. Respect for the French people as a nation of culture was linked to the fact that they used the French language.³⁵ As far as cultural factors which had had a bearing on the spread of French were concerned, it was relevant that French theatre had superseded Greek theatre, that the French had been the first to develop a press in Europe and that French academies, industry and fashions enjoyed a high reputation. Political factors came into play too: Rivarol underlined the role of sovereigns, for example, mentioning the support of Louis XIV for French arts and sciences, whose success had in turn contributed to the rise of the French language in Europe.³⁶

européenne du français au XVIIIe siècle: retour sur les représentations et les réalités', *Langue française* 167/3 (2010), 18.

34 Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la langue française*, 30. Rivarol puts forward other arguments too, but sometimes these are simply introduced by the author without any discussion, as when he asserts that French 'enters with greater Felicity into discussion of abstract things' (*ibid.*, 42).

35 *Ibid.*, 28.

36 *Ibid.*, 33–5. Rivarol does not completely forget the Protestants, whose exodus from France gave further impetus to French outside France, although the popularity of the French language in Europe, he thinks, is mostly explained by the success of the French nation.

The desirable qualities associated with the French language by Rivarol and those before and after him render francophonie not merely a way of speaking, but a way of life. A language of such superior qualities as are ascribed to French cannot, argues Rivarol, belong to an ignorant or poor people; instead, it is, like its speakers, graceful, honest, sociable, clear, precise and reasonable. Yet, although such argumentation was and remains powerful,³⁷ as we have seen above, it is clear that the use of French is unconnected to intrinsic elements of the language, but depends on the image of French and its value in the linguistic marketplace. Studies charting the use of French all over Europe, to which we now turn, show how sociopolitical context, the creation of a certain image of French and the fluctuating prestige of the language determined the spread and eventual decline of European francophonie.

Studying the history of European francophonie

Important as the subject of historical francophonie is, little has yet been written on it. The first general analysis of francophonie which approached the history of the French language as a social and cultural phenomenon was supplied by Brunot in the first half of the twentieth century.³⁸ His monumental

37 See, for example, the claims made in Jacques Duron, *Langue française, langue humaine* (Paris: Larousse, 1963): 'Which nation is better able than the French nation in today's world to carry out the mission of receiving, translating and binding together human differences? This mission is its very vocation; it is transposed from a European scale to a global one and is accomplished by means of a language which has lost none of its virtue for conversation' (p. 77); or again, 'such a language, which has been marked for so long by a sense of the universal, is fit to serve as a link between men, to strengthen the values that unite them in the face of what may divide them, in a word, to support the universalist cause with which societies are dimly aware civilization, true peace and the very survival of man on earth are connected' (p. 153).

38 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française dès origines à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1905–53, 1969–79), vol. 5 (*Le français en France et hors de France au XVIIe siècle*, 1917), vol. 8 (*Le français hors de France au XVIIIe siècle*, part 1, 1934, and part 2, 1935). Nine volumes were published between 1905 and 1938, in Brunot's

thirteen-volume *Histoire de la langue française* merits special attention here, both because of its pioneering nature and because it deals with questions similar to those explored in this volume. Brunot studied the history of French language culture in a range of European countries, helped by many colleagues, French and foreign, who sent him information and also contributed directly to the work.³⁹ He aimed to provide a comprehensive picture of the influence of French on particular countries by examining a combination of factors: the teaching of French, sales of French books and periodicals, translations from French, press production in French, the precise origin of French émigrés in a country and the presence of French loanwords in the vernacular.⁴⁰

Brunot was well aware of the potential shortcomings of such a study. He warns that only a combination of approaches could yield an account of the presence of French that was as truthful as possible. He was also aware that his treatment of different countries was uneven. Some of his chapters were very extensive, while others merely touched the surface of the subject.⁴¹ His chapters on Germany and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, run to hundreds of pages whereas his section on Turkey occupies a mere page and a half. This disparity is most probably explained by significant differences in the number of sources and/or the existence of personal networks that Brunot could exploit for his country-specific studies. Despite the scarcity of information about some countries examined, though, he did have enough material to draw some conclusions about common features of the spread of francophonie in different countries and about what distinguishes European francophonie from the spread of other languages such as Greek, Latin and Arabic. He claims that the crucial difference lies in the fact that French never completely replaced the vernacular languages of the countries where it was adopted but was in most cases used by a limited circle of speakers in a limited number of settings. Furthermore, French – unlike Latin – was not spread through military

lifetime; vols 10 (1939) and 11 (1969–79) were published after his death. Vols 12 (1948) and 13 (1953), published under the same title, were authored by Charles Bruneau.

39 *Ibid.*, vol. 8, part 1, xi.

40 *Ibid.*, vi.

41 *Ibid.*, viii.

invasion or political and administrative power; rather it spread, in Brunot's words (which replicate the argument used in the essentialist tradition of commentary on the French language), 'by its own virtue.' The studies presented in this volume echo Brunot's finding that military might was not a factor in spreading French (quite the contrary, in so far as foreign occupation tended to stimulate cultural resistance). However, what Brunot describes as the 'virtue' of the French language is reconfigured here as the language's cultural capital: its connection to social power and its resultant prestige.

A new attempt has recently been made by Siouffi to provide an overarching analysis of historical francophonie in Europe.⁴² Despite apparent similarities across Europe, Siouffi argues, francophonie developed differently in different countries. In Spain, for example, it was not so widespread, Siouffi contends, as it was in other European countries. (The chapter on Spain in this volume tends to bear out this claim.) In Italy, Siouffi continues, francophonie was mostly represented by prominent figures such as Carlo Goldoni and Casanova, and the situation in the south of Italy was substantially different from that in the north. Numerous factors, he believes, explain why francophonie was more widespread in northern Europe: the exodus of the Huguenots, many of whom became language teachers in northern countries; the vitality of the French-speaking press, particularly in the Netherlands; the secret diplomatic policy of Louis XV and his use of French agents abroad; the support of political figures such as Frederick II of Prussia; the importance of Masonic contacts and so on. Siouffi regards the highly developed Gallophobia that can be observed at certain times in Italy, Spain and England as proof that francophonie was not widespread in those lands, but the chapters in this volume on Italy and Spain do not entirely bear out this point of view. (Gallophobia, we believe, could occur in response to a widespread phenomenon.) As for Russia, it represented a rather exceptional case, in Siouffi's opinion. Among the reasons for this supposed exceptionality, Siouffi mentions the absence of any serious tradition of the study of Latin, the fact that Russian

42. Siouffi, 'De l' "universalité" européenne du français au XVIIIe siècle', in Rey *et al.*, *Mille ans de la langue française*, 765–958.

was one of the last important European languages to undergo a period of codification and the fact that French was a symbol of civilization for the Russian elite. It is possible, he claims, that ‘for several decades Russia was the European country that was most “mad” of all about French, at least in aristocratic circles’, and that this remained the case to some extent in the nineteenth century, although the craze for French, he acknowledges, did engulf the whole of northern Europe.

Siouffi also challenges the view that French was the language of diplomacy in Europe. He argues that the use of French at international negotiations (for example, at Nijmegen in 1678 and Rastatt in 1714) was exceptional or that French was not in fact used when it was thought to have been. He admits that French was employed as a language of diplomatic correspondence but wonders whether historians have presented isolated cases as a rule. He also surmises that French retained its status as an international language for no more than thirty years. Some of these hypotheses (for example, the supposition that the presence of Gallophobia indicates that French was not widespread in a speech community and the claim that French was not widely used as a language of diplomacy) seem to go too far in revising our understanding of the role of French in eighteenth-century Europe. However, we agree with Siouffi that a new way of looking at the problem should be adopted: French should be seen as one element of a complex linguistic and multicultural situation in which linguistic usage depended not on the qualities of a language but on context. Moreover, in many European countries, as this volume shows, French coexisted with other foreign languages, notably German, Italian and, at a later date, English.

Supplementing Brunot’s and Siouffi’s overarching accounts of historical francophonie in Europe there are works which consider certain aspects of the phenomenon. The studies collected in a recent volume edited by Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stroev and Catherine Viollet place special emphasis on francophone literature.⁴³ The editors rightly call the study of

43 Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stroev and Catherine Viollet, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles: Perspectives littéraires, historiques et culturelles* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang, 2012).

European francophonie a new research area in the title of their introductory chapter and contributions to the volume cover several regions (Sweden, the Netherlands, Lithuania, Prussia and Belarus), with a special focus on Russia in the final section. The editors supply a detailed bibliography of works analysing francophonie in Europe.⁴⁴ Historical francophonie also furnishes material for a case study in Sue Wright's volume on language policy and language planning, which contains a chapter on the rise and fall of French as a *lingua franca*. Approaching the subject of historical francophonie from a linguistic angle, Wright emphasizes that the spread of French is not due to anything intrinsic in the French language, and that if there are no power relationships (whether in economic, political, cultural and/or technological terms) which support the use of a language – or to phrase it differently, if the language lacks prestige in the sense we discuss below – then speakers cannot be persuaded to continue to use it. However, as long as such power relationships *do* exist, speakers may have little choice but to learn the language of the powerful or risk losing social standing or influence. This causal sequence, Wright states, explains why French became a *lingua franca* and why it ceased to function as one at a certain time.⁴⁵

The research on historical francophonie that we have cited is complemented by recent work on the social history of languages in Europe in general. Robert McColl Millar studies the macrosociolinguistic history of Europe from the first written records to 1500 in a work which focuses on the history of literacy (in Greek, Latin and vernacular languages) and its influence on the formation of ethnic identities and nation states in Europe.⁴⁶ Working on similar research themes but focusing on early modern times, Burke (the author of the second chapter in this volume) investigates the social history of languages in early modern Europe. Burke examines 'the variety of ways in which different social groups used the "same" language', a

44 *Ibid.*, 21.

45 Sue Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 103, 121, 113.

46 Robert McColl Millar, *Authority and Identity: A Sociolinguistic History of Europe before the Modern Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

question that also concerns the authors in this volume. He detects a significant lacuna in scholarship on the social history of European languages: there is a lack of comparative studies and surveys of a single language predominate.⁴⁷ What is more, such surveys often deal with a single language in a particular community or country, rather than its spread over a larger number of communities. This claim is borne out by the relative abundance of studies of the history of francophonie in particular countries. Examples include works on particular aspects of francophonie in Bohemia, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Sweden and other countries, many of them written by authors who have contributed to this volume. Mostly, these studies deal with the literary francophone tradition, particularly with women's writing (for example, in Russia⁴⁸), education, teaching French and the history of the didactics of French as a second and foreign language,⁴⁹ but

47 Peter Burke, *Languages and Communication in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

48 See Elena Gretchanaia and Catherine Viollet, eds, *'Si tu lis jamais ce journal...'* *Diaristes russes francophones. 1780–1854* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2008), and Elena Grechanaia, *Kogda Rossiia govorila po-frantsuzski: Russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke (XVII–pervaia polovina XIX veka)* (Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2010). There is a French edition of the latter work: see Elena Gretchanaïa, *'Je vous parlerai la langue de l'Europe...': La francophonie en Russie (XVIIIe–XIXe siècles)* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang, 2013).

49 On francophonie in the Netherlands, see Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau and Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, 'Le français aux Pays-Bas (XVIIe–XIXe siècles): de la langue du bilinguisme élitare à une langue du plurilinguisme d'éducation', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 45 (2010), 123–56, and the old but still useful study by Kornelis Jacobus Riemens, *Esquisse historique de l'enseignement du français en Hollande du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1919). On the situation in Poland, see Anne Nikliborc, *L'enseignement du français dans les écoles polonaises au XVIIIe siècle* (Wrocław: [no publisher given, but the book is in the series Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego], 1962). On Sweden, see Elisabet Hammar, *L'Enseignement du français en Suède jusqu'en 1807. Méthodes et manuels* (Stockholm: Akademilitteratur, 1980). On Italy, see Nadia Minerva and Carla Pellandra, *Insegnare il francese in Italia. Repertorio analitico di manuali pubblicati dal 1625 al 1860* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1997). On Bohemia, see Ivo Cerman, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung. Bildungsverhalten des Wiener*

some take a sociological approach.⁵⁰ Horst Munske explains the scarcity of studies of international scope as a result of philologists' adherence to patterns of national language study rooted in nineteenth-century thought on the link between languages and nations. Historians, Munske continues, have started to address the need to study common histories rather than single nation states, and linguists should follow suit.⁵¹

While few works examine historical francophonie or the linguistic landscape of Europe as a whole from a sociological point of view, there is a significant literature on contemporary language spread and multilingualism. Apart from the afore-mentioned field of modern francophonie, there is an abundance of research examining the spread of other languages, particularly English in relatively recent times. The large body of research

Hofadels im 18. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010). For a more comprehensive view of French teachers across Europe, see Vladislav Rjéoutski and Alexandre Tchoudinov, eds, *Le Précepteur francophone en Europe, XVIIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013). Other work on teaching and learning French has been published in the *Documents HFLES*.

- 50 Margareta Östman, *Glanures servant de suite à Au Champ d'Apollon. Ecrits d'expression française produits en Suède (1550–2006): Etude sociologique (med förord och sammanfattning på svenska), bibliographique et biographique* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 2012). The same author has previously published in collaboration with Hans Östman an anthology of texts written by Swedes in French: *Au Champ d'Apollon. Ecrits d'expression française produits en Suède (1550–2006)* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien, 2008). See also the following: Willem Frijhoff, 'L'usage du français en Hollande XVIIe–XIXe siècles: propositions pour un modèle d'interprétation', *Etudes de linguistique appliquée* 78 (1990); *idem*, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw, een verkenning* (Amsterdam: KNAW Press, 2010); Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'La langue française en Russie au siècle des Lumières. Eléments pour une histoire sociale', *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Enlightenment Europe (Proceedings of The International Seminar for Young Eighteenth-Century Scholars 2004)*, ed. U. Haskins-Gonthier and A. Sandrier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 101–26.
- 51 Horst Haider Munske, 'Ist eine europäische Sprachgeschichtsschreibung möglich?' in Andreas Gardt, Klaus J. Mattheier, Oskar Reichmann, eds, *Sprachgeschichte des Neuhochdeutschen. Gegenstände, Methoden, Theorien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995), 399.

in the field that has come to be known as World Englishes shows the significant influence of the use of English on speech communities worldwide. The field of World Englishes, first established by Braj Kachru,⁵² concerns present-day Englishes and recent postcolonial history only. Researchers of World Englishes conduct work in subfields such as English as a lingua franca (ELF), English as an international language (EIL), English as a foreign language (EFL) and English as a second language (ESL). Thus research in this field seeks to answer questions similar to those posed in this volume – the function and effect of a language as the medium for teaching, as a language of international scholarship, as a lingua franca, or the consequences of the existence of a prestige language, for example. Philip Seargeant detects a shared research agenda governing this diverse research field, namely ‘one that includes issues such as political legitimacy, the relationship of English to cultural identity, and so forth [...] the desire to problematize the notion of a monolithic English and to investigate the social and political implications of the spread of the language around the world act as shared purposes.’⁵³ We pursue similar aims in this volume. In particular, we attempt not to conceive of francophonie as a monolithic phenomenon but to examine its multifaceted nature across European language communities.

The field of World Englishes is closely related to the study of language spread, which is defined by Robert Cooper, the first to use this concept, as ‘an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function.’⁵⁴ In a phrase that echoes the title of Joshua Fishman’s groundbreaking article on multilingualism and language domains, ‘Who Speaks

52 See, e.g., Braj Kachru, *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-Native Englishes* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1986); for a recent overview of the field, see Braj Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Cecil Nelson, eds, *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

53 Philip Seargeant, ‘Disciplinarity and the Study of World Englishes,’ *World Englishes* 31/1 (2012), 123.

54 Robert Leon Cooper, *Language Spread: Studies in Diffusion and Social Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 6.

What Language to Whom and When?’⁵⁵ Cooper states that the question asked by students of language spread should be ‘Who adopts what, when, why and how?’⁵⁶ These questions are also addressed in this volume, as we seek to arrive at a differentiated view of the use of French, taking into account the variety of manifestations of francophonie in Europe. It is crucial to focus on speakers’ linguistic behaviour, avoiding the notion that it had anything to do with the language itself. After all, we must always recall that the object of study is, strictly speaking, not how a *language* spread – the language itself does not spread – but what Ofelia García terms ‘*linguaging* spread—that is, about the spread of the ways in which people use language and about their discursive practices.’⁵⁷ Therefore, the contributors to this volume discuss powerful francophone individuals such as rulers (as in the chapters by Burke, Ailes and Putter, and Böhm), central cultural figures like Rivarol (to whom Böhm also devotes some attention), or prominent literary figures and their reception (examined by Mignon and Mihaila). Böhm discusses language policy at the Royal Berlin Academy, showing how contested language use at the institutional level could be. Bilingual institutions or institutions whose working language was different from the native language of the majority of the institution’s members can play a part in determining the extent to which a language becomes established.⁵⁸ Examining the social distinctions which may have affected language use also helps us to understand the reasons behind the spread of a particular language.⁵⁹ To study historical francophonie in a way that answers the question ‘Who adopts what, when, why and how’, then, means to engage in historical sociolinguistic study. With this in

55 Joshua A. Fishman, ‘Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?’ *La linguistique* (1965), 67–88.

56 Cooper, *Language Spread*, 32.

57 Ofelia García, ‘Language Spread and Its Study in the Twenty-First Century’, in Robert Kaplan, *Oxford Handbook for Applied Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 400; García’s italics.

58 Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi, eds, *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 2.

59 Robert McColl Millar, ‘Social History and the Sociology of Language’, in Juan Manuel Hernandez-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, eds, *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (London: Blackwell, 2012), 41.

mind, we can now turn to the way in which historical sociolinguistic work can engage with the study of French as a prestige language.

Historical sociolinguistics and the study of French as a prestige language

If we are to arrive at an understanding of the diverse origins of francophonie, its influence in single countries, as well as across the European continent as a whole, and its socio-political context, then we should not confine ourselves to a purely historical or linguistic perspective. One of the strengths of historical sociolinguistics is an inherently multidisciplinary approach that can help to achieve these goals.⁶⁰ Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg identify four paradigms or dimensions of historical sociolinguistics, all of which are relevant to the work in this volume:

1. Sociology of language;
2. Social dialectology/variationist sociolinguistics;
3. Interactional sociolinguistics;
4. Ethnography of communication.

The studies in this volume fall mainly into the first of these dimensions, the sociology of language. Informed by sociology, the object of study here is ‘the status and function of languages and language varieties in language communities’, describing the norms and patterns of language use in particular domains. However, the volume also examines questions that Nevalainen and

60 Steffan Davies, Nils Langer and Wim Vandenbussche, ‘Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Problems and Opportunities’, in Nils Langer, Steffan Davies and Wim Vandenbussche, eds, *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 3–15.

Raumolin-Brunberg consider to belong to dialectology or the variationist sociolinguistic dimension, such as speaker attitudes and the social dynamics of language varieties in speech communities. The fourth dimension, ethnography of communication, which is informed by anthropology, applies to this work too, examining as it does ‘patterned ways of speaking, sociolinguistic styles and registers’ and explaining the ‘functional appropriateness of communicative behaviour in various social contexts.’⁶¹ Questions about what kind of individuals and social groups spoke French, in what settings and domains, how proficiently, what socio-political context influenced language use, and what attitudes there were towards francophonie – all these questions pertain to the field of historical sociolinguistics.

The research questions that Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg have suggested for historical sociolinguistic studies are similar to the topics explored by scholars of societal multilingualism. To understand the position of a particular language in a community and arrive at conclusions about its prestige, Einar Haugen asks the following questions:

1. What is the classification of the language in relation to other languages?
2. Who are the users?
3. What are the domains of use?
4. What concurrent languages are used?
5. What internal varieties does the language show?
6. What is the nature of written traditions?
7. What kind of institutional support has the language won, e.g. in government, education, private organizations?
8. What are the attitudes of the users towards the language?⁶²

Haugen’s work is one of the founding elements of the field of language ecology (which, broadly speaking, utilizes biological metaphors of ecology

61 Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, ‘Historical Sociolinguistics: Origins, Motivations, and Paradigms’, in Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, eds, *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 31.

62 Einar Haugen, *The Ecology of Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 336.

and biosystems to examine relationships between languages). These questions, which have indeed been used to structure historical sociolinguistic enquiry,⁶³ are relevant to our research agenda. They concern macrosociolinguistic issues, that is to say issues relating to the role of language in society. It is predominantly with such macrosociolinguistic questions that this volume deals, but microsociolinguistic studies (looking at particular features or sub-groups of speakers, for instance) also inform the work of many of the authors. Mihaila and Offord examine linguistic calques, Böhm supplies details of French influence on Berlin dialect, both in samples of writing by an individual and in influences that persist to the present day, and Östman describes the orality of written texts and particular phonetic spellings. After all, some methods employed in sociolinguistic study of contemporary usage may also be employed to examine historical sociolinguistic questions (although Alexander Bergs warns that such an approach must be carefully nuanced so as not to risk anachronism⁶⁴).

However, historical sociolinguistic study faces some specific challenges that apply to historical enquiry. Unlike scholars of twentieth-century sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguists must contend with ‘bad data,’⁶⁵ or rather ‘imperfect data’ as Brian Joseph⁶⁶ chooses to describe the scant, sometimes inaccessible or unreliable sources with which historical sociolinguists are faced, and certainly they have no access to reliable spoken language data. Historical sociolinguists have at their disposal a range of materials which, depending on the time and place studied, can be extensive or extremely limited. For example, Brunot (whose work predates

63 See Anni Sairo and Minna Palander-Collin, ‘The Reconstruction of Prestige Patterns in Language History’, in Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, eds, *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 626–38.

64 Alexander Bergs, ‘The Uniformitarian Principle and the Risk of Anachronisms in Language and Social History’, *ibid.*, 81–98.

65 William Labov, ‘Some Principles in Linguistic Methodology’, *Language in Society* 1/1 (1972) 100.

66 Brian D. Joseph, ‘Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics: Strange Bedfellows or Natural Friends?’, in Nils Langer *et al.*, eds, *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography*, 70.

the emergence of historical sociolinguistics as a field, but clearly examines historical sociolinguistic questions) uses a broad range of primary and secondary published sources and archival material in his chapter on England, whereas his chapter on Russia is based on published French travel accounts and studies written by French specialists on Russia rather than on archival material, which was not accessible to him. In recent years, research on Russian francophonie has shown that documents in French in Russian archives can shed new light on francophonie in Russia, even though much of the large amount of such material remains untapped.⁶⁷ Any study must carefully outline what data is available and establish how representative an account it aims to give or what exact subsegment of the data it is examining. In order to paint as comprehensive a picture as possible, the analyses of the social and cultural dimensions of the use of French in Europe found in this book are based on study of many types of source, as well as ranging over the domains in which French was used, reactions to its use and socio-political background.

An important part of historical sociolinguistic study concerns perceptions of the usefulness of a particular language, how they arise and how they might shape language behaviour and policy.⁶⁸ It is generally accepted that language attitudes are not caused by any intrinsic feature of a language, but are in fact transferred attitudes towards the speakers of a language or qualities associated with them.⁶⁹ Thus it would be tempting to deduce that French attained high status because language communities across Europe admired France and the French, and that negative attitudes towards France and French people – Gallophobia – would lead to rejection of the French

67 For instance, in the Manuscripts Section of the Russian National Library in Moscow, e.g. Collection 1059 on the Noble Cadet Corps. See also the online corpus of documents and commentaries which is being built on the website of our project on 'The History of the French Language in Russia' at <<https://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/>>.

68 Nils Langer, 'Historical Sociolinguistics in Nineteenth-Century Schleswig-Holstein', *German Life and Letters* 64/2 (2011), 172.

69 Peter Garrett, Nikolas Coupland and Angie Williams, *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social Meanings of Dialect, Ethnicity and Performance* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

language. However, this link merits further investigation. It has been shown that these two kinds of attitude – towards France and its inhabitants, and towards the French language – can be divorced from one another. Gallophobia was not at odds with admiration of the French language, and frequently anti-French sentiments were expressed in French.⁷⁰ It was the French language that carried prestige, rather than necessarily France or the French. The prestige was nonetheless due to factors extrinsic to the language itself, such as a particular image of French or its connection to the Enlightenment. The reputation of French as a language of civilization also assisted the spread of French and increased its prestige, and even after the political influence of France started to wane this reputation continued to shape language practice.

We believe, then, that the prestige of French was a major factor in the development of historical francophonie, as the title of this work indicates. The notion of prestige languages has frequently been used in the literature on language contact, bilingualism and multilingualism. Study of the spread of French in the light of this literature, from a historical sociolinguistic perspective, allows us to draw conclusions about the social cachet that French had in different domains and how it developed. In an article attempting to typologize prestige languages, Henry Kahane surmises that it is a particular socio-political constellation that favours the spread of a language and determines the course of this spread. It is in the relationship between language communities and the image of the prestige language that we can find explanations of the ways the language is acquired and integrated in the target culture, the domains where it is used and also the causes for its eventual retreat.⁷¹ Examining the nature of such relationships in Europe allows us to compare different levels of prestige of French.

70 See, e.g. Derek Offord and Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'French in the Nineteenth-Century Russian Salon: Fiodor Rostopchin's "Memoirs"', at <<https://frinru.ilt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/french-nineteenth-century-russian-salon-fiodor-rostopchin%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98memoirs%E2%80%99>> (accessed on 24.02.2014).

71 Henry Kahane, 'A Typology of the Prestige Language', *Language* 62/3 (1986), 495–508.

It goes without saying that as soon as one language is considered the prestige variety, other languages must be considered not prestigious. The existence of two varieties in a speech community is sometimes referred to as diglossia. Diglossia is defined as ‘a kind of functional specialization between languages (referred to as High and Low),’⁷² a situation where two languages are spoken in different contexts: the ‘High’ one in formal, religious, educational and other domains associated with formal society, the ‘Low’ language in informal situations such as the home. But the concept of diglossia and its relation to bilingualism, as Burke explains in his chapter, is contested. Bilingualism denotes competence in two languages to some level, but bilingualism does not necessarily mean diglossia. We have already indicated that linguistic prestige is considered to be in a certain state of flux: it depends on social factors which are changeable and complex and do not always correspond to a model of High vs Low languages. Using the concept of prestige rather than concentrating on diglossia alone enables us to encompass a wide variety of settings and different kinds of prestige.

As Anni Sairo and Minna Palander-Collin state, ‘prestige in language essentially refers to the social evaluations that speakers attach to a language.’⁷³ The emphasis on social evaluations is crucial, as it needs to be made clear – *pace* those historical (and even some current) writers who have extolled the supposed universality and clarity of French – that there is nothing inherent in French that made it a prestige language. It was commonly assumed in the period with which this volume is concerned that languages have certain innate characteristics and qualities that make it possible to evaluate them on some scale of merit or make them peculiarly fit for certain purposes. But, as Pierre Bourdieu states, ‘as soon as one treats language as an autonomous object [...] one is condemned to looking within words for the power of words, that is, looking for it where it is not to be

72 Suzanne Romaine, ‘The Bilingual and Multilingual Community’, in Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie, eds, *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 454.

73 Anni Sairo and Minna Palander-Collin, ‘The Reconstruction of Prestige Patterns in Language History’, 626.

found'.⁷⁴ It is therefore necessary to ensure that a study of a prestige language avoids looking for prestige within this language itself and takes account of extra-linguistic factors instead, for example the social status of its speakers. At the same time, we should not infer that the high social status of individuals and groups means their language is automatically prestigious, or that they drive language change because other sections of society try to emulate their linguistic behaviour. It is important to stress that what is considered the 'High' variety is not necessarily the one with the most prestige in all settings.⁷⁵ Indeed, a variety not associated with speakers of a high social class may in some instances be the one required to signal membership of a social group: this variety then has covert prestige.⁷⁶

The notion of prestige is thus not clearly defined. To circumvent the potential confusion arising from this lack of a universally accepted definition, James Milroy suggests that 'our explanatory frameworks should avoid relying on the notion of prestige and focus more on the indexicality of linguistic variables as used by social groups independently of the social status of such groups'.⁷⁷ However, to do away with the notion of prestige altogether in our context would be to run the risk of overlooking the fact that the French language undoubtedly enjoyed a high reputation and was frequently associated with a particular, highly valued culture, as this volume shows. Clearly we must account for the fact that the social desirability of particular codes, including French in the long eighteenth century, is connected to its speakers as languages do not just become socially desirable by themselves. A particular social group possesses high social standing, others are then interested in communicating intensively with this group, and thus that language is learnt and used. Bourdieu writes about this process in economic terms: languages have a certain amount of symbolic capital.⁷⁸ The

74 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 107.

75 James Milroy, 'Sociolinguistics and Ideologies in Language History', in Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, eds, *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 572.

76 Miriam Meyerhoff, *Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 41 f.

77 Milroy, 'Sociolinguistics and Ideologies in Language History', 575.

78 Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in J. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

notion of capital indicates ascribed usefulness and value. Milroy echoes this conception in a statement on standard varieties, which he describes as highly functional (that is to say, used in many contexts) and therefore prestigious, but he does not believe this prestige is directly derived from the high social status of speakers. Rather, 'the functional flexibility of the standard gives it a high utilitarian *value*: an economic metaphor is more appropriate here than one based on social prestige.'⁷⁹ The study of prestige languages can proceed in a similar way, but what Milroy terms high utilitarian value is here more broadly defined than the ability to use this language as a lingua franca in many situations: value also means that the associations and reputation of the language make it the preferred one in a particular domain and setting.

In order to reconcile the different facets of prestige in our investigation of historical francophonie, a nuanced approach is needed. We should consider which social groups French was associated with and spoken by, whether it was a useful lingua franca, and to what extent speaking French constituted demonstrative linguistic behaviour that served to inscribe the speaker in a pan-European culture. In exploring prestige patterns in language history, then, scholars engage in 'the reconstruction of attitudes of language users towards certain languages and varieties and the reconstruction of relationships between groups of people and the social dynamics of the community. It is also about exploring language in use and placing a language in its social, economic, and political contexts.'⁸⁰ By this process, we are able to explore why French gained the reputation of being the language of civilization, why it was considered especially clear and precise and what sociopolitical mechanisms furthered this image and eventually caused it to recede, although its influences are found in modern ideologies of francophonie and persist to some extent to this day.

79 Milroy, 'Sociolinguistics and Ideologies in Language History', 576; Milroy's italics.

80 Sairo and Palander-Collin, 'The Reconstruction of Prestige Patterns in Language History', 626.

2 Diglossia in Early Modern Europe

The concept of diglossia: 'High' and 'low' languages

'Diglossia' is actually a contested concept among linguists. The term was coined in the 1880s to refer to two major varieties of modern Greek, *katharevousa* and *dhimotiki*, one of them with a high status and the other with a low one (the situation in Greece today is of course rather different, thanks to the political events of the last half-century, notably the rise and fall of a military regime).¹

In a much cited article that was originally published over half a century ago, a specialist on Arabic, Charles Ferguson, used the term 'diglossia' to refer to two varieties of the same language that differed in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation and that were used, often by the same speakers, in different social situations or speech domains. There was a 'high' variety (H), otherwise known as classical Arabic, used for sermons, speeches and lectures, and a 'low' or colloquial variety (L) used in ordinary conversation or for employers to give orders to their employees. 'The speakers,' wrote Ferguson, 'regard H as superior to L.'² Refining the model, it has also been pointed out that individuals may switch between High and Low according to the topic they are speaking about. In nineteenth-century France, for instance, peasants spoke about local politics in *patois* but about national politics in French, the language of the newspapers.³

1 Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27–31.

2 Charles Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959), 325–40.

3 Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).

A few years later another distinguished linguist, Joshua Fishman, extended the idea of diglossia to include the use of two different languages by the same speakers in similar conditions to the ones described by Ferguson. These speakers would employ a language regarded as High in formal situations and a language regarded as Low in informal situations or to speak to people of lower social status (for whom the 'Low' form may be their only language).⁴

Much has been written about diglossia (a bibliography lists nearly 3,000 items published in the thirty years 1960–90), but the definition of the term remains contested.⁵ Some linguists limit it, like Ferguson, to varieties of the same language, while others, following Fishman, are more inclusive. The application of the term is also contested, since some linguists are unwilling to use it in the cases of Greek and Arabic, the original examples of diglossia, on the grounds that some speakers mix H and L forms, while other linguists treat some degree of mixing as inevitable. It might be added that Ferguson's assertion that 'The speakers regard H as superior to L' does not apply everywhere. In Britain today, some working-class people mock the H variety as 'BBC English', because to them it sounds artificial.⁶

I shall be following Fishman's wide definition of diglossia because what most concerns a social historian is the use of language to mark differences in social statuses or social situations. In the spirit of scholars concerned with the 'politics of diglossia', there will also be much to say about the role of the state in this process.⁷

4 Joshua Fishman, 'Bilingualism with and without Diglossia', *Journal of Social Issues* 32 (1967), 29–38. On concepts of diglossia, see Perikles Daltas, 'The Concept of Diglossia from Ferguson to Fishman to Fasold', in Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, Katerina Nikolaidis and Maria Sifianou, eds, *Themes in Greek Linguistics* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1994), 341–8.

5 Mauro Fernandez, *Diglossia: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1993).

6 For a French parallel, Philippe Gardy and Robert Lafont, 'La diglossie comme conflit: l'exemple occitan', *Langages* 15 (1981), 75–91.

7 Ralph D. Grillo, *Dominant Languages: Language and Hierarchy in Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4.

Using the term 'diglossia' in a broad sense, it is not difficult to find examples from many places and periods. In ancient Indian drama, for example, men are represented as speaking to their wives in Sanskrit while the wives reply in Prakrit, the Low form of the same language.⁸ In similar fashion, in the eighteenth century, in the plays of Carlo Goldoni, the masters and mistresses speak Italian while the servants speak Venetian. In the case of early modern Europe, there are so many examples of this kind of practice that the topic of this chapter will have to be limited to the use of different languages, ignoring dialects and other varieties of the same language. From now on, therefore, the term diglossia will be employed in this chapter in the sense of bilingualism.

What follows is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter is descriptive, a kind of map of the main uses of foreign languages as High forms in early-modern Europe, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Diglossia can of course be found in Europe in the Middle Ages (French as a High language in England, for instance), just as it can be found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All the same, it seems fairly plausible to speak of a golden age of diglossia between the rise of printing, which helped to standardize vernacular languages and so make them more suitable for High functions, and the rise of nationalism, which discouraged the use of foreign languages at home.

The second part of the chapter will consider the different meanings of diglossia for both speakers and listeners and attempt to explain its geography, its sociology and its chronology. This second part is necessarily more speculative, but even the mapping is far from certain. Written sources, from plays to interrogations, do not tell historians all that they would like to know about informal practices in general and ways of speaking in particular. They have to rely more than they would like on the comments of travellers and even on anecdotal evidence. Hence historians can only envy the sociolinguists who are able to listen to and record informal usage in the 'field'. On the other hand, the sociolinguists need to make use of

8 Gina M. Lee, 'Diglossia in Ancient India', in Brian D. Joseph, ed., *Studies on Language Change* (Columbus OH: Ohio State University, 1986), 151–64.

historical methods for observations about change in these informal practices over the long term.

Foreign languages as 'high' languages in early-modern Europe

In the first place, when, where and among whom could diglossia be found? These are huge questions. In order to limit them it will be necessary to exclude the frequent use of a foreign language, usually but not always Latin, to write a poem, a letter or a book, although the use of French for certain sorts of writing is indeed examined in other parts of this volume. For example, the Frenchman Joachim Du Bellay and the Englishman John Milton sometimes wrote poems in Italian, Mozart wrote letters in Italian, while the Germans Gottfried Leibniz and King Frederick the Great both published books in French. Given this limitation to speech, the principal languages that will need to be discussed, in approximate chronological order, are Latin, German, Italian, Spanish and French.

Early modern Latin is best known as a written language and as a *lingua franca* in multilingual environments, but spoken Latin was in use in the Church and in universities. Latin presents a good example of a high form since it was no one's first language at this time, or virtually no one's (Michel de Montaigne famously claimed that he learned Latin before he learned French or Gascon).⁹ Latin also fits Ferguson's criteria quite well in the sense that it was commonly employed in formal situations, including three that he specifically mentioned: sermons, speeches and lectures. It was also the language of the Catholic Church.¹⁰

9 Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, book 1, chapter 25.

10 Wilhelm Kühlmann, 'Nationalliteratur und Latinität', in Klaus Garber, ed., *Nation und Literatur im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 164–206, discusses the situation in terms of diglossia. Cf. Peter Burke, '*Heu Domine adsunt Turcae*: A Sketch for a Social History of Post-medieval Latin', in Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds, *Language, Self and Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 23–50.

Whether Latin was much used in conversation between scholars or priests who shared a mother tongue is a more difficult question to answer. The only surviving evidence of Erasmus speaking Dutch, his mother tongue, was on his deathbed. I suspect that Erasmus did speak Latin most of the time, but it is impossible to be sure. On the other hand, it is known that Martin Luther regularly spoke both Latin and German. His so-called ‘Table-Talk’, recorded by students who lived in his house in Wittenberg, catches him in the act of mixing or more exactly as switching between the two languages, according to a logic that is clear (although it may not have been conscious). Luther used Latin to discuss philosophy and theology, for instance, but German for more everyday topics.¹¹

Let us turn to Italian, or to be more precise, to Tuscan, which spread to other regions of Italy as a High form from the fifteenth century onwards before spreading beyond the boundaries of the peninsula, for instance to the South Slavs, especially in two cities, Ragusa (now known as Dubrovnik) in Dalmatia and Ljubljana (the capital of Carniola, now known as Slovenia). In Hungary, Italian was used at court in the time of Matthias Corvinus and his successor Vladislaus II (who were married successively to Beatrice of Naples, who lived in Hungary 1476–1501) and, later in the sixteenth century, according to the historian Szamoskozy, at the court of Transylvania.¹² In Poland, Italian was spoken at court in the time of Zygmunt Stary, whose wife Bona Sforza arrived from Milan in 1519 with a group of Italians in her suite. Bona appears to have begun a tradition. As late as 1575, the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Lippomano commented on the continuing use of Italian at court.¹³ However, the best-known example of the use of Italian at a foreign court is France in the age of Catherine de’Medici, from 1547, when she married Henry II of France, till her death in 1589. Italian was also

11 Birgit Stolt, *Die Sprachmischung in Luthers Tischreden* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964).

12 My thanks to Professor Gábor Klaniczay for this information.

13 Zenon Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego* (Warsaw: PWN, 1974), 151–2.

in use at the court of Vienna under the emperors Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III and Joseph I.¹⁴

Spanish, or Castilian, was another language used for High purposes in early modern Europe – leaving aside the obvious examples from the New World. In the Iberian peninsula, Castilian was in use as a High form in the regions where Spanish was not the mother tongue: in Catalonia, in the Basque country, in Galicia and in Portugal.¹⁵ As a sixteenth-century Swiss traveller, Thomas Platter, acutely observed, the Catalans understood Castilian but the Castilians did not understand Catalan.¹⁶

Castilian was also used as a High form at least on occasion in some regions of early modern Italy, especially the parts that were under Spanish rule from the later sixteenth century onwards: Milan, Naples and Sicily.¹⁷ In similar fashion and for similar reasons, Spanish was spoken in the Southern Netherlands after 1567 in the higher ranks of the army and in the administration.¹⁸ At the imperial court in Prague, Rudolph II (reigned 1576–1612) was ‘happy to converse in Spanish’, the language of his mother Maria, the daughter of the Emperor Charles V.¹⁹ After a considerable gap, Spanish returned to the imperial court, now in Vienna, under Charles VI (who ruled from 1711 to 1740). Charles had claimed the Spanish throne and lived in Spain for five years before becoming Emperor, and he insisted on Spanish etiquette and Spanish fashions at his court.

German was another language used as a High form in parts of Europe where it was not the first language of the majority of inhabitants. In the

14 Erika Kanduth, ‘L’italiano lingua familiare e lingua ufficiale alla corte imperiale nel ‘600’, in Furio Brugnolo and Vincenzo Orioles, eds, *Eteroglossia e plurilinguismo letterario*, 2 vols (Rome: Il Calamo, 2002), vol. 1, 137–49.

15 The idea of diglossia is central to Joan-Lluís Marfany, *La lengua maltractada; El castellà i el català a Catalunya del segle xvi al segle xix* (Barcelona: Empúries, 2001).

16 *Ibid.*, 117.

17 There is a brief reference to this in Gian Luigi Beccaria, *Spagnolo e spagnoli in Italia* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1968), 6–7.

18 Robert A. Verdonk, *La lengua española en Flandes en el siglo xvii* (Madrid: Ínsula, 1980), 24–5.

19 Jean Béranger, *History of the Habsburg Empire, 1273–1700* (English translation, London: Longman, 1994), 244.

late Middle Ages, Low German (more exactly *Mittelniederdeutsch*) was the language of the Hanseatic League of trading cities. In this way, it spread to Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, where it came to be used for non-commercial, High purposes.²⁰ In Denmark, German became the language of the court from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century, especially in the time of two kings, Frederick IV (1699–1730), whose mother (Charlotte Amalie of Hesse-Kassel) and first wife (Louise of Mecklenburg-Güstrow) were both German, and his son Christian VI (reigned 1730–46), whose mother (Louise) and wife (Sophia Magdalena of Brandenburg-Kulmbach) were also German. German was spoken not only at court but also in the army and in the Church, which was Lutheran.²¹

In Bohemia, German was already in use in some noble circles in the fifteenth century but its domain increased after 1526, when the Habsburg Ferdinand I began to rule the lands of the Bohemian crown, and still more after 1620, under Ferdinand II, when a process of Germanization accompanied the recatholicization of the country after the defeat of the Protestants at the battle of the White Mountain. In Russia in the reign of Peter the Great (sole ruler from 1696 to 1725) and also in that of his niece Empress Anne (1730–40), German was spoken not only at court but also in the administration and in the army (as in Denmark), not to mention the lectures given by expatriate scholars, the majority of whom had German as their mother tongue (although these scholars lectured in Latin too).²²

French, however, is the most famous instance of the use of a foreign language as a High form in early modern Europe, especially in the second half of the period, 1650–1800. It was already in use in this way in some regions in the late Middle Ages, in England and the Netherlands, for instance, but its golden age in this respect ran from Louis XIV to Napoleon.

20 Helmut Glück, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002), 263–93. He calls German ‘eine H-Varietät’ in Scandinavia (298, his only reference to Ferguson in the volume).

21 Vibeke Winge, *Dänische Deutsche – deutsche Dänen. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in Dänemark 1300–1800* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), who refers to ‘Diglossie’ (19).

22 Kristine Koch, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache im Russland des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002), 49, 52, 56, 61, 70.

The best-known example of the use of French as a high form of language, the language of the aristocracy, comes from eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Russia. As one opens a copy of *War and Peace*, the frequent French words and phrases jump out of a sea of Cyrillic. Tolstoy was writing about the world of his parents, so his testimony deserves to be taken seriously. This Russian practice went back to the reign of the Empress Catherine the Great (who reigned from 1762 to 1796). Reporting what Diderot had told him, Voltaire wrote to Madame du Deffand: 'On parle français à la cour de l'Impératrice plus purement qu'à Versailles' ['A purer form of French is spoken at the Empress's court than at Versailles'].²³

The Russian aristocracy were far from alone in their use of this language. French played a similar role in other parts of Europe, notably in the German-speaking world. Catherine was of course German herself and at the court in which she grew up, at Zerbst, to speak French was the norm.²⁴ The same was true of the court of Brunswick in the late seventeenth century, thanks to the presence of Eléonore d'Olbreuse, first as mistress and then as the wife of the Duke, and of the Frenchmen and women she brought with her.²⁵ As for Prussia in the age of Frederick the Great, Voltaire was pleasantly surprised to discover the widespread use of French on a visit to Berlin, writing that 'Je me trouve ici en France. On ne parle que notre langue' ['It is like being in France here. Only our language is spoken']. Being Voltaire, he could not resist commenting that 'L'allemand est pour les soldats et pour les chevaux' ['German is for soldiers and horses'].²⁶ French was also spoken at the court of Vienna in the reign of Maria Theresia (reigned 1740–80) and that of her co-rulers, her husband Franz Stephan (1745–65), whose father was the Duke of Lorraine, and their son Joseph II (1765–90).²⁷

23 Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Fallois, 2001), 239.

24 Koch, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, 54.

25 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française dès origines jusqu'à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1905–53, 1969–79), vol. 8, 325–7.

26 Voltaire to the marquis de Thibouville, 24 October 1750, in Voltaire, *Complete Works*, vol. 95 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1970), 375–6.

27 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 548–51.

In Spain, French was spoken at court under the Bourbon dynasty from Philip V (who came to the throne in 1700) onwards.²⁸ In Italy, it was spoken at the court of Parma after Philippe, the son of Philip V of Spain, became Duke in 1748. The adventurer Casanova recorded his surprise when walking the streets of the city and hearing only French and Spanish spoken. He noted in his memoirs (themselves written in French) that ‘Il me sembla que je n’étais plus en Italie’ [‘I felt as if I was no longer in Italy’].²⁹ It was virtually the same story in Tuscany, which was ‘invaded’ by Lorrainers after the succession of the Lorraine dynasty in 1737.³⁰

In the north of Europe, we find the same trend. In England, if elites did not speak French, at least they peppered their English with French terms such as *grand monde*, *risqué*, *épuisée* or *à la mode* itself (as in Italian), according to William Congreve’s *Marriage à la Mode* (1673). In Sweden, French was in use at the court of Gustav III (who reigned from 1771 to 1792). A French diplomat wrote home that the king pronounced French well.³¹ In the United Provinces, French was spoken alongside Dutch at the court of Prince Fredrik Hendrik (in office 1625–47), while in the eighteenth century it was the language of high society in The Hague. By 1805, according to a French newspaper, French was spoken by ‘la plupart des Hollandais distingués par leur fortune et leur éducation’ [‘the majority of Dutch people distinguished by their fortune and education’], even ‘dans l’intérieur de leurs familles’ [‘in the privacy of their families’].³² French was also spoken in Brussels at this time.³³ Mixing the mother tongue with French phrases appears to have been common practice. From this point of view the Dutch equivalent of *War and Peace* is the epistolary novel *Sara*

28 *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 49 ff.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 101.

30 *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 115.

31 *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 440; Fumaroli, *Quand l’Europe parlait français*, 353.

32 *Gazette nationale*, quoted in Willem Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: KNAW, 2010), 8 n.

33 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 5, 223, vol. 8, 191, 340; Marcel Deneckere, *Histoire de la langue française dans les Flandres* (Ghent: Romanica Gandensia, 1954); Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid*.

Burgerhart (1782) by Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, in which the letters are full of phrases such as *petits maîtres, charmant, ma chère, je suis enragée* [fops, charming, my dear, I am maddened] and so on.

It is a similar story in East-Central Europe, where French replaced Italian as the High language. In Hungary, French was in use among the upper classes in the eighteenth century.³⁴ In Poland, French was the court language in the seventeenth century, especially in the reign of Władisław IV (1632–48) and his French queen, Marie-Louise Gonzaga, who is said to have spoken nothing but her mother tongue to her husband, and that of Jan Sobieski (1674–96), who always spoke and wrote to his wife Marie Casimire in French; and also in the age of Augustus of Saxony, who was twice King of Poland between 1697 and 1733.³⁵ In other words, in the case of French, the Russian court was following the example of its Polish neighbour, as it had done in other cultural domains in the seventeenth century, although the initiative in the Russian case came from a German empress. In Moldavia and Wallachia, on the other hand, Greek was the High language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, used in education, for instance, before it was displaced by French. Its use there was doubtless encouraged by the political dominance of some Greek merchants, the Phanariots, in the eighteenth century.³⁶

Maps are useful simplifications but they are usually less reliable than they look. As was remarked earlier, reconstructing the history of speech

34 Robert J. W. Evans, 'The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and the Vernaculars in Eighteenth-Century Hungary', in Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms, eds, *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 200–24, at 207.

35 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 453–6; Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego*, 153; Jozef Birn, 'Język francuski w Polsce w epoce saskiej', in Henryk Barycz and J. Hulewicz, eds, *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej* (Warsaw: PWN, 1949), 379–90.

36 Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les académies princières de Bucharest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Salonika: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974); cf. Lia Brad Chisacof, 'Modern Greek in the Romanian Principalities: The Eighteenth Century', in Philippaki-Warburton, *Themes*, 463–9. See also Luisa Valmarin, 'Multiculturalismo ed eteroglossia dell'antica letteratura rumena', in Brugnolo and Orioles, eds, *Eteroglossia e plurilinguismo letterario*, vol. 2, 151–62, at 154.

from the evidence of texts is a hazardous enterprise. We should not take the testimonies of travellers and diplomats too literally and assume that many people spoke a foreign language either correctly or all the time. Arguing by analogy with later situations studied by sociolinguists, it might be more plausible to suggest that people often spoke foreign languages incorrectly and that they did not speak them all the time, even in the High domains. In the case of the Dutch, for instance, as the example of *Sara Burgerhart* suggests, Willem Frijhoff is surely correct to compare what he calls the 'Franderlands' spoken in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with today's 'Dunglish'.³⁷ Returning to Ferguson, it is worth noting that he has been criticized for exaggerating the separation between High and Low Arabic and ignoring mixtures of the two.

All the same, the spread of French was so rapid that by the late eighteenth century, some European writers, notably Antoine de Rivarol, were describing it as a 'universal' language.³⁸

The geopolitics and sociology of diglossia

It is time to move from description to explanation, following the precedent of Rivarol's German contemporary Johann Christoph Schwab in a dissertation on 'the reasons for the universality of French', first published in German in 1784.³⁹ Comparing the spread of Italian, Spanish, German, French and English in the past, present and future, Schwab offered both internal and external explanations. After claiming that some languages, notably French, are superior to others (or more exactly, become superior to others) as instruments of communication, Schwab turned to external

37 Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid*, 45.

38 As discussed in the introductory chapter to this volume. See also Jürgen Storost, *Langue française, langue universelle? Die Diskussion über die Universalität des Französischen an der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften: zum Geltungsanspruch des Deutschen und Französischen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 1994).

39 Johann Christoph Schwab, *Dissertation sur les causes de l'universalité de la langue française* (1784; French translation 1803; new edn, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005).

explanations of what he called the ‘propagation’ of languages, in terms of both politics (the preponderance of particular nations, first Spain and then France) and culture (the association between the French language and French civilization). What follows may be described as a series of footnotes to Schwab, developing and expanding his suggestions.

In the first place, internal explanations. The early modern period was the time of the so-called rise of the vernaculars, in other words the increasing use of some of these vernaculars, at the expense of Latin, especially for High purposes such as writing philosophy or epic poems, making speeches or delivering lectures. However, different vernaculars emerged as rivals of Latin at different times. Until this happened it would be difficult to have a conversation about philosophy, for instance, without switching into Latin or into a language in which people had already borrowed the relevant terms from Latin or created equivalents of their own. Lippomano noted in 1574 that ‘everyone’ spoke Latin as a result of the poverty of Polish (‘tutti universalmente studiano nella lingua latina [...] quasi tutti parlano comodamente’ [‘everybody everywhere studies in the Latin language [...] almost everybody speaks it easily’] because Polish is ‘molto ristretto e povero di parole’ [‘very limited and lacking in words’]).⁴⁰ These considerations are more relevant to writing than speaking and to scholars than nobles, but they should not be forgotten.

There is much more to say about external explanations, where politics dominates. Indeed, some linguists refer to the ‘geopolitics’ of language, and others to dominant and dominated languages.⁴¹ Languages of conquest, for instance, like Spanish in Mexico and Peru, French in Brittany and Occitania or English in Wales or Ireland.⁴² The terms ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’

40 Eugenio Albrèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, first series, vol. 6 (Florence: a spese dell'editore, 1862), 273–316, at 284.

41 Raffaella Simone, ‘Geopolitica delle lingue tra Cesarotti e Leopardi’, in Harro Stammerjohann, ed., *Italiano: lingua di cultura europea* (Tübingen: Narr, 1997), 37–48; Grillo, *Dominant Languages*.

42 Geraint Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 63–4, 80–1; Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

are particularly appropriate in cases in which the use of the language of the conquerors is enforced, at least in some domains. For example, in 1768, Charles III of Spain made Castilian the obligatory language of education in Catalonia. More often, though, the use of a foreign language as a High form reveals cultural hegemony rather than naked power relations. In the south of France in the nineteenth century, for instance, where Gascon or Provençal was still the everyday language, French was used as a mark of respect, by a boy inviting a girl to dance, for example. French might also be expected by the audience in the case of sermons preached on special occasions, even if the language was not understood by everyone.⁴³

The use of a foreign language as a High form implies a view of one's own language as inferior or barbarous, either because of its perceived 'poverty' or by association with a view of the country as culturally backward. It is part of a more general phenomenon that might be described as 'xenophilia', the complementary opposite of xenophobia. The famous Russian debate between Westernizers and Slavophiles should be viewed not only as a unique event but also as an extreme case of a common phenomenon.

Xenophilia seems to have been widespread among the upper classes in many parts of early modern Europe, although it was sometimes challenged. The critique of the invasion of German by French words, especially in the domain of good behaviour (*compliment, galant, mode*, etc.), was particularly intense in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ This linguistic campaign was part of a more general reaction against foreign and especially French cultural models, from clothes to cuisine, the *Nachahmung der Französer* [imitation of the French] denounced by the philosopher Christian Thomasius.⁴⁵

In the case of Spanish from the age of Philip II (who was King of Spain from 1556 to 1598) to that of Philip IV (King of Spain from 1621 to 1665),

43 Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 87–8.

44 Hans Wolff, *Der Purismus in der deutschen Literatur des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1888: reprinted Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975).

45 Christian Thomasius, *Von Nachahmung der Französer* (1687: reprinted Stuttgart: Göschen, 1894).

like French in the age of Louis XIV, this linguistic hegemony was in part the result of the association between the language and the political power of the state where it was spoken as a mother tongue. On the other hand, the hegemony of German was mainly associated with trade, while that of Italian (Tuscan) was almost purely cultural (even if Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici supported the spread of Tuscan for political reasons), since its status depended on the poems written by Petrarch and his many followers, and later on Italian opera.⁴⁶ Latin was a possible High language (and in Russia, Church Slavonic), but the upper classes did not adopt either, probably to distinguish themselves from the clergy and from scholars, whom they often regarded as 'pedants'.

As for French, especially in the eighteenth century, it came to be seen by the upper and middle classes in many parts of Europe as the language of politeness, civilization, enlightenment and universalism. By the end of the period we can add the idea of modernity. Early in the nineteenth century the Italian poet Giacomo Leopardi called France 'the thermometer of all that is modern.'⁴⁷ One might compare the spread of the French language with that of French fashions, which replaced Spanish fashions in Italy and elsewhere from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. In the case of Russia, as Juri Lotman puts it, French was 'the bridge for the movement of ideas and cultural values'. The English writer and politician Thomas Macaulay, arguing in 1835 in favour of the use of English in India, took this example as a precedent, claiming that 'the languages of Western Europe civilized Russia.'⁴⁸

The work of Pierre Bourdieu reminds us that diglossia may also be used as a weapon in conflicts within a given society. His famous study of

46 Sergio Bertelli, 'Egemonia linguistica come egemonia culturale', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976), 249–81; Gianfranco Folena, *L'italiano in Europa: esperienze linguistiche del Settecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983) and Harro Stammerjohann, ed., *Italiano: lingua di cultura europea* (Tübingen: Narr, 1997).

47 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 5, 303; Leopardi quoted in Simone, 'Geopolitica', 46 (my translation).

48 Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 15.

La distinction (1979) discussed the many ways in which one social class, especially one considered to be high, distinguishes itself from another class that it considers to be lower, in food, clothes, the furnishing of rooms and so on. In this book Bourdieu had little to say about language (oddly enough, since he was himself a Gascon speaker from Béarn) but he made up for this omission in a later book, *Ce que parler veut dire* [*What Speaking Means*] (1982).⁴⁹ In a way the use of foreign languages by the upper and middle classes in the early modern period resembles the use of slang by teenagers or thieves. In all these cases, language acts as a symbol or marker of an in-group. In similar fashion, Richard Wortman has argued that by ‘displaying themselves as foreigners, or like foreigners, Russian monarchs and their servitors affirmed the permanence and inevitability of their separation from the population they ruled’.⁵⁰

In the case of early modern Europe the importance of a single institution, the court, in spreading the use of High forms deserves to be emphasized, especially when the court was full of foreigners who had arrived in the train of the queen. The example of the court was often followed by nobles elsewhere, the nobles by the middle class and so on. In his famous study of the civilizing process, the sociologist Norbert Elias had little to say about language as either a means of civilizing or as an object of the process. All the same the history of language illustrates his arguments rather well.⁵¹ It should be added that what we see in this case are High forms defined by location rather than (as in Ferguson’s formulation), by topic.

Another conclusion that emerges from this brief comparative survey may be summed up in the phrase, ‘Cherchez la femme’ [‘Look for the woman’]. The role of queens in the process of diglossia deserves to be

49 Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction* (Paris: Minuit, 1979). Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire* (Paris: Fayard, 1982).

50 Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995–2000), vol. 1, 5.

51 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (1939; English translation, revised edn, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000). Cf. Peter Burke, ‘Language in the Civilizing Process’, *Figurations* 23 (June 2005), 2–3.

noted: rulers in their own right such as Catherine de' Medici and Catherine the Great, but also wives and mothers. In the case of Italian, there was Beatrice of Naples, Bona Sforza and the two Eleonora Gonzagas, married to the emperors Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III, and in that of Greek, Theodora Cantacuzino the mother of Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazu, 1558–1601), the ruler of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia. For Spanish, there was Maria of Spain. For German, Louise of Mecklenburg-Güstrow (the wife of Frederik IV of Denmark and the mother of his successor Christian VI). In the case of French, Marie-Louise Gonzaga, Marie Casimire and Eléonore d'Olbreuse all played significant roles.

In short, in a more literal sense than one might have expected, a number of European rulers spoke their 'mother tongue', or more exactly their 'mother's tongue', even if it differed from the language of the majority of their subjects. These examples illustrate the power of women, whether directly as rulers in their own right or indirectly, behind the scenes – even if this is soft power, cultural power. Catherine the Great was unusual among these women only in not promoting her native language.

There were of course many counter-examples in this period of foreign queens who did not launch a fashion for their language. In the case of England, Catherine of Aragon, Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza respectively failed to launch Spanish, French and Portuguese. Foreign kings, such as the Dutchman William III and the German George I, also failed to set a fashion for their languages at the English court. Lest it be thought that the English were unusual in this respect, we should remember that neither Louis XIII's Anne of Austria nor Louis XIV's Maria Theresa persuaded the French court to speak Spanish. Queens played an important role in the history of diglossia, but only when circumstances were favourable.

*

What were the consequences of this widespread phenomenon of diglossia? In a brilliant essay, the Russian polymath Juri Lotman argued that for Russian nobles in the age of compulsory westernization from Peter the Great onwards, everyday behaviour became 'a sphere in which teaching was needed', making the nobleman 'a foreigner in his own country'. Learning

how to behave was like learning a foreign language, and as a result life was perceived as a kind of play.⁵² Lotman did not mention diglossia in this essay (although he did mention it in other essays),⁵³ but the practice of Russians speaking French to other Russians makes one of the most vivid illustrations of his argument.

This argument leads to an important question. Was there a psychological price to be paid for this practice? Were these eighteenth-century Russians divided selves? Did they feel linguistic or cultural self-hatred? If such a price did have to be paid, then one might view the decline of the use of foreign languages as High forms in Europe in the age of nationalism as an inevitable reaction to an intolerable situation.

In any case, however, in the industrial societies of nineteenth-century Europe, national identity was coming to prevail over social identity, while the internationalist and universalist mode of thought characteristic of the Enlightenment declined. In these respects industrial societies may be contrasted with earlier agrarian societies in which the nobility, the group that most practised diglossia, were part of an international network while the peasants were tied to their regions.⁵⁴ Diglossia did not disappear in the nineteenth century, but it was increasingly confined to agrarian societies, from Ireland to Russia and beyond Europe to colonial societies. French was a High language in the Middle East for instance, and English in India, while both languages were used for High purposes in Africa south of the Sahara.

52 Juri Lotman, 'The Poetics of Everyday Behaviour in Russian Eighteenth-Century Culture' (1977): English translation in Alexander D. Nakhimovsky and Alice S. Nakhimovsky, eds, *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 67–94; see 68–72.

53 See Chapter 13 of this volume.

54 This argument is central to Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). On the conflict between the French universalist and the German regionalist and historicist modes of thought, see Karl Mannheim, *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge* (1927: English translation London: Routledge, 1986).

3 The French of Medieval England

In a twentieth-century volume on *Le Français hors de France* [*French outside France*], England does not even figure.¹ From a modern perspective this makes sense, but historically England is important for any understanding of the role of French outside France. It was not only the geographical space in which French was first established as a language of written documents and of historical narrative,² but also a locus where French flourished as one vernacular among others, and therefore of particular interest from a sociolinguistic perspective.

We shall look first at the rise of French in the centuries immediately following the Norman Conquest of England and consider some of the questions raised by the ascendancy of French. Why did it become a major language in England? Who used it and for what purposes? And what contribution did the French of England make to wider francophone literary culture? We shall then go on to examine what happened to French from the middle of the thirteenth century. In this period English became increasingly used as a written language, while French gradually ceased to be a mother tongue. However, as we hope to show, French continued to be vital as both a spoken and a written language, and so we end by discussing some of the contexts in which it remained the language of choice well into the fifteenth century.

1 *Le Français hors de France*, ed. A. Valdman, with the collaboration of R. Chaudenson and G. Manessy (Paris: Champion, 1979).

2 French seems to have been used for documents first in England then in France, by a narrow margin; historical narrative was written in French in England some time before it was used for that purpose in France.

French in England in the first two centuries after the Norman Conquest

The obvious starting point for any discussion of the use of French in medieval England must surely be 1066, and the Norman Conquest. Yet French was not unknown in England before the arrival of William the Conqueror, especially among the upper echelons of society. Edward the Confessor, whose death without a direct heir, in 1066, prompted the claim of Duke William of Normandy to the throne of England, was half-brother to his (Danish) predecessor, Harthacnut, son of Cnut; their mother was Norman, daughter of Richard I Count of Rouen.³ Edward himself spent part of his childhood in exile in Normandy and certainly spoke French.⁴

However, it was not, in fact, inevitable that French would become the dynamic and creative insular tongue that it was in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. Before 1066 Anglo-Saxon was far more established as a language of written literature and of documents than was French. The English were also quite accustomed to administrative and formal records being produced in the vernacular, in so far as written records were used.⁵ Royal writs were written in English, perhaps not in the language of everyday use but in something that was recognizable.⁶

3 Patricia Gillies, 'Anglo-Norman Literature: The Road to Middle English', in Richard North and Joe Allard, eds, *Beowulf and Other Stories: A New Introduction to Old English, Old Icelandic and Anglo-Norman Literatures* (Harlow: Longman, 2007), 455.

4 Ian Short, *A Manual of Anglo-Norman* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2007), 12.

5 M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993, 26–32). In *idem*, *England and Its Rulers*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 40, Clanchy points out that 'a few royal charters for Canterbury continue to be recorded bilingually (in Latin and English) until Henry II's reign in 1155', but English had ceased to be the normal language of written record. On English as a language of record and literature see also Serge Lusignan, *La Langue des rois au Moyen Âge: Le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: PUF, 2004), 162–3.

6 Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 27.

Parts of the Bible had been translated into Anglo-Saxon.⁷ English was also used for the recording of history, most famously in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. French, on the other hand, was still in its infancy as a written language. Only a few French-language texts survive which predate the Norman Conquest of England, and French was not used for administrative purposes at that time.⁸

So how did French come to take over as the dominant language of written culture in England for some two hundred years? After all, Old Norse had not taken over from French when the Norsemen occupied the territory which would become the Duchy of Normandy. Although it has been argued recently that some Norman communities spoke Scandinavian in the eleventh century,⁹ it is clear that by 1066, some one hundred and fifty years after Duke Rollo settled in Normandy, the former 'Norsemen' were using the language of their adopted land.¹⁰ When the Normans arrived in England they were speaking a form of French.¹¹ It was not inevitable, then, that the language of the conquerors and settlers would prevail.

7 F. F. Bruce, *The History of the Bible in English*, 3rd edn (London: Lutterworth Press, 1979), 5–8.

8 If we leave aside the ninth-century Strasbourg Oaths, a romance text embedded in a Latin chronicle, we have the *Sequence of St Eulalia* from the ninth century (a clerical/ecclesiastical text from Northern France), some tenth-century sermon notes in French and Latin on Jonah from Northern France/Wallonia and a tenth-century *Vie de St Leger* from Clermont-Ferrand. We also have the eleventh-century *Vie de St Alexis*, a text which is probably Norman, but the earliest manuscript of which is Anglo-Norman.

9 Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984), 107–21.

10 The Norsemen had become established in what became Normandy following the Treaty of Saint-Claire sur Epte in 911.

11 The term Anglo-Norman has long been used to describe the dialect of French being used in England for the first two hundred years or so after the Conquest, since the majority, though not all of those who came over with the Conqueror, were Norman. For the later period, when traditionally French is considered to be more of a learned language, the term 'Anglo-French' is often used. 'Insular French' is a useful term to cover all forms of French used in England during the Middle Ages.

Around 8,000 men settled in England following the successful invasion, most of them Normans.¹² It was not sheer weight of numbers which led to French taking over in England as the language of court and literature; nor was it cultural superiority: as we have noted, English was far more established as a written language. One major factor was the almost total absorption (or destruction) of the Anglo-Saxon elite. The Anglo-Saxon royal and aristocratic families had suffered serious losses in the two battles of 1066 – in the North against the Vikings, and then the Battle of Hastings. Many of the female members of these families were subsequently married to Normans, with the result that the ruling class, within a surprisingly short time, was largely French-speaking. In David Carpenter's words, 'the English bishops, abbots, aristocracy and a large proportion of the county thegns were swept away, leaving the English simply as monks, peasants, minor gentry and townsmen'.¹³ Another factor was the power of the Church (the main provider of education), since many of the new leading churchmen came from aristocratic and French-speaking families. Some monks may have still been of Anglo-Saxon stock, but a number of new religious houses, like the great Cluniac Abbey of Reading (founded in 1121), were daughter houses of French institutions. Moreover, during the twelfth century, before the foundation of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, priests and scholars were often educated in France. Many of the writers and chroniclers of twelfth-century England travelled to Paris for their education.¹⁴ French was also clearly the language of kings. Walter

12 It is difficult to ascertain the number with confidence; the figure 8,000 is suggested by David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (Penguin: London, 2003), 4. Ian Short, on the basis of data from the Domesday Survey of 1086, estimates that the number of 'French-speaking incomers' would be c. 15,000, i.e. around one per cent of the total population (*A Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 25–6).

13 *Ibid.*, 3.

14 Gerald of Wales was one such writer: see Ad Putter, 'Multilingualism in England and Wales, c. 1200: The Testimony of Gerald of Wales', in Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby, eds, *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and Its Neighbours* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 84. See also Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 21 (Oxford, 2004), 925–8. Walter

Map, an astute observer of the court of Henry II of England,¹⁵ commented that Henry understood all the languages from the Channel to the Jordan but spoke only Latin and French.¹⁶

That is not to say that as French progressed English disappeared, even in the families with mixed marriages. The example of the monk and chronicler Orderic Vitalis is often cited in this connection. Orderic was born in 1075 of mixed parentage: his mother was English, his father assumed to be Norman.¹⁷ According to his own account of his arrival at a monastery in Normandy at the age of ten, he had no French, possibly because as a young child he would have been cared for by English-speaking women and would have spent relatively little time with his French-speaking father.

A final reason for the ascendancy of French in England after the Norman Conquest was that French – thanks largely to the remarkable and widespread success of Norman warriors – rapidly became a major international language. England stood at the beginning of what Robert Bartlett has called the aristocratic diaspora – a largely Norman led, French-speaking phenomenon.¹⁸ By the end of the twelfth century French was spoken in England, Scotland and Ireland, France and Wallonia, the Latin Kingdoms of the Holy Land and, in the early thirteenth-century, parts of Greece; it was also a known literary language of composition in parts

Map also received his higher education in Paris: see C. N. L. Brooke, 'Map, Walter', *ibid.*, vol. 36, 577.

15 Henry II was Duke of Normandy from 1150/51 and King of England from 1154 to 1189.

16 'Linguarum omnium que sunt a mari Gallico usque ad Iordanem habens scienciam, Latina tantum utens et Gallica' ['He had a knowledge of all the tongues used from the French Sea to the Jordan but spoke only Latin and French']. See Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 237, and the translation by M. R. James (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1923), 261. There is a revised edition and translation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

17 J. O. Prestwich, 'Orderic Vitalis (1075–c.1142)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, October 2006, at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20812>> (accessed on 26.06.2013); D. A. Trotter, 'Anglo-Norman', in Glanville Price, ed., *The Languages of Britain* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 220.

18 Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994).

of Italy. Thus it was 'the most cosmopolitan of vernaculars'.¹⁹ French was therefore a useful tool for kings and merchants alike. It was above all this cosmopolitan quality, Michael Clanchy maintains, that led to French being the prestigious literary language it undoubtedly became in England. 'It was not the Norman Conquest', he surmises, 'but the advance of French as an international and cultural language', which led to increased use of French in written documents in England; according to Clanchy, French as a literary would have arrived in England whether or not there had been a Norman Conquest.²⁰ This is a contentious statement but can be defended with some reservation; the Norman Conquest was part of the diaspora, and contributed to the European-wide spread of French, but the rise of French in England was also promoted by its usefulness as an international language.

In short, French was not a foreign language in England during the two centuries following the Conquest. Complaints about 'foreigners coming in and taking our jobs,' directed at retainers accompanying royal brides or perhaps at incoming churchmen, were not about people speaking another language; the complainants and the incomers would often have spoken the same language. The thirteenth-century monk and chronicler Matthew Paris was anti-French in his sentiments but wrote in French as well as Latin.

It should also be noted that the Normans had not conquered a monolingual society. England was multilingual before and after 1066. In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, Old Norse would have been a major means

19 John Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love, Political and Cultural Values in the Earliest History Written in French: Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', in C. Warren Hollister, ed., *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 33.

20 Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 212–15, especially 214. Begoña Crespo, on the other hand, explains the arrival of French in England as 'a consequence of a violent historical event that turned upside down the political structure of the country: the aristocratic invasion of the Normans made possible a bilingual situation among the people': 'Historical Background on Multilingualism and Its Impact on English', in D. A. Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 23.

of communication in certain circles and geographic areas.²¹ In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries a number of languages flourished within what is now England. The Celtic languages – Welsh and Cornish – were spoken, especially in the border areas.²² Latin was of course known by the educated and particularly anyone connected to the Church. We have noted that Henry II spoke Latin, though on the whole it is easier to be sure about what people read and wrote than what they spoke. Flemings had also come over with the Conqueror in 1066 and settled in Wales, while in the later Middle Ages there were many Flemish traders and merchants in London.²³

Who used French and for what purpose?

Who in this mixed and multilingual society was using French? If we ask who was *speaking* French (and how competently) the question is difficult to answer, since the spoken language necessarily leaves less evidence than the written. It was, as we have seen, the language of the court, perhaps largely to the exclusion of other languages; we have noted that Henry II did not need to have English. An anecdote about Henry II in Gerald of Wales' *Journey through Wales* shows him using a knight to interpret his French into English to communicate with a *rusticus*.²⁴ This anecdote suggests not only that the

21 See Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

22 Putter 'Multilingualism', 85, 99–105.

23 *Ibid.*, 102–4. On trading languages in later medieval England, see Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 201–33.

24 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, book 1, chapter 6, ed. James F. Dimock, in J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner, eds, *Giraldus Cambrensis: Opera*, 8 vols, Rolls Series, 21 (London: Longman, 1861–91), vol. 6, 64. Translated by Lewis Thorpe as *The Journey through Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978): see 124. The work is cited and discussed by Putter, 'Multilingualism', 91–3.

king had no English, but also that a knight would have had both languages and been able to use both comfortably. There is much more evidence demonstrating the extensive use of written French which in the twelfth and for much of the thirteenth century was the main language of literary production in England.²⁵ English had not disappeared from the written word completely, but, with French as the language of the court and the law courts, it seems to have been relegated to the margins.²⁶ While twelfth-century and thirteenth-century official records were kept in Latin, it has been established that by the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), French was used by the serjeants responsible for the presentation of pleadings in the king's courts.²⁷

Other communities also adopted French. As H. G. Richardson has pointed out, Jews, for example, would have required French in their dealings with the aristocracy.²⁸ Eva de Visscher has developed this point by looking at both bilingual documents and books; she has argued that for Jews in England it is likely that 'French formed not just a shared means of communication in Jewish-Christian daily, economic and scholarly relations but also, for Jews themselves, served as a language of clarification in the study of Hebrew and Aramaic texts'.²⁹ The evidence of the Jewish community,

- 25 William Rothwell, 'The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 58 (1976), 445–66.
- 26 Mark N. Taylor, 'Aultre Manier de Language: English Usage as a Political Act in Thirteenth-Century England', in Kleinhenz and Busby, eds, *Medieval Multilingualism*, 107–26. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* continued to 1154; on written English after the Conquest, see Lusignan, *La Langue des rois*, 162–3.
- 27 Paul Brand, 'The Language of the English Legal Profession: The Emergence of a Distinctive Legal Lexicon in Insular French', in Richard Ingham, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer 2010), 94–101; see also Paul Brand, 'The Languages of the Law in Later Medieval England', in David Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 63–76.
- 28 H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (London: Methuen, 1960), 201–12.
- 29 Eva De Visscher, 'Hebrew, Latin, French, English: Multilingualism in Jewish-Christian Encounters', in Judith A. Jefferson and Ad Putter, eds, *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain: Sources and Analysis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 99; we are grateful to Dr de Visscher for her advice on this matter.

then, suggests that French served as a lingua franca in wider society, and in this respect too practice in England seems to have followed that in other parts of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Because it was a lingua franca, French was also the language of choice for those wishing to make a text accessible to the largest number of readers possible. Numerous Anglo-Norman writers say in their prologues that they have chosen to write in French in order to be most widely understood.³⁰ For example, the composer of the early thirteenth-century *Vie de Seint Clement* [*Life of St Clement*] complains that much of what was written was not profitable to lay people who did not have a knowledge of 'letters' (Ki en lettrure ne sunt fundé, l. 10), and that books were being written just so that 'autres clers' ['other clerks'] would appreciate them.³¹ He justifies his enterprise as an act of widening access:

Al mien avis mult mieuz serreit
 E a plus grant pru turnereit
 Si li livre de antiquité
 Ki sunt fait de verité [...]
 En tel language tresturné fussent
 Que plusurs genz pru en eussent. (ll. 27–30, 33–4)

[In my opinion it would be much better, and bring much more merit, if books from antiquity which are filled with truth [...] were turned into a language which would allow many to profit from them.]

However, while French may have been a lingua franca across different ethnic and social groups, it was also (and would largely remain) a language of privilege.³² When Anglo-Norman writers wrote of French as a language that was widely understood, they meant understood among those with some

30 For examples see Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 15–18.

31 *La Vie de Seint Clement*, ed. Daron Burrows (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2007).

32 Short, *A Manual of Anglo-Norman*; Susan Crane, 'Anglo-Norman Cultures in England: 1066–1460', in David Wallace, ed., *The Cambridge History of Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35–60.

education. Indeed, the author of *La Vie de saint Clement* explicitly excludes the most ‘vulgar’ readers and listeners, those who would not even have known French. Besides, French was spoken more in urban contexts (where we might expect to find merchants and scholars) than in the countryside.³³

Insular French literature

We can take the thirteenth-century monk and chronicler Matthew Paris of St Albans as an example of how French may have fitted into this multilingual context. Matthew is probably best known for his Latin chronicles. He also illustrated manuscripts of his own works, drew maps with comments and annotations in French, and wrote several saints’ lives in French.³⁴ He exemplifies the dissociation of the use of language and national feeling. By around the middle of the thirteenth century there is a growing hostility towards foreigners, especially foreigners who were favoured by the king, Henry III (reigned 1216–72). Matthew expresses such hostility to incomers in his *Chronica Majora* [*Major Chronicles*] while using French as his second language of written expression. Indeed, there is no evidence at all that Matthew was literate in English, although it is reasonable to assume that he spoke the language.

33 See Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1979), 188–91, and Short, *A Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 26.

34 The *Vie de Saint Auban*, *Vie de St Edmund*, *Estoire de saint Aedward le rei* and a life of St Thomas à Becket of which only fragments survive. Details of the French works of Matthew Paris are listed in *The History of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris*, tr. by Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, in *The French of England Translation Series* (Arizona: Arizona University Press, 2008), 44. On Matthew’s maps, see Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: The British Library, 2011), 294–5.

Matthew Paris was far from unique in writing in French, for England was not simply a consumer of continental French texts. Insular French was to become an important factor in the development of francophone literary culture and in the use of French as a language of record.³⁵ This may be partly because England had, before 1066, a thriving vernacular literary culture, so the writing down of texts in the vernacular was not a strange idea. Anglo-Norman writers were thus among the pioneers of French literature.³⁶

As far as composition of original texts was concerned, perhaps the most significant impact of insular French culture was in the writing of history. All the earliest historical writings in French are in some way insular. Geffrei Gaimar wrote an *Estoire des Engleis* [*History of the Angles*], which was addressed to a certain Constance, wife of Ralf Fitzgilbert of Lincolnshire.³⁷ Wace (d. after 1174), author of two early historical narratives, was associated with the court of Henry II, as was the chronicler Benoît (d. 1173) who took over from Wace as chronicler of the dukes of Normandy.³⁸ Jordan Fantosme was an English cleric who wrote the first eye-witness chronicle in French about the tensions between Henry II and his son Henry the Young King and between England and Scotland. Ambroise, the last of these twelfth-century chroniclers, was a Norman, but working in the train of Richard the Lionheart on his famous crusade. There is, then, a 'flowering of narrative' in Anglo-Norman literature, to use William Calin's phrase, of which the

35 The earliest charter in French redacted in England is from 1170: see Lusignan, *La Langue des rois*, 164. The earliest charters in French from the North of France date from the late twelfth century (*ibid.*, 45–6). On charters and legislation in French from England, see *ibid.*, 164–71.

36 M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 6.

37 Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. Alexander Bell (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1960). Female patronage was also important in the development of insular French literature.

38 Wace, *Roman de Brut*, ed. and tr. Judith Weiss (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999); *idem*, *Roman de Rou*, ed. A. J. Holden, 3 vols (Paris: SATF, 1970–3); Benoît, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. C. Fahlin, 2 vols (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 1951–4).

historical writings are a part.³⁹ We also find particular literary developments of the genre of *chansons de geste* [songs of heroic deeds, or French epic poetry] in an insular context and the use of this form to celebrate specifically English heroes. Anglo-Norman is also significant in the history of Bible translation into French;⁴⁰ again, as with the writing of history, Anglo-Norman took on a function which had already existed for Anglo-Saxon. French texts are thus part of a peculiarly insular literary tradition, but at the same time they belong and contribute to a wider francophone literature.

England was also important for the copying and dissemination of Old French literature. The earliest extant manuscripts of many French texts are insular. These include some of the oldest hagiographic texts in French and the oldest *chansons de geste*: the assonanced version of the celebrated *Chanson de Roland* and the *Chanson de Guillaume* survive only in insular manuscripts.⁴¹ Nor did English patronage of French literature end with the loss of Normandy in 1204. Some of the latest *chansons de geste* manuscripts were also copied in England or for English patrons.⁴²

According to Richard Ingham, the production of literature in insular French declined in the middle of the thirteenth century; after this time, he observes, 'no more poetry was written to entertain an aristocratic milieu', and 'literary creations are largely restricted to devotional works'.⁴³ This is true, for the most part, for narrative texts. However, the copying of French manuscripts continued after the middle of the thirteenth century, and one such manuscript, British Library manuscript Egerton 3028, contains three

39 William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: Toronto University Press: 1994), 21.

40 Trotter, 'Anglo-Norman', 226.

41 For details of the manuscripts, see Ruth Dean and Maureen Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), 51 (para. 76) and 55 (para. 82).

42 In his extensive study of manuscripts in French, Keith Busby highlights the importance of England in the copying of French manuscripts: see K. Busby, *Codex and Content: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 488–512.

43 Richard Ingham, *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language History and Language Acquisition* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2013), 161.

texts which, while adapted from older texts, are such radical adaptations, with considerable abridgment, that they should be considered new compositions. This is the position taken by K. V. Sinclair with regard to two of the three texts in this codex, namely *La Destruction de Rome* [*The Destruction of Rome*] and an Anglo-Norman redaction of *Fierabras*,⁴⁴ and the same could be argued with regard to the first text, described as an 'epitome' of Wace's *Brut*.⁴⁵ Dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, this manuscript contains what could certainly be described as 'poetry written to entertain', though whether for an aristocratic or gentry milieu is uncertain.

Thus French was still very much alive in England a century after the loss of Normandy. Its functions in the thirteenth century were many and varied. While our evidence for oral use (apart from in the law courts) is limited for this early period, it should also be remembered that in the Middle Ages the division between something written to be read and something written to be listened to is less clear, and many written texts explicitly address listeners as well as readers. This assumption of aural comprehension implies an audience familiar with French as a spoken language. The rich literary production and the continued consumption and patronage of French-language texts alongside the use of French as a language of record bear witness to the continuing role of French as a vernacular, a language in regular use in a range of contexts. We have little evidence of how it was acquired in these first two centuries but that in itself suggests it was picked up informally in the home. It did continue to have a higher status than English and French speakers were no doubt in a minority. French was an 'innovative literary vehicle' throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, making a considerable contribution to francophone literature.⁴⁶ Anglo-Norman French was part both of an insular literary culture, which also included English and Latin writings, and of a wider francophone literary culture.

44 K. V. Sinclair, 'Fierabras in Anglo-Norman: Some Cultural Perspective', in Ian Short, ed., *Anniversary Essays* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), 361–77.

45 Dean and Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 35 (entry 50).

46 Ian Short uses the phrase 'innovative literary vehicle' with reference to the rise of English in the fourteenth century (*A Manuel of Anglo-Norman*, 12), but it is equally applicable to French in the preceding centuries.

French and English in the later Middle Ages

When we consider the place and function of French in England at the later end of the medieval period, a different situation confronts us. By the fifteenth century, French was no longer the living language it had been in the century or so following the Norman Conquest. It continued, as we shall see, to be a language of considerable literary prestige, but it did not remain a mother tongue even amongst the highest English nobility. The question of when exactly this change in the status of French occurred has been much debated, as has the question of how deeply and extensively French permeated the social fabric.

According to the late *doyenne* of Anglo-Norman literature, Dominica Legge, whom we cited earlier, England remained thoroughly French-speaking well into the fourteenth century. The opening paragraph of her book *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* conjured the scene with a description of a wall-painting and an inscription (from c. 1350):

When the passer-by pushes open the south door of the Church of the Holy Rood in the remote village of Wood Eaton, his eye lights upon the figure of the giant Christopher on the wall opposite, bearing the comforting legend:

Ke vest image verra
Le iur de male mort ne mvrre.

[He who shall look upon this picture that day shall not make a bad death.]

These words are a reminder of the time when all England was bilingual, and much of it was trilingual [...]⁴⁷

Certainly, evidence of this kind is not isolated. A comparable inscription (c. 1258) can be found on a tombstone in the parish church at Kingswear (Devon); though written as continuous prose (and transcribed as such in the leaflet available in this church), it is obviously a rhyming quatrain:

47 M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1950), 1.

Vous ke ci venez
 pour la alme Philip priez.
 xxx jurz de pardon
 sera vostre guerdon.

[You who come here, pray for Philip's soul. Thirty days of pardon will be your reward.]⁴⁸

Yet such evidence, however colourful, hardly supports the conclusion that 'all England was bilingual' (our italics), because most of England could not read (let alone write).⁴⁹ Writing from the period is therefore almost invariably addressed to the upper echelons of society, and all we can safely deduce from these inscriptions is that the social elite for whom they were intended were still comfortably francophone. The illiterate majority of Englishmen presumably continued to make do with the single language they knew, and that language was English.

If Legge's position of pervasive bilingualism was an exaggeration, so is the common view which has now taken its place, which is that French had already by the early thirteenth century become an artificial language that had to be learned from teachers and manuals of instruction.⁵⁰ Although such manuals do indeed first emerge in England in the thirteenth century, their pedagogic agenda is rather different from the 'teach-yourself-French' guides of today. One of the earliest, Walter de Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* (c. 1280), is clearly not a beginner's manual, but focuses rather on the specialized language *de husbandrie e manaunger* [estate management].⁵¹ With the

48 According to the church leaflet, Philip was a monk and a descendant of Richard Fitzurse, one of the four men who murdered St Thomas.

49 Even by the end of the fifteenth century, when literacy rates had improved substantially, it is estimated that 70 per cent of the population could not read: Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348–1500* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 224–6.

50 Douglas Kibbee, 'For to speke Frenche trewely': *The French Language in England, 1100–1600* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991), 26.

51 Walter de Bibbesworth, *Le Tretiz*, ed. William Rothwell (Aberystwyth: Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub, 2009), Prologue (p. 1). Luis Iglesias-Rabade has emphasized that the concepts and terms used by Walter were 'far removed from everyday

basics of French Walter himself provides little or no help. There would be no point, as he says: 'E n'est pas mester tut a descrivere / Du franceis ki chescun seit dire' ['And there is no need to rehearse fully the French that everyone can speak'; ll. 81–2]. Walter also takes it for granted that his patroness, a member of the gentry rather than the aristocracy, can read French. He encourages speaking to the child in French from the cradle, and use of the possessive adjective or article with the noun (ll. 23–8) to ensure that children learn the correct gender of nouns. Gentry children would thus be raised to speak French as either a first or second language, and would acquire their language skills informally.

Many other later teaching texts survive. The most entertaining of these are the so-called *Manières de parler* [*Forms of Language*], from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which focus on conversational French that is useful for specific social situations, like going to a butcher or meeting a stranger on the road. There is, for example, a charming dialogue between a Parisian and an Englishman, who extols French as 'la [*sic*] plus gracieus [*sic*] parler que soit ou monde et de tous gens mieulx prisee et amee que nul autre' ['the most graceful language in the world and more highly prized and loved by all people than any other language'], and who speaks it so well that the Frenchman is astounded to hear he has never been to France. When asked how he acquired such fine French, the Englishman replies: 'Vraiment, sire, si come je m'ay acoustumee a parler entre les gentils de ce pais icy' ['In truth, sir, I have grown up speaking French in this way

use' and 'so do not imply that French was an acquired language in later thirteenth-century England': see his article 'Multi-lingual Education in England 1200–1500', *Studia Neophilologica* 67 (1995), 185–95 (especially 188). See also Kathleen Kennedy, 'Changes in Society and Language Acquisition: The French Language in England 1215–1480', *English Language Notes* 35 (1998), 1–15; William Rothwell, 'Anglo-French and Middle English Vocabulary in *Femina Nova*', *Medium Aevum* 69 (2000), 34–58; *idem*, 'Husbanderie and Manaungerie in Later Medieval England', in Ingham, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts*, 44–51. The debates surrounding Walter's *Tretiz* are summarized by Karen K. Jambeck, 'The *Tretiz* of Walter of Bibbesworth: Cultivating the Vernacular', in Albrecht Classen, ed., *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 159–84.

amidst the gentlemen of this land here’].⁵² Amongst gentlefolk, French could apparently still be acquired by exposure to spoken French, as it was spoken in noble circles in England.

Another agenda behind some of these manuals is to inculcate *proper* French, i.e. the French of Central France, as distinct from the Anglo-Norman dialect (closely akin to Northern French) which had developed in England; unfortunately, that dialect came so naturally to the scribes of these treatises that the surviving copies themselves invariably exemplify the *faux-pas* which their fastidious authors warned against.⁵³ To distinguish oneself socially from others, it was evidently desirable to speak not merely the French of England, but the French of Paris. Geoffrey Chaucer, who would have learned to speak high-variety French as a page in the household of Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster (the daughter-in-law of Edward III), and who in work and on his travels would often have been exposed to the French of Frenchmen, was a sensitive observer of these social implications of language use. In his General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* he debunks the social pretensions of the Prioress, who ‘peined her to countrefete cheere / Of court, and been estatlich in manere’ [‘tried hard to imitate the behaviour of court, and to be dignified in her manners’], by remarking that the French she likes to speak is ‘After the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe, / For Frenssh of Paris was to hir unknowe’ [‘In the fashion of Stratford-at-Bow, for the French of Paris was unknown to her’].⁵⁴ Stratford-at-Bow was the site of one of the many Benedictine nunneries to which well-to-do families would send their daughters for an education in lady-like manners, but the quality of French-language teaching there obviously left something to be desired.

52 Ed. E. Stengel, ‘Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache’, *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur* 1 (1879), 6–7. For a more recent edition, see Andres M. Kristol, *Manières de langage* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1996).

53 Andres Kristol, ‘Le début du rayonnement parisien et l’unité du français au Moyen-âge: le témoignage des manuels d’enseignement publiés en Angleterre entre le XIIIe et le début du XVe siècle’, *Revue de linguistique romane* 53 (1989), 335–67.

54 Geoffrey Chaucer, General Prologue, ll. 124–5 and 139–40, ed. Jill Mann, *The Canterbury Tales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2005).

French in the later Middle Ages

The emphasis on *proper* French in the pedagogic theory of the period thus goes hand in hand with the continued use of insular dialect in practice. A similar point emerges from an anecdote narrated by Gerald of Wales in his *Speculum duorum* [*A Mirror of Two Men*] (c. 1220):

However, this young man, Master John Blund, an eloquent and learned man, did not ignore the wisdom of his elders and betters, and did not look down on learning, but embraced it wholeheartedly. When, on occasions, we asked him how long his sojourn in France [*in Francia*] had been – for he spoke the language of Frenchmen [*Francorum lingua*] so correctly, so pleasantly, and so delightfully, as if that were his mother tongue and his native one [*tanquam materna sibi que nativa loquebatur*] – he replied that he had never crossed the Channel, but had learnt both the language and the literature from his uncles, Master Robert Blund and Master Walter, canon of Lincoln – both educated and eloquent men, who had long studied in France, and he had devoted as much time to the literature as to the language. Moreover, whenever he heard them utter some elegant and pure French phrase, which was very different from the rough, corrupt French of the English people [*rudique Anglorum a Gallico et feculento longe alienum*], he immediately, in order to remember it more easily, made a note with a pen or a pencil, and was not satisfied in his own mind until he had uttered the word later correctly in context [...].⁵⁵

William Rothwell has argued on the basis of this anecdote that French was by this period a learned language,⁵⁶ but, as Gerald of Wales's Latin terms (supplied in italics) indicate, his point is to distinguish the 'pure' French of native Frenchmen from the impure French spoken in Britain. John Blund had learned to speak the former, which Gerald carefully refers to, not by

55 *Speculum duorum or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Yves Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens and tr. Brian Dawson, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974), 56–7. We have adapted Dawson's translation to reflect Gerald's wording more precisely.

56 William Rothwell, 'The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England', 445–66, and 'A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler français en Angleterre?', in *Mélanges de philologie offerts à Charles Champroux*, 2 vols (Montpellier: Centre d'Etudes Occitanes, 1978), vol. 2, 1975–89.

his usual umbrella term for 'French', *Gallicum*, but as the *lingua Francorum*, i.e. the language of the continental French. This 'pure French' (and not Anglo-Norman) is the language that had to be acquired artificially, and even then one normally acquired it not through formal teaching but by living in France or by imitating Englishmen who had.⁵⁷

It is therefore a little misleading to suggest that Gerald's story provides the answer to the question that forms the title of Rothwell's provocative article: 'A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler français en Angleterre?' ['When Did People Stop Speaking French in England?']. If anything, the story shows the persistence of an insular way of speaking French which was known to be a basilect (i.e. a socially inferior dialect) by those who had taken pains to acquire the *lingua Francorum* (like Gerald of Wales, who had studied at the University of Paris).

Setting aside anecdotal evidence, how *do* we tell when or whether or not French had become an artificial language? One neglected source of information is the evidence of language change. The general principle that makes such evidence relevant is that dead languages do not change, for linguistic evolution is usually a sign that a language is alive. This principle has been the starting point for some valuable linguistic work which has recently been carried out by Richard Ingham, to whom we referred earlier. His findings show that, until the middle of the fourteenth century, Anglo-French underwent some of the same structural syntactical changes as did continental French.⁵⁸ Some simplified examples based on Ingham's work will illustrate the point. In modern French, if an infinitive takes a weak pronoun, that pronoun goes in front of the verb, as in *Il veut le faire*. However, in Old French, the weak pronoun normally followed the verb. The period where this began to change in continental French was the

57 Putter, 'Multilingualism', 84–105.

58 Richard Ingham, 'The Status of French in Medieval England: Evidence from the Use of Object Pronoun Syntax', *Vox Romanica* 65 (2006), 1–22; *idem*, 'The Transmission of Later Anglo-Norman: Some Syntactic Evidence', in Ingham, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts*, 164–82; and *idem*, *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman*. See also David Trotter, 'L'anglo-normand: variété insulaire ou variété isolée? Grammaires du vulgaire', *Médiévales* 45 (2003), 43–54.

thirteenth century, when writers can be seen to alternate between these two possibilities. Thus Philippe de Beaumanoir writes ‘qui sont mis en garrison [...] pur les garder’ [‘who are put in prison [...] in order to guard them’], (with pronoun before infinitive) but also ‘S’il n’a especial comandement de son seigneur de fere le’ [‘If he has no specific order from his lord to do it’] (with pronoun after the infinitive).⁵⁹ Anglo-Norman participated in this same linguistic process. Before 1300 the older construction prevails, as in this Anglo-Norman example (from 1259): ‘chasteaus le rei garder et sustenir les’ [‘to guard the king’s castles and to maintain them’]; but in the fourteenth century the newer construction has become established, as in this example: ‘Et de le retourner’ [‘And to return it’] (1325). The conclusion which Ingham draws from these and other data is that Anglo-Norman in this period remained an organic part of a French language continuum, and was subject to some of the same language changes as was continental French. Another revealing indicator of this is accuracy with regard to grammatical gender in French. In the English language grammatical gender had died out in the thirteenth century. French, of course, still has it, and this makes life difficult for foreigners, because often there is no general rule to tell them whether a noun is masculine or feminine. For non-native speakers the only solution is to memorize lexical items and their genders on a case-by-case basis (*le lait, la mort*, etc.). One would expect non-native speakers to make many mistakes in gender-assignment, but, interestingly, until the mid-fourteenth century such mistakes are rare in Anglo-Norman texts. True, final -e in, for example, feminine adjectives is sometimes missed out but this appears to reflect not gender confusion but a phonological change in the language. When we look at pronoun selection (which should dictate *mon, ton, son* for a masculine noun, but *ma, ta, sa* for a feminine one), Anglo-Norman writers are largely accurate until around the middle of the fourteenth century, after which they lose their grip on grammatical gender.

A more careful reading of the evidence provided by writers such as Gerald of Wales, combined with linguistic analysis, is thus beginning to

59 These and other quotations in this paragraph are taken from Ingham, ‘The Status of French.’

suggest that Anglo-Norman may have been rather more tenacious than we used to think. The crisis point for French-English bilingualism (in a minority of speakers, it should be emphasized) occurred around 1350, at the same time as the Black Death was decimating the English population. (According to Ingham, there may have been a causal relationship between these two events.)

The persistence of French in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

Even though French died out as a mother tongue, it remained alive in specific circles and specialized environments, sometimes in *spoken* as well as in *written* forms. We would like to mention two such environments, apart from the obvious context of the nobility who, as the *Manière de langage* reminds us, could still be heard speaking French at the end of the fourteenth century. The first is the law. As far as the written record is concerned, French and sometimes Latin were the languages of choice, and this continued to be the case well into the sixteenth century. However, the language of legal debate was also French. Its hegemony remained unchallenged until the Statute of Pleading of 1362 which tried to make English the compulsory *viva voce* language in royal and baronial courts. Below is an extract from this Statute in English translation (the original is in French!); the statute ordains that all pleading must henceforth take place in English because:

les leyes, custumes, et estatutz du dit realme ne sont pas conuz communement en mesme le realme, par cause qu'ilz sont pledez, monstrez, et jugez en la lange Franceis, qui est trop desconue en dit realme [...] toutes plees qui seront a pleder en ses Courtz [...] et places des autres Seigneurs queconques deinz le realme, soient pledez, monstretz, defenduz, responduz, debatuz, et jugez en la lange engleise.⁶⁰

60 *Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols (London, 1810–25), vol. 1, 375–6. Punctuation has been added and abbreviations have been silently expanded.

[the laws, customs and statutes of the said realm are not commonly known in the same realm, since they are pleaded, counted, and judged in the French language which is very much unknown in the said realm [...] all pleas that shall be pleaded in any of his [i.e. the King's] courts [...] and in places of other lords whatsoever in his realm, shall be pleaded, counted, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English language.⁶¹]

As Mark Ormrod has shown, the intention behind the Statute was to wrest control of the law away from an elite group of legal specialists who had been trained not only to know the law but also to master the jargon that had developed to express that know-how, that is to say 'law French'. At first glance, the Statute of Pleading would seem to be a triumph of English over French, but we need to reckon not only with the resourcefulness of lawyers but also with linguistic realities. The professional lawyers naturally protected their turf, and the wording of the new law, as they recorded it in the statute books, offered them a useful exit clause: 'and that the laws and customs of the said realm, terms, and processes be upheld and observed as they are and have been before that time'. In practice, knowledge of French remained a necessity for anyone going to court in the next two centuries to come. In particular, the formal statement of the case continued to be recited in French – not only in order that 'processes be upheld and observed as they are and have been', but also for purely pragmatic reasons: the language of legal precedent was French, and English did not have the lexical resources to take over.⁶² The fifteenth-century English lawyer, Sir John Fortescue, offered the following perspective in his Latin treatise *De Laudibus legum Anglie* [*In Praise of the Laws of England*] (c. 1470):

The English were used to pleading [in French], until the custom was much restricted by force of a certain statute; even so, it has been impossible hitherto to abandon the custom in its entirety, partly because of certain terms which pleaders express more accurately in French than in English, partly because the declaration upon original

61 The translation is by Mark Ormrod, 'The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England', *Speculum* 78 (2003), 756.

62 This point is well made by William Rothwell, 'English and French after 1362', *English Studies* 82 (2001), 539–59.

writs cannot be stated so closely to the form of these writs as they can in French, in which tongue the formulas of such declarations are learned.⁶³

This returns us to linguistic realities which the lawmakers in 1362 failed to confront: it was (and is) naïve to suppose that functions that have been monopolized by a single language can be performed by another language without a lengthy period of linguistic adjustment.

A second context in which French was still heard as well as written until about the early fifteenth century was that of the guildhall. There are two underlying reasons for the persistence of French in the circles of prosperous merchants. The first is that the civic elite modelled itself on the aristocracy. The revealing comment here is made by John Trevisa in his translation (1385) of a Latin chronicle (*Polychronicon*) by Ranulf Higden:

Also, gentilmen children buþ y-tauȝt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ y-rokked in here cradel, and conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne hamsylf to gentilmen, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch for to be more y-told of.

[Also, gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in their cradle and can speak and play with a child's trinket; and common people like to imitate gentlemen and try with much effort to speak French in order to be rated more highly.]⁶⁴

The booming industry in French-language textbooks is partly explicable as the by-product of this social rivalry: 'oplondysch men' who did not learn French from the cradle had to master the language by other means, such as schooling and book learning. The second reason why French was cultivated by merchants was purely practical: merchants travelled, and French was the *lingua franca* of western Europe.⁶⁵ The patricians of medieval towns and

63 Cited in Ormrod, 'The Use of English', 773.

64 Both Latin and English passages (together with Caxton's 1482 translation) are cited from the edition by Fernand Mossé, *Handbook of Middle English*, tr. James A. Walker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1952), 287.

65 See also Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The French of England: A Maritime *lingua franca*', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Carolyn Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, Linne Mooney,

guilds thus also maintained French, not only for the purposes of written records but also in some spoken situations. For example, oaths in the guild house would have been sworn in French, and most official proclamations in English towns were announced in French. These habits only changed in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁶⁶

The reading and production of French literature in the later Middle Ages

We come finally to written French. French literature evidently enjoyed social prestige, and up to the end of the medieval period the leisure reading of the English aristocracy and higher clergy (as we can reconstruct it from booklists, wills and inventories) was dominated by French. For example, the Count of Warwick bequeathed to Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire ‘Un volum en lequel est le premer livre de Launcelot’ [‘a volume containing the first book of Lancelot’], ‘Un Sauter de Romaunce’ [‘a Psalter in French’] and ‘un volume en lequel sont contenez touns [*sic*] Romaunces’ [‘a volume containing all kinds of romances’].⁶⁷ Again, the early-fifteenth-century library of Thomas Duke of Gloucester contained eighty-four ‘livres de diverses rymances et Estoires’ [‘books of various romances and histories’]; strikingly, only three books in his vast collection were in English.⁶⁸ This

Ad Putter and David Trotter, eds, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–1500* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 103–17.

- 66 Richard Britnell, ‘The Use of French in English Towns’, in Wogan-Browne *et al.*, eds, *Language and Culture*, 81–90, and Ad Putter, ‘Code-Switching in Langland, Chaucer and the *Gawain* Poet: Diglossia and Footing’, in Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright, eds, *Code-Switching in Early English* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 281–302.
- 67 Madeleine Blaess, ‘L’abbaye de Bordesley et les livres de Guy de Beauchamp’, *Romania* 78 (1957), 511–18.
- 68 H. A. Dillon and W. H. Hope, ‘Inventory of Goods and Chattels Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester’, *Archaeological Journal* 54 (1897), 275–398.

picture is confirmed by the hundred or so surviving manuscripts of Middle English romances. With few exceptions these seem to have been owned and read by the middling landowners or prosperous merchants rather than by the aristocracy. The reason must be that the high nobility preferred to own and read romances in French. A notable exception proves the rule: somewhere in London (c. 1400) an English book producer put together a *de luxe* manuscript (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 264) containing a handsomely illustrated text in French, the *Roman d'Alexandre* [*Romance of Alexander*] and the *Livre des merveilles du monde* [*Book of the Marvels of the World*], better known in English as the *Travels of Marco Polo* (also in French).⁶⁹ Reading the French *Alexandre*, the scribe thought (mistakenly as it happens) that an episode from it had gone missing, and so he copied out in the same manuscript a Middle English Alexander romance, *Alexander and Dindimus*, to make good the loss. The manuscript contains a note on the inside of the back cover to say it was purchased by Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, in London in 1466. Here, for once, we have a case of an English aristocrat buying a book with an English romance in it, but the case is exceptional and came about purely by scribal accident. It is worth noting that Woodville's ownership note in the manuscript was written in French.

As this manuscript also shows, one important thing did change in later medieval England. The literature consumed by the high nobility might still be in French, as it was in the first two centuries after the Norman Conquest, but that literature was now generally being imported rather than home-produced. This was an inevitable consequence of the demise of French as a living vernacular in the course of the fourteenth century. Moreover, since many English noblemen spent time in France during the Hundred Years' War with France (1337–1453), circumstances 'conspired to make French texts as easily available as English ones to these readers.'⁷⁰ Thus the *Roman d'Alexandre* in Douce 264 was sourced from Tournai (in present-day Belgium). The

69 For a full study of this manuscript, see Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d'Alexandre: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011).

70 Julia Boffey, 'English Dream Poems of the Fifteenth Century and Their French Connections', in Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, eds, *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 120.

fifteenth-century book producer John Shirley similarly brought French texts back with him when he travelled abroad. Some of these, it is true, he published in English translation, but that did not mean he thought English was the superior language. His comments in his translation of *Le secret de secrez* [*The Secret of Secrets*] (c. 1440) suggest the contrary:

out of Franssh now it is translated into our reude volgaries moders tonge by your humble servitoure in his last yeres and febull age, John Shirley, ever submytting both hym and this, his symple warke, to your favourable correccioun, supportacioun and amende where your wisdom and gentillesse cane thynke there is nede, sith that Englissh is soo boistous and harde to applie in after all the curiosite of the fayre said language of Franssh which amonge the multitude of this worlde is most renommed and desired [...]⁷¹

Nor did the English stop writing their own French literature altogether in the fifteenth century. While as a general rule French literature was now imported (or composed in England by resident Frenchmen), there are interesting exceptions. Courtly lyrics and in particular verse epistles were genres in which an English writer might well try his or her hand. Trinity College (MS Trinity Cambridge R.3.20), one of the manuscripts copied by John Shirley, gives an idea of the polyglot environment of the French lyric. The manuscript freely combines English lyrics (by Chaucer, Lydgate and others) with French ones by Deschamps and Chartier; on pages 49–50 a lyric by Lydgate ('This worlde is ful of stabulnesse') is preceded by the French poem of which it is a translation ('Le monde va en amendaunt'), so that discerning readers can savour both and judge their relative merits.⁷² This is literature for and by *connoisseurs*, some of whom not only read but also wrote lyrics in French. A number of poems in the Trinity codex were composed by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1396–1450), who had been imprisoned in France during the Hundred Years' War. That Suffolk did not actually write some of the poems which Shirley fathered on him

71 Cited from Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 127. For the sake of comprehensibility, we have added punctuation and regularized *v* and *u*.

72 Connolly, *John Shirley*, 90.

matters less in this context than the fact that Shirley thought it was plausible to attribute French poems to an English nobleman.

When lyric sentiments had to be expressed in letter form, French came even more naturally to English people since (as far as we can tell from surviving letters) the language of correspondence was French and Latin; English was not used until the fifteenth century.⁷³ A fifteenth-century French grammar by John Barton mentions this circumstance as one of the reasons why English people need to know French:

Pour ceo que les bones gens du Roiaume d'Engleterre sont enbrasez a scavoire lire et escrire, entendre et parler droit Francois afin qu'ils puissent entrecomuner bonement ove leur voisins, c'est a dire les bones gens du roiaume de France, et ainsi pour ce que les leys d'Engleterre pour le graigneur partie et beaucoup de bones choses sont misez en Francois, et aussi bien prez toutz les sires et toutes les dames en mesme roiaume d'Engleterre volentiers s'entrescrivent en romance – tresnecessaire je cuide estre aus Englois de scavoire la droite nature de Francois.

[Because the good people of the realm of England are passionate to learn to read and write, understand and speak correct French so that they are able to communicate well with their neighbours, that is to say the good people of the realm of France, and also because most of the laws of England and many fine compositions are put in French, and also because almost all gentlemen and all ladies of this same realm of England readily write to each other in French, it seems to me essential that English should know correct French.]⁷⁴

This usefully summarizes the fields in which French continued to thrive in the fifteenth century: law, letter-writing and finally *bones choses* – which refers to that genre of writing for which English even now retains a French phrase: *belles lettres*.

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As the phrase *belles lettres* – an eighteenth-century borrowing into English – suggests, the history of French in England does not finish with the Middle

73 Ad Putter, 'The French of English Letters: Two Trilingual Verse Epistles in Context', in Wogan-Browne *et al.*, eds, *Language and Culture*, 397–408.

74 Stengel, 'Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften', 35.

Ages; but this is where our story ends. As we have seen, the linguistic situation of French changed considerably over the medieval period. In the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, French was the mother tongue of the ruling elite, and this remained the case for the next few generations, who were soon bilingual. The creative energy of this period was impressive. Far from being on the fringes of cultural production, England found itself in the vanguard of innovation in French literature in a number of genres, such as romance, *chanson de geste*, and chronicle. The issue of when French became an artificial language has been much debated, but recent research suggests that it remained a living vernacular language for longer than has been previously been thought. Linguistic evidence points to the fourteenth century as the critical period of decline. The second half of that century has certainly been associated with ‘The Triumph of English’,⁷⁵ but it is doubtful whether French ever became ‘artificial’ in the Middle Ages. Well into the fifteenth century, there were particular occasions (for instance, when verse epistles had to be composed or when legal cases had to be stated at court) on which French was the natural language in the minds and mouths of many English people.

How typical or atypical is the medieval English situation in comparison with other cultures in which French was spoken or written alongside another vernacular language? This is a difficult question – though one that should become easier to answer with the benefit of the range of European perspectives which this volume brings together. In some respects, the medieval English situation is no doubt *sui generis*: it was brought about by a specific historical event, the Norman Conquest of 1066; and French had to play its part in a distinctive linguistic mix. This chapter has focused on the relationship between French and the other main vernacular, English, but (as we have remarked earlier) other vernacular languages, most notably the Celtic languages, were part of that mix. Of course, there was also Latin: the lingua franca of book learning and the language (written and spoken) of the Church. However, in other respects, the medieval English

75 This is the title of a book by Basil Cottle: *The Triumph of English, 1350–1400* (London: Blanford, 1969).

situation no doubt bears comparison with that of other countries and periods. Derek Pearsall indeed invites such a comparison when explaining why French continued to be socially useful to the English at the close of the Middle Ages:

The French language is quietly ubiquitous, as if it was taken for granted in this high-society role – not so much a heady and exotic spice as a universal European language of sentiment, fulfilling a role in internationalizing court society that Latin performed in the world of learning. The analogy with Russian society in the nineteenth century is quite tempting. There, as most of us have to understand from indications in English translations of Russian works, educated Russian speakers would drop easily into French to express particular kinds of sophisticated or subtle or intimate sentiments, or when they did not want the servants to understand what they were saying.⁷⁶

However remote and peculiar it may seem, the linguistic matrix of medieval England may yet offer us insights into the experiences of other, later cultures.

76 Derek Pearsall, 'The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century', in Helen Cooney, ed., *Nation, Court, and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 25.

4 Knowledge of French in Piedmont

Piedmont as a borderland

The geographical position of Piedmont has always shaped the region's destiny as a borderland with a dual personality. Situated in the corner of Italy protected by Europe's highest mountain range, Piedmont has been the gateway to the peninsula from the north and the west, serving, thanks to the Alpine passes, as a bridge linking the Italo-Romance and the Gallo-Romance worlds. The latter world, moreover, is contained within its own modern boundaries by the broad area of Provençal and Franco-Provençal varieties which straddles the Alps. The linguistic situation in Piedmont is the outcome of the history of territory that is connected to France by a common Celtic substratum but that has been separated from France and split internally, since the age of Augustus, into three great zones. The Roman province of Transpadua (regio XI Transpadana) in the north was set against the province of Liguria (regio IX Liguria) to the south and these provinces were bounded in the west by the Alpine territory of King Cottius astride the mountain ridge.¹ The Middle Ages further increased this fragmentation, which by the year 1000 had come to be manifested in the formation of the Piedmontese marches (the Marca Aleramica, the Marca Anscarica, the Marca Arduinica and the Marca Obertenga).

In the Middle Ages several small states came into being in this region. First, after long and bitter disputes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an independent state emerged which possessed territory both on the

1 For historical information, see *Storia del Piemonte*, 2 vols (Turin: F. Casanova and Co., 1960), especially Francesco Cognasso, 'Vita e cultura in Piemonte', vol. 2, 639–718.

mountain ridge and, on the Cisalpine side of the ridge, in what are now the Piedmontese valleys running from Montgenèvre to the valley of the River Gesso. This was the Dauphiné, which leaned culturally towards France and was in fact a part of France, politically, from 1349, when the last heir of what had been the state's ruling dynasty, Humbert II, ceded his domain to Philip VI of France. Not until 1713, when the Treaty of Utrecht was concluded, would these lands become part of the Principality of Piedmont. Secondly, in the eleventh century, the March of Montferrat was born out of the dismemberment of the Marca Aleramica. This was a Transapennine state which occupied a broad swathe of territory stretching from Chieri, close to Turin, and Casale as far as the Ligurian Sea. Its linguistic orientation was primarily Italian. Thirdly, at the end of the eleventh century, the independent commune of Asti was founded and for three centuries it held out until, weakened by internal feuding, it submitted to the Viscounts of Milan. A few years later, following the marriage of Valentina Visconti to the Duke of Orléans, Asti passed under French control, where it remained until 1531, when Charles V (King of Spain, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 to 1556) gave it to his sister-in-law, Beatrice of Portugal, the wife of Charles III (Duke of Savoy from 1504 to 1553), thus determining the commune's Piedmontese destiny. Fourthly, in the twelfth century, the March of Saluzzo was formed. This march frequently found itself in conflict with the Duchy of Savoy, which had extended its domains in the Cisalpine area. Unable to resist its powerful enemies, the March of Saluzzo sought help from France in 1487 and it remained under France's protection until 1548, when it was absorbed politically by the larger power. The dukes of Savoy reacted by invading the March of Saluzzo in 1588 and they succeeded in annexing it in 1601.

The Dukes of Savoy, who from the Maurienne (the valley of the River Arc in modern France) progressively extended their domain from Aosta down into Italy, were of Burgundian origin and hence spoke a Gallo-Romance variety. Marriage to the marchioness Adelaide of Susa brought Savoy the county of Susa and the March of Turin, enormously enlarging Savoyard domains in Italy. After the crisis that arose as a result of the Italian Wars of the sixteenth century between France and Spain, the heir to the duchy, Emmanuel Philibert (the son of Charles III and Beatrice of

Portugal), who was already in the service of the Emperor Charles V and had been the architect of the victory at the Battle of St Quentin (1557), was reinstated in his family domains. These domains were greatly increased, as it happened, by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, but the French, who had occupied Turin, were still on his doorstep. Given the international landscape of the time, Emmanuel Philibert believed that he would only be able to expand his territory to the east of the Alps, and so he made a political choice which turned out to be a linguistic choice too. In 1563 he moved the capital from Chambéry to Turin, which in the meantime had been liberated, and turned the court, where French culture was the norm, towards Italian culture. The Savoyard state, however, continued to expand on both sides of the Alps, creating the conditions for the persistent Italian-French bilingualism of the Piedmontese ruling classes.

This brief outline shows how the history of the region conspired with geography to promote the coexistence of dialects of Gallo-Romance type and Italo-Romance type on Piedmontese territory, whether as a result of native developments or of political decisions imposed by rulers. The repercussions of this state of affairs can be seen above all in the use of the languages of culture, which, depending on the time and place, were Italian or French or Italian and French.

The use of French in Piedmont

If the ruling class and in particular the aristocracy of the region were bilingual, the common people who lived in the Piedmontese plain were basically speakers of a dialect. This dialect was of Gallo-Italic type, which, while phonetically close to French, was, and continues to be typologically, an Italo-Romance variety. The population of the mountain valleys, on the other hand, had spontaneously developed a dialect of Gallo-Romance type, that is to say Franco-Provençal or Provençal. Nonetheless, in some areas French, for political or religious reasons, was able to stand alongside the indigenous language as a language of culture. In fact, all the areas that

were periodically subjugated to France plainly used French as an official language and then as a language of culture, while the Waldensian valleys (Pellice, Chisone and Germanasca), which at a religious level looked to Calvinist Geneva, used it in particular for worship and preaching.² In some border areas the use of French increased among the Catholic population as well, because parishes that had originally been within the jurisdiction of Turin became attached to French dioceses. The parish of Oulx in the upper Susa valley, for example, was removed from the bishopric of Turin in the twelfth century and incorporated in the diocese of Embrun, to which it belonged until 1748, when the bishopric of Pinerolo was founded. Again, in Pragelato, preaching was still taking place in French in the early twentieth century.³ Politics had an effect that was no less powerful than that of religion. The practice of using French went back so far that even after the Treaty of Utrecht, which provided for the restoration of the Dauphiné, with its valleys on the Italian side of the mountains, to Savoy, French continued to be officially tolerated, so that decrees written in Italian for the Piedmontese plain were written in French for these areas.

The seasonal migration which led highlanders from the whole arc of the Italian side of the mountains to follow the ancient paths across the passes connecting the two sides helped to keep knowledge of the language of France alive among the common people. Even uneducated people who spoke only the language they had learned at home immediately picked up French, given that theirs was a patois of Gallo-Romance type (Franco-Provençal for people who lived in valleys to the north of Susa, that is to say Lanzo, Orco and Soana; Provençal for those who lived in the more southerly valleys I have already mentioned). Accommodating their own patois to the French learned on the other side of the Alps, the migrants would return, rekindling knowledge that was then transmitted to subsequent generations as well.

- 2 Augusto Armand-Hugon, 'Echi della cultura francese del '700 e dell'800 nelle Valli Valdesi', in *Cultura italiana e francese a confronto nella zona alpina* (Fasano: Schena, 1982), 72.
- 3 Enrico Allasino, Consuelo Ferrier, Sergio Scamuzzi and Tullio Telmon, *Le lingue del Piemonte* (Turin: IRES, 2007), 14.

Institutions took all this into account up until times very close to our own. Thus the statute granted on 4 March 1848⁴ by Charles Albert (King of Piedmont-Sardinia from 1831 to 1849), in response to the revolutionary unrest of that year, while imposing the use of Italian in the Chambers of the Parliament for which the statute provided, allowed parliamentarians from francophone areas⁵ to express themselves according to their custom, which happened to coincide with that of the king himself. From 1854 a regulation provided for the translation of laws into French in communes where French was spoken.⁶ Such sensitivity derived mainly from the fact that Savoy was at that time still part of the Piedmontese state which called itself the Kingdom of Sardinia and therefore the number of citizens whose mother language was French was very large. When in 1860 Savoy was ceded to France, this sensitivity changed and Piedmont adapted itself to the climate of the Risorgimento, which made people look towards the Italian south and no longer towards the French west. Schools were moving in the same direction. In 1859, as Italian unification approached, Piedmont introduced free elementary schooling through the Casati Law, which required that Italian be used, although French continued to be tolerated in those areas in which it was commonly spoken.

Owing to the factors I have mentioned, especially the inclusion of tramontane regions in the Piedmontese state, French persisted to a greater extent than elsewhere in Italy⁷ and the Piedmont ruling class, on the whole, remained strongly bilingual in Italian and French up until Italian

- 4 The statute itself was written in French and then translated into Italian: see L. Spagnolo, *L'italiano costituzionale, Dallo Statuto albertino alla Costituzione repubblicana* (Naples: Loffredo Editore, 2012), 34.
- 5 Article 62 of the Albertine Statute reads: 'The Italian language is the language of the Chambers [of Parliament]. Members who belong to areas in which French is used nevertheless have the option to make use of that language, or [French can be used] in response to such members [...]'
- 6 Article 4 of the law of 23 June reads: 'The proceedings of the government will also contain in a separate series a translation into French of every law for use in communes in which the said language is spoken [...]'
- 7 A. Dardi, 'Uso e diffusione del francese', in *Teorie e pratiche linguistiche nell'Italia del Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984), 35.

unification in the 1860s. Indeed it was on this bilingualism that the unity of the Savoyard State was based. A division between the upper classes and the common people was nonetheless evident and felt. This division was increased, moreover, by the absolute social supremacy that French had in Piedmont, as in Europe as whole, during the eighteenth century, when it became essential for the nobility and upper bourgeoisie, and for women as well as men, to acquire a knowledge of the language in the course of their education.⁸ The aristocracy, recognizing French as its own language, often used it in private communication, as well as in social life, as we see, for example, from the papers of Count Giacinto Roero di Guarene⁹ and from the letters of King Victor Amadeus II to his brother Eugene and to Piedmontese nobles.¹⁰ (Victor Amadeus was Duke of Savoy from 1675 to 1720 and then from 1720 to 1730 King of Sardinia, the Duchy having been transformed into a Kingdom.)

However, French was not only not for everybody, it did not even serve all purposes in high society. This fact is illustrated by the *libri di maneggio* [household account books], dating from the period 1755–60, kept by the Radicati household with the aim of recording the expenses incurred by the family in its everyday life. In this case, the records were managed by a noblewoman, Countess Rosa Maria Felice Cassotti. They were couched in a regional variety of Italian heavily influenced by dialect. French appears in them only in the names of luxury articles, in particular those relating to fashion and furnishings, domains which were inevitably influenced by Paris.¹¹ Examples show us at what an early date

8 See also the richly documented work of Claudio Marazzini, *Storia linguistica di Torino* (Rome: Carocci, 2012).

9 *Ibid.*, 67, with reference to Carlo Giacinto Roero di Guarene, *Lettere*, in Luigi Provana di Collegno, ed., *Campagne di guerra in Piemonte (1703–1706) e l'assedio di Torino (1706)* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1909).

10 *Ibid.*, with reference to Carlo Pio De Magistris, *Lettere di Vittorio Amedeo II nel periodo dell'assedio di Torino del 1706* (Turin: Opes, 1914).

11 Alda Bart Rossebastiano, 'Il "libro di maneggio" di casa Radicati (anni 1755–60). Rilievi lessicali', *Studi piemontesi* 8/1 (1979), 134–52; *idem*, 'Lessico rustico settecentesco da un "libro di maneggio" di casa Radicati', *Studi piemontesi* 9/2 (1980), 388–402.

French loanwords began to be used and, because spelling is so inaccurate, how weak the knowledge of French in fact was: *petenler* for ‘pet-en-l’air’, ‘very low-cut and rather short jacket’, a term not acquired by Italian until the nineteenth century;¹² *culotte, culote* (plural forms), in the sense of ‘breeches which end above the knee, worn by servants and soldiers’, a term not recorded in dictionaries of Italian until the twentieth century as ‘women’s knickers’;¹³ and *pantalone* [trousers], a term acquired towards the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁴

By the last quarter of the century, there is the beginning of a distancing process among members of high Piedmontese society from the invasive presence of French. Bound by the historic bilingualism on which the state had been based, on the one hand, and caught up in the growing demands of the Risorgimento, on the other, intellectuals of the time therefore became involved in heated arguments regarding francophonie and French cultural influence. Italian-French bilingualism turned into antagonism and, as was to be expected, took on decidedly political meaning during the Napoleonic occupation.

Documents from this period shed clear light on the linguistic differences between town and countryside as well as between the upper classes and commoners: French was spoken and understood in the city of Turin but not in the provinces.¹⁵ However, with the arrival of Napoleon the official Gallicization of Piedmont was inevitable. French became the language of schooling, in 1802, and of public administration. Nevertheless, a number of factors – the cautious way in which French was introduced, the use of dialect for teaching purposes and the fact that it proved necessary to find teachers from outside the borderlands – make it clear that people were

12 Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, 5 vols (Florence: Barbèra, 1950–7; hereafter DEI), entry *pet-en-l’air*: documented in French from 1729.

13 DEI; Manlio Cortelazzo and Paolo Zolli, *Il nuovo etimologico. Dizionario Etimologico della lingua Italiana* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1999; hereafter DELIN): see the entry *culottes*.

14 DELIN, entry *pantalone* (1799), in the expression ‘calzoni chiamati alla pantalone’; documented in French from 1650.

15 Marazzini, *Storia linguistica di Torino*, 76.

aware that what was being officially imposed was in fact a foreign language for the lower classes.

The attempt at Gallicization achieved better results among the ruling class than it did among the population as a whole, because the established tradition among that class was different, but this attempt came to a halt for political reasons relating to Italian unification. Standing at the head of the Risorgimento movement, Piedmont had to show that it was Italian from the linguistic point of view, as well as in other respects. We see a striking example of this linguistic shift in the figure of Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, one of the architects of unification. An aristocrat of high rank related to the royal family, Cavour constantly wrote in French during the first part of his life but later on he used Italian even for communications of a practical nature and within his family.¹⁶ Besides, during the post-Napoleonic Restoration after 1815 Victor Emmanuel I (Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia from 1802 to 1821) had already reintroduced the use of Italian in place of French in orders to troops, making a break with the previous situation and sounding a decidedly patriotic note which was later to become more pronounced. All the same, tradition, whatever its origin, carries weight and so, in areas officially recognized as non-Italian-speaking (Franco-Provençal and Provençal areas in the Province of Turin), there still exist today communes which identify themselves as belonging also to the French linguistic minority (Susa, whose language was of Occitan origin, and communes whose language was Franco-Provençal, namely: Angrogna, Bobbio Pellice, Fenestrelle, Inverso Pinasca, Luserna San Giovanni, Oulx, Perosa Argentina, Perrero, Pinasca, Pomaretto, Pramollo, Roure, San Germano Chisone, Torre Pellice, Usseaux, Villar Pellice and Villar Perosa).¹⁷

16 See Camillo Benso conte di Cavour, *Epistolario* (Florence: Olschki, 2007).

17 Allasino *et al.*, *Le lingue del Piemonte*, 5. On these linguistic minorities, see also Edoardo Ballone, *Minoranze assediate* (Torino: SEI, 1988), 64–89, Grado Giovanni Merlo, ‘Le “minoranze etniche” piemontesi, problema storico e storiografico’, in Edoardo Ballone, ed., *L’altro Piemonte. Le minoranze etnico-linguistiche nella regione* (Turin: EDA, 1980), 87–107, and Domenico Garbarino, ‘Montagna, appuntamento mancato’, *ibid.*, 109–33.

French at court

The Savoyard court, as I have said, was transferred from Chambéry to Turin in 1563 at the behest of Emmanuel Philibert, who had identified the Italian peninsula as a possible outlet for his ambition to extend his frontiers. Up until then the language of the ducal house had been French, which was also used by princesses who came from other nations. Charles III, who expressed himself in French with his Piedmontese subjects, also communicated in that language with his Portuguese wife,¹⁸ whilst alternating between French and Italian in his correspondence. His letters are mainly in French up to 1535, at which point Italian began to come to the fore. Thereafter Italian was more often used, evidently for political reasons, during the French occupation of Piedmont, which lasted from 1536 to 1539.¹⁹ The son of Charles and Beatrice, Emmanuel Philibert (who incidentally would marry Margaret of France) was therefore French-speaking from birth. He also had a perfect knowledge of Spanish, which was the dominant language of Europe at that time and which was also routine for him as a result of his activity in the service of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, but he liked to use Italian for political reasons. Thus various languages were used in the duchy at its highest level, and these languages coexisted alongside the Piedmontese dialect, the only language that was really used at a low social level. Nonetheless French featured in this situation as an important court language, as it had before and would again. The ducal chancery therefore had a complete command of French. And yet, outside the chancery, in the same Turin area, command of French was decidedly poor, as we see from its incorrect use, for example, in official documents written in Chieri and Moncalieri.²⁰

The turn towards Italian that Emmanuel Philibert had initiated was continued by his son Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy from 1580 to

18 Gianni Mombello, *Sur les traces d'Alexis jure de Chieri. Le problème des francisants piémontais au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1984), 15.

19 *Ibid.*, 16.

20 *Ibid.*, 18.

1630. Charles Emmanuel devoted himself to the development of a court well versed in the Italian literary tradition after interference from Spanish had been felt following the arrival of Catherine Michelle of Spain (known in Italy as Catherine of Austria), the daughter of Philip II, who had transferred to Turin a small Iberian court whose effect was felt even on the local dialect. However, the pendulum swung back again and the Gallicizing trend was further strengthened in 1619 by the marriage of Victor Amadeus I (Duke of Savoy from 1630 to 1637) to Christine Marie, the daughter of King Henry IV of France. The use of French persisted during Christine's regency and the subsequent regency of Marie Jeanne Baptiste of Savoy-Nemours. It was also encouraged in the second half of the seventeenth century by the general situation in Europe, which was moving towards the Enlightenment.

It was in the seventeenth century that it became apparent that, as far as knowledge of French was concerned, Piedmont was ahead of its time by comparison with other parts of Italy. This fact is illustrated by the numerous possible back-datings of French loanwords that are recorded in dictionaries of the Italian language. Among those from the court of Turin are words associated with colours (e.g. *isabella* [cream-coloured], documented in Piedmont from 1610,²¹ *ponso* [poppy-red],²² recorded as early as 1663, and *bleu* [dark blue], attested in 1654)²³ and words associated with clothing (e.g. *cravata* [necktie], attested from 1663).²⁴

- 21 Alda Rossebastiano, 'La Francia alla corte delle Madame Reali: i colori della moda in Piemonte (sec. XVII)', *Contributi di filologia dell'Italia Mediana* 20 (2006), 81–104; the first use recorded in Italy dates from 1650, on which see Andrea Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1992), 187. In France 'couleur isabelle' appears in 1595: Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 25 vols (Bonn-Lipsia-Basilea: Zbinden Druck und Verlag Ag, 1928; hereafter FEW).
- 22 Rossebastiano, 'La Francia alla corte delle Madame Reali', 92–3; the first use recorded in Italy dates from 1669 (Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa*, 218).
- 23 *Ibid.*, 93–5; the first use recorded in Italy dates from 1690 (Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa*, 94). The *Lessico Etimologico Italiano*, ed. Max Pfister (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1979; hereafter LEI), vol. 6, 281, does not record the term in Italian until 1808.
- 24 Alda Rossebastiano, 'Bela 'n piasa: parole e cose della moda femminile in Piemonte nei secoli XVI–XVII', in *Donna e linguaggio, Convegno internazionale di Studi*,

Court performances, which were very frequent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, also provide clear evidence of the Italian-French bilingualism that was current at court and in the higher ranks of society. The naval spectacle organized in 1585 for the arrival of Catherine of Austria offered texts in Italian and in French. The pageant *Il tempio della felicità* [*In the Temple of Happiness*], staged in 1587 on the occasion of the birth of the first son of Charles Emmanuel I, contained Italian texts, while the tournament of 1608 known as *Combat de Diane et de Vénus, dans l'Isle Polidore* [*The Struggle of Diana and Venus on the Island of Polydorus*] was in French. In 1608, the year in which two daughters of Charles Emmanuel, Margaret and Isabella, were married, to the Dukes of Mantua and Modena respectively, four performances were offered, of which three (all pageants) were in French (*Le Chevalier errant dans le jardin de Millefleurs* [*The Knight-Errant in the Garden of a Thousand Flowers*], *Le Triomphe de la Renommée* [*Fame Triumphs*] and *Les réjouissances célèbres* [*Famous Merrymaking*]) and one, a ballet, was in Italian (*Trasformazione di Bellonda in Millefonti* [*Bellonda's Transformation into the Waters of a Thousand Springs*]). When Christine was married in 1619, innumerable further performances were staged, with texts partly in Italian and partly in French.²⁵ Italian seems to have prevailed temporarily in the years that followed,²⁶ although French obviously did not disappear, but Italian declined sharply in the second half of the century, especially between 1665 and 1670. Looking just at documents relating to *sappatos*, that is to say celebrations of the anniversaries of St Nicholas,²⁷ we see that of the six texts that have been preserved four are in French

Sappada/Plodn (Belluno) 1995 (Padua: CLEUP, 1995), 475–88; *idem*, 'Cravatta', *Lingua Nostra*, 2012, nos 3–4, 1–5. The first record of this loanword in Italian dates from 1707 (Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa*, 158).

25 Gualtiero Rizzi, ed., *Repertorio di feste alla corte dei Savoia* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1973), 16.

26 For example, the text of a performance of 1533, *I corrieri di tutte le parti del mondo*, whose subject lent itself to plurilingualism, was in Italian.

27 Alda Rossebastiano, 'Sappatos di corte tra il palazzo di Torino e la reggia della Venaria', *Studi linguistici italiani* 37 (2011), 250–83; the term is one of the many Hispanisms that came into use in Turin.

(a text of 1663 with no title, *Les marchands* [*The Merchants*] (1665), *Le parnasse en feste* [*Parnassus on Holiday*] (1667) and *La chasse royale* [*The Royal Hunt*] (1667)) and two are in Italian (*I doni degli dei* [*The Gifts of the Gods*] (1669) and *L'Atalanta* [*Atalanta*] (1673)). Among documents of another sort, we have in French *La vertu consolée. Divertissement donné à M. R.* [*Virtue Consoled. An Entertainment for M. R.*] (1666), *La défaite du faux amour* [*The Defeat of False Love*] (1667), *Le temple de la reconnaissance* [*The Temple of Gratitude*] (1668), *Le bois enchanté* [*The Enchanted Forest*] (1668) and so forth.

We obtain a picture that is similar in some respects, but different in others, from documents relating to the financial accounts of the ducal house, in which a record was kept of the family's household expenses. The secretary who noted down this information was a member of the ducal clerical staff but he was compelled to use terms of a practical nature which the accounts often had to adapt from the local dialect rather than terms existing in languages used by the chancellery. The first document of this type,²⁸ dating from 1599 (shortly after the death of the Infanta in 1597), was written in an Italian marked by Hispanisms, especially when it came to titles and posts (e.g. *azaffate* [maidservants whose job it was to look after the queen's clothing], *create* [the queen's chambermaids], *doña* [lady]), but it was not devoid of French loanwords in vocabulary relating to gastronomic matters and trades and professions. Examples include *potageria* [stewing],²⁹ *vianda* [course, dish], *pastisseria* [pastries, cakes], together with *pastissero* [pastry-cook], *garson di cucina* [kitchen helper] (a French-Italian hybrid), and *guardavassella* [servant whose job it was to look after the table-ware].³⁰ Another document in the same series, relating to the years 1620–21 and thus to the period immediately after the arrival of Christine of France, begins in an Italian purified of Hispanisms but it

28 The document is in the Royal Library of Turin (Biblioteca Reale di Torino), Casa Savoia 1, 1.

29 See Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 21 vols (Turin: UTET, 1961–2002; hereafter GDLI): see the entry *potageria*.

30 The last two words are not recorded in GDLI. For the preceding words, see the entries on *vianda*, *pasticciera*, *pasticciera*, with evident dialect interference.

is otherwise similar to the previous document and therefore heavily laden with French loanwords, among them *confitture* [jams], *lingerie* [linen], *noritura* [food].³¹ It then continues partly in French and partly in Italian. However, this fleeting appearance of French in the court's book-keeping documents was limited to this period around the arrival of the sister of the King of France and it reveals the lack of local familiarity with French lexis in the language of everyday life, for which the ever-present dialect provided more material than any other source (e.g. *lachietti* [sweetbreads] attested in 1669, 1679, 1685; *anchiode* [anchovies], *spargi* [asparagus], *gruera* [gruyère] (1685)). Italian would be the language used in the second half of the century, even immediately after Marie Jeanne Baptiste of Savoy-Nemours had become Duchess of Savoy.

Thus the court too oscillated between the two languages: performances aimed at high society used French copiously, while everyday life, which found expression in the lists of expenses incurred by the ducal family, was definitely oriented towards Italian, with concessions to dialect. In both cases the temporary prevalence of the foreign language was linked to the arrival of a French princess who in the first years of her life in Turin seems to have influenced the court even in the sphere of language, just as the arrival of Catherine of Austria, in her time, had turned the court towards Spanish.

French in the administration and in official documents

For a long time after the end of the Middle Ages Latin remained the language of official documents and the lawcourts, but in Savoyard domains the minutes of meetings of the individual states that they comprised often

31 The last of these words is evidently a French loanword not recorded in GDLI. On *confitture*, see E. Papa, 'L'arte della confettura, dalla Francia al Piemonte', in Cecilia Robustelli and Giovanna Frosini, eds, *Storia della lingua e storia della cucina* (Florence: Cesati Editore, 2009), 217–30.

admitted French from the fifteenth century in the tramontane region and the Aosta valley and sometimes also in Piedmont, where Italian, for its part, appeared only occasionally from 1536 on.³²

Immediately after his return to Piedmont Emmanuel Philibert showed he had taken note of the local linguistic situation by imposing the use of the vernacular in public documents, following the model that had been adopted in France some decades before. In this respect too, then, the Duke of Savoy revealed his dependency on the monarchy in Paris.

The fact that in the regulations then in force a clear distinction was made between those states (Savoy, the Aosta Valley) in which a Gallo-Romance variety was the mother tongue and the Principality of Piedmont, in which the mother tongue was Italo-Romance, allows us to document with precision the actual currency of French in administration. Emmanuel Philibert was well aware that if French was known to the ruling classes of the whole state, it was not known to the great mass of the population of the Piedmontese area and he acted accordingly. Thus after 1560 two languages of administration came to be used, French and Italian. These languages were no longer interchangeable; rather they were used according to local tradition. In the area which gravitated towards Turin and in the whole of the Piedmontese plain the language of administration was normally Italian from the moment when Turin became the capital of the Savoyard state right up to the Napoleonic era. Evidence of this fact comes from documents of all sorts, for example from the royal treasury and records of building costs in the royal palaces, which are preserved in the Turin State Archive. Such documents are hardly ever in French.³³ An examination of dozens of volumes from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century reveals that French was used only occasionally. French did return in public documents, if only briefly, during the Napoleonic occupation

32 Mombello, *Sur les traces d'Alexis jure de Chieri*, 16.

33 Archivio di Stato di Torino, article 689, controllo finanze (1650), fol. 239 r., where one reads the reply, in French, of the ambassador from Paris to an order by the duke that was written in Italian; fol. 179 v., where an intervention by the duke in favour of Baron Gaspare de Fenis of the Duchy of Aosta is reported; fol. 201 r., a patent letter authorizing the arming of a ship against the Turks.

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but its use would be more apparent than real since the occupation came to an end within a few years. A glance at correspondence in the sphere of public administration during this period immediately shows that while official forms that had been printed were partly in French (although in some cases the headings on the forms were in Italian) official missives between local *maires* [mayors] and *sous-préfets* [sub-prefects] of French origin were in Italian.³⁴ By now, then, the trend in the Duchy of Savoy (whose dukes from 1720 ruled the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont) was to look towards Italian, while remaining open to the use of French in areas in which it was usually spoken. It is not inconsistent with this trend that French should have persisted until 1915 in marginal areas in documents of a public nature that concerned faith.³⁵

French cultural influence in Piedmont

For the historical reasons I have indicated, Piedmont became extremely diverse from the cultural point of view during the Middle Ages. The cultural orientation of areas within it varied greatly: French influence was generally stronger in the west and weaker in the east, especially in the south-east.

The quite scanty literary output of the region does not allow us to draw a satisfactory picture, merely to point out some weak traces of a French cultural alternative. One very modest example can be found in a set of love lyrics, dating from 1348, which have been preserved in a document

34 See the correspondence between the *maire* of Centallo and the *sous-préfet* of Saluzzo (23 Ventôse of Year XI; 14 Floréal of Year XI; 5 Brumaire of Year 11), in Archivio di Stato di Cuneo, Dipartimento della Stura, Fanciulli esposti, Mazzo 174, fascicolo 35. I am grateful to Dr Ivanna Casasola for supplying me with copies of these documents.

35 Armand-Hugon, 'Echi della cultura francese', 72. See, e.g., the marriage certificate of Jean Thomas Ribet, written at Pomaretto in 1853, reproduced in Alda Rossebastiano, 'Cognomi piemontesi sul brigantino "Bella Dolinda"', in *Il vecchio Piemonte nel Nuovo Mondo. Parole e immagini dal Brasile* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009), 176.

drawn up by a notary from Vercelli, Fazio da Biandrate.³⁶ The transposition of these lyrics from French to Piedmontese does not entirely conceal the features of the original language, which emerge particularly clearly in rhyme.³⁷ Then, at the end of the century, Thomas III, Marquess of Saluzzo from 1396 to 1416, who was linked to Paris by both political and family ties, wrote a chivalric poem in French, *Le livre du chevalier errant* [*The Book of the Knight-Errant*],³⁸ in which one senses very clearly the influence of the great literary tradition of France. The attraction of French in this area is confirmed by French inscriptions carved on the walls of Thomas's castle at Manta and by other inscriptions that appear in a fresco of the dance of death in the township of Elva in the upper Maira valley.³⁹ In the late fifteenth century Giovan Giorgio Alione of Asti, who authored texts in both Latin and Piedmontese but not in Italian, also wrote works in French, including songs of praise and songs celebrating victories (these songs were addressed to the King of France, to whom Asti was subject) and, in addition, compositions of a religious nature, such as a *Chapitre de liberté* [*Chapter of Liberty*].⁴⁰ Charles Emmanuel I also used French in his literary work.⁴¹

- 36 Alessandro Vitale Brovarone, 'Fazio di Biandrate e i suoi testi (1348: trasmissione, traduzione e reimpiego di testi francesi in Piemonte)', *Studi piemontesi* 17 (1988), 311–18), and Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, *La letteratura in piemontese dalle origini al Settecento* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2003), 61–2.
- 37 A writing practice of French origin is also to be found in this text, namely the digraph *ou* for *u*. This habit also appears in some other manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For further details, see Alda Rossebastiano and Elena Papa, 'Osservazioni sulla grafia dei testi piemontesi delle origini (secoli XIV–XV)', in *La grafia della Lingua Piemontese nei secoli* (Vercelli: Vercelli Viva, 2012), 21–69.
- 38 See Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il libro del cavaliere errante*, ed. Marco Piccat (Boves: Araba Fenice, 2008).
- 39 Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, 'Incontro di lingue nel Marchesato di Saluzzo', *Bollettino della Società per gli Studi Storici, Archeologici ed Artistici della provincia di Cuneo* 55 (1966), 3–16.
- 40 Giovan Giorgio Allione, *Poésies françaises. Chapitre de liberté, chanson d'une bergère* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1905) (reprint).
- 41 See Lionello Sozzi, 'Tra Ronsard e Desportes: le poesie francesi di Carlo Emanuele I', in Mariarosa Masoero, Sergio Mamino and Claudio Rosso, eds, *Politica e cultura nell'età di Carlo Emanuele I* (Florence: Olschki, 1999), 215–25.

Vittorio Alfieri, who as a representative of the local aristocracy had a good command of French, made use of it at the beginning of his literary career for various compositions, including his *Esquisse du Jugement universel* [*Sketch of the Last Judgement*], a satire of the eighteenth-century world in which an echo of Voltaire can be sensed. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Carlo Denina, a firm believer in the superiority of French over Italian and of the advantages of supporting France, also wrote works in French (*La Prusse littéraire sous Frédéric II* [*Prussian Literature under Frederick II*] (1790–91) and *La clef des langues* [*The Key to Languages*] (1803)), for ideological reasons.

Library catalogues which reveal the interests and habits of their age also throw light on the distribution of French culture in Piedmont. As far as manuscripts are concerned, Piedmontese libraries indicate the presence of French codices towards the end of the fourteenth century, although the majority of such codices arrived in Piedmont after the mid-sixteenth century.⁴² The most important places where evidence of usage at a high social level can be found were castles. In 1549, for example, the castle of Moncalieri owned books in Latin and French (but not in Italian), and the castle of Vigone had about thirty French titles. French volumes had a place in the catalogues of the lesser nobility too, as we see from a document of 1511 from Frossasco.⁴³ However, we are never dealing with very large collections: only a single book on a French subject (*Louenghe del roi de Franza* [*In Praise of the French King*]), for example, appears among the twenty-six volumes cited in a catalogue of 1577 in the library of Andrea Roero di Calosso.⁴⁴ The French language also clearly inspired the culture of the Waldensian valleys,

42 Alessandro Vitale Brovarone, 'Il Piemonte tra Francia e Italia: prospettive di ricerca sulla sua funzione di mediatore culturale nel Medioevo', in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Franco Simone, France et Italie dans la culture européenne*, vol. 1, *Moyen Age et Renaissance* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1980), 15–24.

43 Claudio Marazzini, *Piemonte e Italia, Storia di un confronto linguistico* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1984), 26, 29.

44 Giuliana Franco, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale: il lessico dell'inventario dei beni mobili di Andrea Roero di Calosso (1577)' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 2012–13).

where a complete translation of the Bible by Pierre Olivétan appeared in 1535. From that time to the mid-nineteenth century the Waldensians not only spoke French but printed all their writings in that language too.⁴⁵ As far as knowledge of French among the bourgeoisie is concerned, though, an examination of the seventeenth-century catalogues of books owned by members of that class reveals that the number of French books they possessed was very modest. The catalogue of the library of the lawyer Gabriel Filippo Canoglia of Saluzzo, drawn up in 1667, for instance, lists only three books in French among its 183 titles: 'one French book on history, one book of French poetry and the adventures of Monsieur de Sossi'.⁴⁶

We can also gain some idea of the circulation of French books in Turin from the catalogue of the Simeom collection, which cites about 20,000 works documenting Piedmontese life and culture. If we consider Series B of this collection, which includes 906 volumes on various subjects published in the period from 1505 to 1967, we see that of the twenty-six that relate to the sixteenth century only one (i.e. 3.83 per cent of the total) was written in French, and that French volume, moreover, was printed in France.⁴⁷ Of the eighty relating to the seventeenth century, eleven (13.75 per cent) were in French, one of which was printed in Turin. (This was the work of a Piedmontese author, the abbot Giorgio Ponza, who was a famous historian and geographer and a teacher in the Royal Academy.⁴⁸) Of the 180 works of the eighteenth century, fourteen are in French (7.77 per cent), of which five were printed in Turin.⁴⁹ Of the 204 relating to the period from

45 Armand-Hugon, 'Echi della cultura francese', 73.

46 Franca Battisti, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale da documenti secenteschi di area saluzzese' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 1997–8).

47 Jean de Clamorgan, *La chasse du loup, nécessaire à la maison rustique* (Lyon: Jacques du Puys, 1583).

48 George Ponza, *La science de l'homme de qualité ou l'idée générale de la Cosmographie, de la Cronologie, de la Géographie, de la Fable, et de l'Histoire Sacrée, et Profane* (1684).

49 *Statuts de l'Association de S. François de Sales, erigée dans l'Eglise de la Visitation S. te Marie de Turin* (1723), with reprintings; Giacinto Gerdil, *Traité des combats singuliers*, dedicated to the King (1759); *Règlement pour les devoirs de l'Infanterie* (1777); *Arrêt de la Royale Chambre des comptes concernant les armoiries de la Maison de Pingon originaire de la Ville d'Aix en Provence* (1779); *Bulletin des Actes de l'Administration*

1801 to 1861,⁵⁰ on the other hand, there were thirty-two (15.68 per cent) in French, of which fourteen were printed in Piedmont.⁵¹ Thus we see both an increasing proportion of books in French (with a lull in the eighteenth century) and the increasing use of French in local publishing. However, a good number of the titles from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are bunched in the Napoleonic period, when French was the language of administration and public documents. If we remove these works from the list, then the number of works in French goes down to just thirteen for the eighteenth century (7.2 per cent) and twenty-seven for the nineteenth (13.24 per cent). It is evident from this information that the seventeenth century was the century in which there was the greatest interest in

Générale du Piémont (1798–1801). The latter belongs to the period of Napoleonic domination.

50 i.e. when Italy was unified, after which the fortunes of Piedmont were in line with those in the Kingdom of Italy as a whole.

51 Maranda, *Tableau du Piémont sous le Régime des Rois avec un précis sur les Vaudois et une notice sur les Barbets* (Turin [1803]); *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Turin* (Turin, 1808); *Manuel de la police de Turin ou Recueil d'Actes de l'Administration publique relatifs à la police. 1797–1808* (Turin, 1809); *Table de comparaison entre les poids et mesure du nouveau système et les poids et mesures ci devant en usage à Turin et dans les autres communes du Département du Pô*; Theophile Villette de Chivron, *Rélation militaire des principaux mouvemens et combats de l'Armée Austro-Sarde commandée par S.E. le Feld-marechal le Baron de Frimont dans la campagne del 1815* (Turin [1815]); Modeste Parioletti, *Turin et ses curiosités ou description historique de tout ce que cette capitale offre de remarquable dans ses monumens, ses édifices et ses environs* (Turin, 1819); Louis Francesetti de Mezenile, *Lettres sur les vallées de Lanzo* (Turin, 1823); Etienne Borson, *Catalogue raisonné de la Collection Minéralogique du Musée d'histoire naturelle* (Turin, 1830); Louise Lemercier, *Pietro Micca ou le siège de Turin sous le règne de Victor Amédée II* (Turin, 1830); Modeste Parioletti, *Turin à la portée de l'étranger ou description des palais, édifices et monumens de sciences et d'art qui se trouvent dans cette ville et ses environs* (Turin, 1834); Solar de la Marguerite, *Journal historique du siège de la Ville et de la Citadelle de Turin, en 1706 avec le rapport officiel des opérations de l'Artillerie* (Turin, 1838); *Statuts et ordonnances du très noble Ordre de l'Annonciade précédées d'une notice historique du même ordre et suivies du catalogue des chevaliers* (Turin, 1840); Frederic Crüger, *Esquisses italiennes* (Turin, 1854); J. Croset-Mouchet, *Le général Annibal de Saluces. Histoire de sa vie et des principaux événemens de son temps* (Pignerol, 1856).

French in Piedmont, although it is also clear, when we take the percentages into account, that even then French was a distinctly minority language. The titles show that French was used primarily to treat subjects that were scientific, historical, military and administrative or to write memoirs⁵² and often even for tourist guidebooks and descriptions of the city and region. The authors of books in French, for the most part, were members of Piedmontese aristocratic families.

The Simeom collection also contains some valuable catalogues issued by publishers who were active in Turin, from which we may gain some idea of the local circulation of publications in French in the eighteenth century. In the 'Catalogue of books which can be found in 1724 in the stock of Gio. Battista Fontana and son, booksellers in Turin in the Palazzo della Città district',⁵³ for example, we find just one book in French (and it was printed in Turin), '*Punti di passione* [*Subjects of Passion*], in French and Italian'. There were also grammars and dictionaries, which indicate interest in the French language, but no text in French. We find a '*Dizionario Regio Francese, Italiano, e Latino* del De Rossi' [*Royal Dictionary of French, Italian and Latin* by De Rossi], printed in Cuneo in 1722, together with a '*Grammatica francese, ed italiana* [*French and Italian Grammar*] printed in Milan and a '*Grammatica di tre lingue, cioè Francese, Italiana, e Spagnuola* [*Grammar in Three Languages, namely French, Italian and Spanish*].

There is much more plentiful evidence in the 'Catalogue rangé dans un nouvel ordre pour l'utilité des gens de lettres contenant les livres François, Italiens, Latins, &c., qui se trouvent chez les freres Reycends, et Gubert, Libraires sur le coin de la Rue Neuve à Turin, A Turin MDCCLX' ['Catalogue Arranged in a New Order for the Use of Men of Letters and Containing Books in French, Italian, Latin, etc., which are Available from Reycend Bros and Gubert, Booksellers at the Corner of the Rue Neuve in Turin, 1760'].⁵⁴ This catalogue is organized in a way that allows us to extract

52 On this topic, see Dardi, 'Uso e diffusione del francese', 363.

53 Archivio Storico della città di Torino (hereafter ASTO), Collezione Simeom, no. 10.570.

54 *Ibid.*, no. 10.571.

some quantitative information from it. French, for example, holds sway in the sciences, if we consider that fifty-one French titles of *histoire naturelle* [natural history] were put on sale as compared to five Italian and twelve Latin titles. The same may be said for cuisine (sixteen French titles as against one Italian), grammar (seventy-eight French, twenty-three Italian) and the theatre (sixty-four French, twenty-four Italian, seven Latin). Thus French appears to have gained ground immediately after the middle of the century.

However, this enthusiasm suffered a setback some twenty years later as a result of the persistent diatribes of local intellectuals to which I have already referred. In an 'Essai bibliographique des livres français, italiens, latins et allemands nouvellement reçus et proposés [*sic*] en vente aux gents de goût par Charles Marie Toscanelli, marchand libraire a Turin dans la rue des gardenfants, 1783' ['Bibliographical List of French, Italian, Latin and German Books Newly Received and Offered for Sale to People of Taste by Charles Marie Toscanelli, Bookseller of Turin in the Rue des gardenfants, 1783'],⁵⁵ ten pages of titles were devoted to French books while nineteen were devoted to Italian, Latin and German titles. A still more drastic reduction, which is revealed already by a shift of language in its title, can be seen a little later in a 'Catalogo ragionato di libri nuovi italiani, e francesi, Torino, 1789, presso Carlo Maria Toscanelli' ['Annotated Catalogue of New Italian and French Books, Turin, 1789, at Carlo Maria Toscanelli's Bookshop'].⁵⁶ This catalogue offers forty-one Latin titles, 159 Italian titles and only eleven titles in French. Moving on to 1799, in the catalogue of 'Francesco Destefanis, bookseller in Turin'⁵⁷ we find nine titles in French in various branches of the humanities but again no titles among school books; this is in keeping with a *Circular to Schools in the Provinces*, which in those years had firmly steered tuition towards Italian.⁵⁸

55 *Ibid.*, no. 10.575.

56 *Ibid.*, no. 10.579.

57 *Ibid.*, no. 10.584.

58 Claudio Marazzini, 'L'Italiano rinnegato. Politica linguistica nel Piemonte francese', in G. Joli, ed., *Atti del convegno Piemonte e letteratura 1789-1870* (Turin: Regione Piemonte, 1983), 60.

A work by the court physician, Maurizio Pipino, tends to confirm the impression that grasp of French in the region was poor. In 1783 Pipino submitted for publication a *Vocabolario piemontese* [*Piedmontese Dictionary*],⁵⁹ the first work in a series of dictionaries of local dialect. Pipino's dictionary reflects the language in everyday use, which at that time was a dialect and which the author considers in its court, urban and rural varieties, thus reflecting the wide public he was addressing. However, the Piedmontese entries are followed by translations into three languages, Italian, Latin and French. The fact that the languages were placed side by side shows that the importance of French was recognized in the late eighteenth century: it was put on the same level as the official language of the nation and the language of classical culture. At the same time it was acknowledged that as a matter of fact the masses to whom Pipino's work was addressed had not fully mastered French. Aimed at dialect-speakers, one of the dictionary's aims was to provide a tool for translating into Italian, Latin and French. The author admits that in the process of preparing it he had 'questioned many people, both French and Tuscan, who were extremely well-versed in their languages', revealing that for him too, a native of Cuneo, French and Italian seemed in equal measure non-native languages which were not used spontaneously.

This quadrilingual configuration, with French ever-present, would continue in the nineteenth century with Casimiro Zalli's *Disionari piemontèis, italian, latin e fransèis* [*Piedmontese, Italian, Latin and French Dictionary*].⁶⁰ Zalli's work was preceded by another dictionary which, unlike Pipino's, juxtaposed only Piedmontese and French. This is the *Dictionnaire portatif piemontais-français suivi d'un vocabulaire français* [*Piedmontese-French Pocket Dictionary, Followed by a French Vocabulary*] by Luigi Capello, 'Count of Sanfranco', as indicated on the title page. With Latin and Italian now abandoned, this work also shows a clear francophile leaning in its title, which is further underlined by its introduction in French. It is no coincidence, though, that we are in 1814: Napoleon's power may have been on the wane but Capello's work had been written in the preceding years when

59 Printed on the Royal Press in Turin in 1783.

60 Printed by Peder Barbiè in Carmagnola in 1815.

the emperor had been at the peak of his adventure and when Piedmont still bowed down to him. The introduction to Capello's dictionary is significant for its assessment of knowledge of French in the region:

J'ai eu lieu de me convaincre que notre idiome est plus approché de la langue Italienne que de la langue Française, et j'observerai seulement ici que le peuple piémontais comprend parfaitement un livre italien, comme un sermon et une pièce de théâtre italienne, et que si l'on ne s'est point exercé dans la langue française, on est aussi embarrassé à la comprendre qu'à la parler [...]

[...] On écrit même de tout temps indistinctement l'Italien et le Français en Piémont; plusieurs de nos compatriotes parlent aussi élégamment la langue française que les habitants de la France, et on doit même leur rendre justice qu'ils n'ont point d'accent.

[I have had reason to be convinced that our language is closer to Italian than to French and I shall only observe here that the Piedmontese people perfectly understand an Italian book, as they do a sermon and an Italian play, and that if people have not had any exercise in the French language then they find it as difficult to understand it as to speak it [...]

[...] They have also always written Italian and French indiscriminately in Piedmont; some of our compatriots speak French as elegantly as the inhabitants of France and, to do them justice, they have no accent.]⁶¹

Among these people who had an excellent knowledge of French we may safely include Capello, who was of aristocratic origin and was professionally associated with diplomacy.

French in onomastics

The strong cultural link with France in the Alpine valleys is also reflected in local onomastics. The great literature of *chanson de geste* [song of heroic deeds, or French epic poetry], for example, left a trace in personal names

61 Printed on Vincenzo Bianco's press in Turin in 1814, 2 vols; the quotation is from p. ix.

chosen in Piedmont, which often then became family names. The name of the hero of Roncesvalles, for instance, appears frequently in Piedmontese documents from as early as the twelfth century. We may cite the occurrence of *rolandus medicus* at Casale Monferrato in 1147.⁶² The list continues over the following centuries, with the name coming to be used also as a patronymic, from *petrus rolando de maçadio* in 1213 in Mazzè down to *dominico rolando* in 1615 at Cuorgné. Just a few decades later the name Oliverius is attested, for example *oliverius iudex* in 1167 at Asti. In this case too, the name came to be used often as a patronymic over the following centuries, as in *wermus oliverius* in 1224 at Moiola and *andreas oliverii* in 1518 at Chiusa di Pesio. Even more interesting, since the combination is unlikely to be fortuitous, is the fact that alongside Roland the name of his friend Oliver is mentioned in a document from Sommariva del Bosco in 1314: *henricus de oliveriis, odinus rolandus*. In both cases the use is patronymic. Nor is Alda missing from the list: *fili alde* in 1173 at Asti, *domina alda* in 1181 at Alessandria, *johanne filio de alda* in 1248 at Ivrea, *nomine uxoris alde* in 1257 at Albiano d'Ivrea and so on. What is missing in the early centuries in the proud and warlike highland region of Piedmont, though, are traces of names from Arthurian legend.

The Gallo-Romance linguistic imprint is still in evidence in the modern age, in particular in the Alpine valleys. As far as personal names are concerned, the maintenance of French identity comes out extremely clearly in documents preserved in the Waldensian archive of Torre Pellice, which have been analysed for the period from 1692 to 1899.⁶³ In the whole set of names examined we find 106 male names of which eighty-eight (83 per cent) are predominantly French in form and only sixteen are Italian (15 per cent). There are 132 female names, of which 102 (77.27 per cent) have a form that

62 I have drawn on the database ArchiMediOn (Medieval Onomastic Archive) organized and managed by Elena Papa at <<http://associazioni.unito.it/ArchiMediOn/>> (accessed on 22.09.2013). For previous attestations and interpretation of them, see Alda Rossebastiano, 'Cognomi piemontesi a Colonia Ramona (Argentina)', in *Identità e voci dell'emigrazione italiana nell'America Latina* (Rome: SER, 2012), s. v.

63 Francesca Marletto, 'I nomi individuali dei Valdesi a Torre Pellice (1692–1899)' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 2010–11).

is predominantly French, twenty-two (16.66 per cent) have an Italian form and three (2.27 per cent) have a form for which a single source cannot be firmly established.

Looking at developments over the course of the centuries we find that Italian names were altogether absent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while in the nineteenth they were introduced on a modest scale, as was consistent with the demands of the Risorgimento. This finding may be seen from the following table:

Total number of names	Seventeenth century	Eighteenth century	Nineteenth century	Other languages	Percentage of French names
18 male	17 French / 0 Italian			1	94.4%
43 male		43 French / 0 Italian		0	100%
96 male			80 French / 15 Italian	1	83.3%
14 female	14 French / 0 Italian				100%
33 female		32 French / 0 Italian		1	96.97%
125 female			103 French / 22 Italian		82.4%

As far as surnames are concerned, the persistence of French forms is well documented in the records of people from the Waldensian valleys who emigrated to what are now the colonies of Santa Isabel and Domingos Martins near Vitória in Brazil. In our examples, the personal name usually exists in two forms, whereas the surname is almost always in French and occurs in an alternative Italian form only in rare instances. Thus we have the following surnames which are given only in French but which are often accompanied by forenames in both linguistic variants: Bermond, Jean Jerome (born in Prigelato, so we know with certainty that he originated from the Waldensian valleys); Blanc, Jerome (born in Fenestrelle); Bourlot,

Michel Pascal / Michele Pasquale; Challiol, Jean Barthelemy / Giovanni Bartolomeo; Charbonnier, Marianne / Marianna; Constandin / Costandin / Cotandin, Tomaso / Thomas; Martin, Maria; Salingue / Salaing (alternative spellings of the same surname), Pierre / Pietro. We also find some surnames used in two forms, for example: Boes / Bosio, Jean Augustin / Giovanni Agostino (born in Pinasca), Ribet / Ribetto and Jean Thomas / Giovanni Tomaso. Only a single case is recorded of a surname that is exclusively Italian: Reviglio Barthelemy. In the Piedmontese plain, on the other hand, the situation is quite different: forenames and surnames are always Italian, for example in documents of the seventeenth century from the commune of Valperga in the Canavese.⁶⁴ The same goes for the city of Turin, where out of 379 young people born in 1841 who were resident in the city and called up for military service in 1861 only nine bore a surname of Gallo-Romance origin: Boccard (born in Casale), Ferraud (born in Cuneo), Gachet (born in Turin), Jacquier as opposed to Giacchetti (born in Annecy), Jeandet (born in Novara), Mestrallet, Rancher, Rignon and Simond (all born in Turin).⁶⁵

French, of which some traces remained for the obvious reason that the surname was hereditary, also left its mark in the naming of foundlings during the Napoleonic period. From 1801 Napoleonic directives⁶⁶ implemented in Turin required that even abandoned children should have a 'family name' that was linguistically French and that did not reveal their social situation. In fact, the Gallicization was often more apparent than real in so far as the surnames that were made up did not always accord with the French form that was to be expected. In the area of Saluzzo, on the other hand, Gallicization of this sort seems to have been less rigorous, since only

64 Roberto Valerio, 'L'antroponimia di Valperga nel secolo XVII' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 2010–11).

65 Alda Rossebastiano, 'I coscritti che "tirarono il numero" nel 1861: osservazioni onomastiche e lessicali', in *Onomastica e lessico tra Risorgimento e Italia Unita* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011), 141–64.

66 Gianmario Raimondi, *Fra lingua e storia nella società: i sistemi di nominazione dei trovatelli nell'età moderna a Torino*, in R. Gendre, ed., *Lingua, dialetto, tradizioni in Piemonte e dintorni* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002), 121–41.

25 per cent of the surnames of foundlings born in the period from 1796 to 1808 are linguistically French.⁶⁷ There is also ample evidence of the dual orientation of the Piedmontese area in place names, which in the western valleys are still sometimes of Gallo-Romance type (for instance, Sauze d'Oulx, Salbertrand, Exilles), while in the plain they are of the Italian type.

French influence on Italian lexis

The traditional contact with French culture as a result of contiguity, trade, politics and family ties inevitably made Piedmont a bridge between France and Italy and a perfectly identifiable region on the linguistic front as well. French influence on Italian, which – to remain in the modern context – was particularly pronounced from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, often finds its earliest signs in documents of a non-literary nature written in Italian in Piedmont, from which we can obtain evidence of words that were previously unknown in Italian. Our sources include records of the expenses of the court in Turin, inventories of the clothes and linen of members of the ducal house (male and female), lists of trousseaux of brides in the city of Turin and the Piedmontese countryside and stage directions from theatrical performances. Using material from the State Archive in Turin, I shall illustrate the early role of Piedmont in the transmission of French loanwords to Italian by giving just a few examples from the semantic field of fashion, which was one of the most productive fields in this respect.

Among the back-datings emanating from the Turin court we may point to the adapted term *gridelino* < French *gris de lin* [pale violet colour, lilac], which in Piedmont was still defined as a '(colour) flax blossom', as we see

67 Ivanna Casasola, 'Echi della "Campagna d'Italia" nell'onomastica del Dipartimento della Stura: l'attribuzione dei cognomi ai fanciulli esposti di Saluzzo', *Studi Piemontesi* 41-2 (2012), 429-38.

from the trousseau of the future wife of a tailor of the city: 'roll of canvass in two colours, *fiore di lino* [flax blossom] and *issabella* [cream] [...]'.⁶⁸ The phrase *gris de lin* is recorded in French from 1617 and very soon crossed the Alps, reaching Piedmont in 1644 in the partially adapted form *gris de lino*, which is cited in a list of fabrics purchased on the express orders of Christine Marie of France.⁶⁹ Usage was confirmed by a further occurrence the following year: 'velvet with gold background, *gris di lino* [...]'.⁷⁰

Around the middle of the century, the colour's name changed in favour of the one-word French loanword. Filippo San Martino of Agliè, Christine's tenacious lover, paid homage to the duchess by dressing two knights in this colour to represent 'the joy of love' in the carousel *Gli Hercoli domatori de mostri* [*The Herculeses, Tamers of Monsters*] staged on 8 December 1650 in Turin, in Castle Square, on the occasion of the wedding of the young Princess Henriette Adelaide with the Duke of Bavaria. The stage directions in the text of these equestrian festivities describe the clothing of the two characters, who had to be 'girdled with *gridellino* skirts arabesqued in silver'.⁷¹ The term recurs in the text of various spectacles conceived by Filippo of Agliè: in *L'Educatione d'Achille e delle Nereidi sue sorelle* [*The Upbringing of Achilles and His Sisters, the Nereids*], in the description of the gladiators' clothes ('they will be dressed in the colours *gridellino* and yellow');⁷² then in *Il Gridelino* [*The Colour Gridelino*] (1653), where the colour that was so pleasing to the duchess comes into the title and has even become the chosen symbol of Love; and again in *La Primavera trionfante dell'inverno* [*Spring Triumphant over Winter*] (1657), in the costumes of

68 Rossebastiano, 'La Francia alla corte delle Madame Reali', 84, and Anna Prevosto, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale dai corredi nuziali di Torino (1582–1699)' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 1994–5).

69 ASTO, Sezioni Riunite, Patenti, art. 689, c. 30 v.

70 *Ibid.*, c. 347 r.

71 Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Feste della Madame Reali di Savoia* (Turin: Istituto Bancario San Paolo, 1965), 55.

72 Alfonsina Zanatta, 'I balletti di Madama Reale: l'educatione d'Achille e delle Nereidi sue sorelle (1650). La moda nella lingua e nella letteratura' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 1991–2).

the priests of the Nile springs ('with royal costume in *gridelino*, *isabella* and white'⁷³) and in the representation of the flowers personified by the Marquess of Marro and Count Tommaso of Agliè ('*gridelino* and white'⁷⁴).

The taste for this most elegant hue became established at the court of Turin and set the fashion in the following decades as well. This adaptation of the word was still circulating in 1677, now applied to furnishings, with regard to 'two silk-draped dressing-tables, one [of] cream colour and the other [of] *gridelino* colour',⁷⁵ which were used by the second Royal Lady, Marie Jeanne Baptiste of Savoy-Nemours. Some years before, in 1663, the term is found as an unadapted loan in a court inventory, which lists a 'giuppa di moera *gris de lin*' [dress of *gris de lin* mohair].⁷⁶ Refined and stylish, the colour had already moved outside the court by 1660, although it remained in the world of the powerful: it appears in the dowry of Anna Margherita Beraudo, the daughter of a senator and the future bride of a lawyer of aristocratic origin,⁷⁷ who possessed 'una veste nova di moela di Tours *gridellina*, fornita e guarnita' [a new dress of *gridellino*-coloured Tours mohair, complete with accessories and decorations [buttons and bows]].⁷⁸ As we can see, we are not dealing here with a word that occurs only occasionally, since it had wide circulation in Piedmont, in both the written language and the spoken language. It also appeared both as a phrase and as one word, sometimes adapted and sometimes not.

The common people seemed indifferent to the call of fashion, and yet they did share in it, though altering the meaning of the term: its close link with the court and the entertainments and gallantry which were typical

73 Maria Grazia Balbiano, 'I balletti di Madama Reale: la primavera trionfante dell'inverno (1657). La moda nella lingua e nella letteratura' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 1989–90).

74 *Ibid.*

75 Margherita Barbero, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale: gioie e mobili alla corte di Torino nel Seicento' (unpublished dissertation at the University of Turin, 1989–90).

76 *Ibid.*

77 Prevosto, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale dai corredi nuziali di Torino (1582–1699)', vol. 1, 165–7.

78 *Ibid.*

of it transformed the dialect form *gridlin*, which phonetically betrays its non-local origin, into ‘damerino, cicsbeo’⁷⁹ and ‘vagheggino, ganimeduzzo’, all meaning ‘dandy, ‘gallant’, ‘ladies’ man.’⁸⁰ Even worse, they probably associated it with the amorous liaison between the person who put the word into circulation, Filippo San Martino of Agliè, and the Duchess Christine. Indeed, dialect dictionaries add yet other meanings: ‘is said of a youth who wants to make love, follow fashion or be a know-all [...]’.⁸¹ The mocking expression *Fè ’l gridlin* (‘pompeggiare, pavoneggiarsi, sgallettare’ [to live and dress ostentatiously, to strut about like a peacock, flirt with the ladies like a cockerel]) is also of interest.⁸² The term is still in use, with *gridlin*, meaning ‘conceited, affected’, and *fè ’l gridlin*, ‘wanting to seem young.’⁸³ Outside Piedmont, the term appears in 1668 in the *Relazioni di viaggio in Inghilterra, Francia e Svezia* [Account of a Journey in England, France and Sweden] by the Florentine man of letters Magalotti,⁸⁴ and around the middle of the century it is found in Venetian dialect, where it occurs as *cridelin* or *gridelin*.⁸⁵ In the eighteenth century the protagonist of a play printed in Bologna, *Scioccherie di Gridellino* [The Foolish Behaviour of Gridellino], would bear a name derived from the term.

From the dowry of a princess we obtain another loan from French, *agreement*, a word which together with the variant *agreeman* (whose spelling betrays its oral provenance) was used to denote ‘ornamenti, vezzi, guarnizioni’ [dress ornaments, decoration, trimmings]. The term appears for the first time in 1663 in the trousseau of Violante of Savoy (‘giuppa di tela d’argento a fiori, guarnita di pizzi, alamari et *agreement* oro argento

79 Vittorio Di Sant’Albino, *Gran dizionario piemontese-italiano* (Turin: Società l’Unione Tipografico-editrice, 1859; hereafter DSA), s.v.

80 Giuseppe Gavuzzi, *Vocabolario piemontese-italiano* (Turin and Rome: Le Roux, 1891), s.v.

81 DSA, s.v.

82 Gavuzzi, *Vocabolario piemontese-italiano*, s.v.

83 Gianfranco Gribaudo, *Èl new Gribàud. Dissionari piemontèis* (Turin: Piazza, 1996), s.v.

84 Dardi, *Dalla provincia all’Europa*, 187.

85 Paolo Zolli, *L’influsso francese sul Veneziano del XVIII secolo* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1971) 76; *idem*, *Le parole straniere* (Bologna: Zanchelli, 1980), 24.

et incarnà a rosete' [dress of silver cloth with flowers, decorated with lace, ornamental buttons and gold, silver and pink *agreement*, decorated with little roses]⁸⁶). It recurs in the trousseau of the young daughter of the treasurer of Princess Ludovica Maria of Savoy, recorded in 1690 but compiled in 1686 ('a pair of diamond-studded *agreeman* for the sleeves, worth thirty-five gold coins'⁸⁷). The word is based on French *agrèments*, in the contracted form *agrèments*, and is recorded in French from the sixteenth century⁸⁸ as a 'generic name given to all the adornments of passementerie'. The Crusca dictionary gives more or less this meaning for *agrimani* (1708), defining it as 'openwork appliqué embroidery of silk, wool or cotton, to be sewn onto women's dresses'. In Piedmont it denotes a precious ornament of jewellery to put on one's clothes, confirming the meaning indicated by the *Italian Etymological Dictionary*⁸⁹ and noted also by Dardi ('ornament of diamonds set in silver') for the Italian adaptation *agramano*.⁹⁰ This latter occurrence, dated 1698, is the first recorded outside Piedmont. The headword in the dictionary records the unadapted form accepted by the court, while the variant is meant to render the French pronunciation of the term. The word *agriman* has entered dialect in Piedmont to denote an 'act of courtesy',⁹¹ thus keeping the original meaning of 'agreeable thing, pleasantness'.

As far as French loanwords which have not yet been recorded in Italian are concerned, we may cite *amadis*, 'certain type of sleeve', from 1690,⁹² *angagianti* 'hanging sleeves' from 1697⁹³ (words present in the

86 Barbero, 'Ricerche di italiano regionale: gioie e mobili', vol. 2, 291–2.

87 Prevosto 'Ricerche di italiano regionale dai corredi nuziali di Torino (1582–1699)', vol. 2, 445–6.

88 FEW, vol. 4, 251. See also *Trésor de la langue française*, 16 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1971–94), vol. 2, entry on *agrément*: 'accessory adorning a piece of clothing or piece of furniture [...]'; 'All sorts of adornment, especially for dress [...]'].

89 DEI, cited in note 12 above.

90 Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa*, 110.

91 See also Gribaudo, *Èl new Gribàud*, entry on *agremàn*: 'Favour, preference, privilege; Pleasure, delight'.

92 See also Rossebastiano, 'Bela 'n piasa', 479–80.

93 *Ibid.*, 480.

trousseaux of the time, at both aristocratic and popular level) and *boffe* [trimmings] and *boglione* [fold, pleat, crease] from 1650, which come from theatrical texts.

These few examples enable us to show back-datings over a long period. The words were partly transmitted by the court which – above all through the medium of fashion – felt the pull of Paris, where materials were bought and new styles discovered. Court theatre played a special role by conveying the terminology in vogue to the aristocracy, who were invited to court performances; the aristocracy in turn spread the fashion, putting itself forward as a model of how to dress, first in the town and then in the countryside. In this way, French loanwords gravitated towards the common people, who acquired them and at times adapted them to dialect too. The forms found in court documents prove in some cases to be unadapted borrowings, but more often, as was the tendency in Italian at that time, they were adaptations. Piedmont's primacy in Italy is revealed in the early date of the borrowings and in the frequency of their use.

*

The evidence I have set out in this chapter demonstrates the strong interference of French language and culture in the territory of Piedmont, as one might expect in areas of contact. It is also clear that French was the language of the Piedmontese elite, characteristic of the dominant class, who used it alongside Italian and Piedmontese dialect. In fact, it was Piedmontese that was spoken as the everyday language on this territory and it was still the predominant language there in the twentieth century. The Alpine valleys (above all the Waldensian valleys), in which the everyday language was of Gallo-Romance type, present a different picture, with widespread use of French. The court, which for family and political reasons leaned towards France, was a milieu that helped to spread French. It was through the court, for example, that Gallicisms gained currency, particularly those relating to certain semantic fields, and court usage sometimes predated the presence of these Gallicisms in the Italian language recorded in dictionaries by many decades. Thus Piedmont has served for many centuries as an important bridge linking France and Italy on the cultural plane and as a staging post for the migration of lexis.

5 The Two Latin Sisters: Representations of the French and the French Language in Italy

In the long history of cultural relations between France and Italy, particular attention should be paid to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These centuries witnessed first the unfurling of ‘Gallomania’ – when the consecration of French as the language of cultivated Europe completed a rise begun in Italy in the mid-seventeenth century – and then the decline of the infatuation with France and its language, which coincided with the development of movements of national resistance across Europe as a whole at the time of the Napoleonic invasions in the early nineteenth century. The spread of French in Italy was late by comparison with its spread in northern European countries such as England, where French enjoyed privileged status, and the Netherlands, to which Protestants had fled at the time of their first flight from France, which began in the 1560s. A whole century separated the first grammar designed for Italian-speakers, which was published in Rome in 1625,¹ and the *L'éclaircissement de la langue française* [*Explanation of the French Language*] which the Englishman John Palsgrave brought out in 1530. The first Italian works intended for teaching and learning French were aimed at private secretaries, translators, travellers and tradespeople. A language of ‘convenience’ which was of interest only to professional people, French would not become the language of culture until around 1670, when it made its appearance in Jesuit colleges. From that moment French would make an essential contribution to the education of the ruling class, hence the need to put in place a whole pedagogical system in order to ensure that Italian-speakers had a satisfactory training in tramontane language and culture. This aim was undoubtedly achieved,

1 Pietro Durante, *La grammatica italiana per imparare la lingua francese* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1625).

given that the accounts of witnesses agree that knowledge of French was excellent in eighteenth-century Italy. In the age of French Europe, the Italian elite corresponded and conversed with ease in the language of their neighbour, as did others all over the continent. Learned Italians, all too aware of the new horizon of the Republic of Letters, a new intellectual axis passing through Paris, London and the Netherlands, also looked to France and its culture with increasing interest. The Italian model which had spread humanism, the Renaissance and the Baroque through Europe was supplanted by a French model, which established itself in Italy after 1660.

The aim of this chapter is to show what status French had in Italy during this happy period in the reception of French language and culture, how that status evolved, by what means French was imposed to the extent that it obscured the national culture and how the infatuation with French was little by little dispelled. The ebb of the language of Racine and Voltaire in favour of national languages would be ratified in the early nineteenth century by the Italian Restoration, which was often tinged with Gallophobia. The alliance of the two Latin sisters which, at different periods, have shared the hegemonic role in western culture, is still celebrated, to be sure. However, veneration of French language and culture is no longer what it was in the age of French Europe and Italy has discovered and come to value other European languages and cultures as well.

Images of France and reciprocal influences: A historical, socio-economic and cultural outline

French is the foreign language which, over the centuries, has had the greatest influence on Italian.² From the time when it began, this influence has been profound and lasting. On the one hand, proximity and multiple

2 Paolo Zolli, *Le parole straniere* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1978), 8. See also Silvia Morgana, 'L'influsso francese', in Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1993-4), vol. 3, *Le altre lingue*, 671-719.

contacts (which, in certain regions, have also been due to periods of direct domination) have encouraged linguistic exchange. On the other hand, the political centrality of France, its economic and military power, the capacity of its scientific and technological system to innovate and its cultural and literary prestige have helped the French linguistic model to assert itself more or less powerfully, depending on the age.

The spread of French in Italy can be discerned from the time of Charlemagne. Indeed we should go back to the age of Carolingian dominance through trade between France and Italy, in the ninth and tenth centuries, in order to see the effects of it. Relations between the two countries became closer and closer during the Middle Ages, under the aegis of the Church at the time of the Crusades, thanks to numerous pilgrimages to Rome and the expansion of the Clunisian, Cistercian and Carthusian monastic orders.³ The poetry of the troubadours and minstrels had an enormous impact too, as it did throughout cultivated Europe. The influence of the languages of France on medieval Italian literature began to make itself felt at the end of the twelfth century, at the moment when French was being introduced into Cisalpine lands (Lombardy and Piedmont). However, it was not only in border regions that conditions favoured the propagation of the languages of France but also in the south, in the Neapolitan region and in Sicily, owing to periods of Norman and Angevin dominance there. Running through the list of authors who were valued in the Italian Middle Age, we may note the contribution of those languages to certain of their works. Thus Brunetto Latini wrote *Li Livres dou Tresor* [*The Book of Treasure*] in the *langue d'oïl* before producing an abridged version in Tuscan. It was also in the *langue d'oïl* that Martino da Canale wrote his *Cronique des Viniciens* [*Chronicle of the Venetians*] and that Marco Polo dictated his account of his travels to Rustichello of Pisa in prison in Genoa. Sordello of Goito wrote his love songs in the *langue d'oc*. This French influence would

3 On the Middle Ages, see Reto R. Bezzola, *Abbozzo di una storia dei gallicismi italiani nei primi secoli (750–1300)*. *Saggio storico-linguistico* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1924); Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (Florence: Sansoni 1960); Roberta Cella, *I gallicismi nei testi dell'italiano antico. Dalle origini alla fine del sec. XIV* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 2003).

decline from the fourteenth century, when writers such as Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio began to produce works in Italian. Tuscan then became a literary language in competition with French.

If we take a quantitative view of the exchanges, the peaks of the tramontane contribution were, first, in the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth and, second, in the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the first decades of the twentieth (to which I shall return below). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a number of Gallicisms established themselves in Italian, some of which are still in use today. They relate to the most diverse domains of social life. To give just one example of these ancient Gallicisms from everyday language which have entered Italian almost imperceptibly (and of which Italians are generally unaware), the native words 'manducare' and 'manicare' were gradually replaced by 'mangiare' [to eat] (< manger), of tramontane origin. The routes by which Gallicisms have entered, their morpho-lexical aspects and the semantic fields in which they are concentrated have all been studied:⁴ there are words of the medieval and chivalric world, such as 'cavaliere' [knight] (< cavalier) and 'dama' [lady] (< dame) and words relating to hunting, military life, clothing, leisure activities, music, the home, domestic life, cuisine and literature. Nor should we overlook borrowings documented in texts to do with commerce as well as technical terms whose use is motivated by the need to designate the fundamental elements of economic and artisanal life with precision.⁵ In fact, Gallicisms are the category of foreignisms which not only have been the most stratified and best integrated into the language over time but also remain the most important. It has been estimated that they make up about 3.9 per cent of all Italian vocabulary (Anglicisms, introduced in most cases in the last century, amount only to 2.8 per cent) and more than 7 per cent of the base vocabulary. In the fifteenth and sixteenth

4 Arrigo Castellani, 'L'influsso galloromanzo (Capitoli di una introduzione alla grammatica storica italiana, III)', *Studi linguistici italiani* 13 (1987), 3–39.

5 Roberta Cella, 'I francesismi', in Raffaele Simone, ed., *Enciclopedia dell'italiano* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2010), 520–4: see 521.

centuries, on the other hand, the number of Italianisms which entered French exceeded the number of Gallicisms which entered Italian.⁶

Subsequent conflicts between Italy and France did not prevent the two cultures and languages from influencing one another. The first half of the sixteenth century was marked by the Italian Wars, stretching from 1494 to 1559. The French, who clearly lagged behind the Italians economically and culturally, were drawn to the peninsula by Italy's riches and its brilliant civilization. When the conflicts between the French and Italians eventually abated (France gave up all expansionist ambitions with regard to Italy) close and peaceful contacts could develop. Many Italians settled at the court of the King of France and diplomatic marriages, like that of Catherine de' Medici to Henry II, brought Italian intellectuals, artists and learned men to Paris. Regent of France for nearly twenty years, Catherine de' Medici encouraged this rapprochement and the French court grew more refined by becoming Italianized.

Ferdinand Brunot has described the fascination which Italy held for Europe in the following way:

In the sixteenth century Italy dominated the world intellectually, charming it, attracting it, teaching it and educating it. Had there been no wars in Italy, nor contact with the peoples on the other side of the Alps, nor Italian marriages with the court of France, the influence of Italian art, science and civilization would still have made itself felt.⁷

It is not surprising that the French succumbed to a wave of Italomania comparable to the Gallomania that characterized eighteenth-century Italy. In both cases linguistic borrowings and calques were the most conspicuous manifestation of the infatuation with the culture of the other. In fact, the court of France expressed itself as much in Italian as in French, for hundreds of courtiers, as we have seen, were of Italian origin

6 Thomas E. Hope, *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages. A Critical Study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900*, 2 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), vol. 2, 147, 248–64. Luca Serianni, 'Gli italianismi nelle altre lingue romanze: prime riflessioni', in Fondazione Cassamarca/Unione Latina, eds, *Italianismi e percorsi dell'italiano nelle lingue latine* (Paris: Unione Latina, 2008), 19–41.

7 Ferdinand Brunot, *La pensée et la langue* (Paris: Masson, 1965), 48.

and adopted Italian usage, whether in fashion, the arts, music or food. Thousands of Italian words entered French, reflecting a profound cultural influence, and every domain was affected: the arts, arms, nautical matters, court life, administration, the law, the penal system, finance, trade, the sciences, crafts and daily life. In short, there was a veritable linguistic invasion of some 8,000 words, of which about 10 per cent are still in use today.⁸ The reaction of numerous pamphleteers, including Henri Estienne,⁹ the best known and most seasoned, was not long in coming. In *Deux dialogues du nouveau françois italianisé* [*Two Dialogues on the New Italianized French*] (1578) he mocked the French used at court, which was packed with Italianisms, and defended the purity of French. Then, in his *Proiect du livre intitulé de la precellence du langage françois* [*Plan for a Book on the Precellence [i.e. excellence and pre-eminence] of the French Language*] (1579),¹⁰ he compared three neo-Latin languages, French, Italian and Spanish, in order to demonstrate the superiority of French. A comparative examination of the three languages was combined with a cultural evaluation of the three nations. The parameters of the comparison were the ‘qualities’ (gravitas, grace, richness) of the languages and their speakers.¹¹

There was another reversal of the poles between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century, with Italy in decline and under pressure from Spain, which was coming to play a leading cultural role in Europe. In the seventeenth century Italy’s cultural prestige was eclipsed. The whole of Italy (with the exception of the Republics of Venice and Genoa)

- 8 See *inter alia* Bartina H. Wind, *Les mots italiens introduits en France au XVIe siècle* (Deventer: Kluwer, 1928); Hope, *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages*; Seriani, ‘Gli italianismi nelle altre lingue romanze’.
- 9 See Maria Colombo Timelli, ‘Un scénario charmantissime? Italianismi del francese’, in Fondazione Cassamarca/Unione Latina, eds, *Italianismi e percorsi dell’italiano nelle lingue latine*, 43–76, and Pierre Swiggers, ‘Le français et l’italien en lice: l’examen comparatif de leurs qualités chez Henri Estienne’, *Synergies Italie* 5 (2009), 69–76.
- 10 Henri Estienne, *Proiect du livre intitulé De la precellence du langage François* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1579).
- 11 Swiggers, ‘Le français et l’italien en lice’, 69.

now revolved around two great powers, France and Spain. One of the most serious crises to have struck Italy occurred; it featured the submission of the Italian states to external powers which exercised direct control almost everywhere, the ravages of war, commercial decline and economic underdevelopment. It was not until the 1730s that there was a recovery, which went in step with the Enlightenment: take, for example, the Duchy of Parma under the rule of the prime minister Guillaume du Tillot, the Kingdom of Naples governed by the future Charles III of Spain or, again, in northern Italy, the beneficent influence of the Austria of Maria-Theresa and Joseph II, who introduced reforms that made possible the economic and social development of the regions dominated by the Habsburgs.

Unlike in Italy, which was parcelled up and in decline, France was a solid state. It would come to impose itself on Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century and would reach its zenith in the reign of Louis XIV. The middle of that century marks the cultural supremacy and political centrality of France and the onset of Gallomania, which brought about the important phenomenon of the Gallicization of European culture in various sectors of aristocratic and bourgeois life. We thus come to the heart of our subject.

Previous research on francophonie in Italy

It is possible to identify two important moments in study of the linguistic and cultural impact of France on Italy in the period with which we are concerned. The first was in the early decades of the twentieth century when, in the magisterial works of Gabriel Maugain and Henri Bédarida,¹² great swathes of Italian francophonie were opened up to view. These are

12 Gabriel Maugain, *Étude sur l'évolution intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1657 à 1750 environ* (Paris: Hachette: 1910); H. Bédarida, *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* (Paris: Champion, 1928).

sources of which Ferdinand Brunot made use for his history of the French language abroad. To these we should add the studies by Henri Bédarida and Paul Hazard and by Charles Dejob.¹³ As for Brunot,¹⁴ he saw only two happy islands in the map of Italian francophonie, Piedmont and the Duchy of Parma. The first was a 'transition land', often under French sway, where French was an official language, and the second was for a long time under Bourbon domination.¹⁵

Brunot's theory is as follows:

INFLUENCE UNDERGONE, NOT EXERTED. It is easy to understand why the rise of French was late in Italy. The Italian language had had primacy for a century and a half. [...] If at the beginning of the seventeenth century the French had more or less ceased to borrow from it they continued nonetheless to learn it. Moreover, Italy [...] remained the undisputed centre of Art; our people [i.e. the French] went there not only to acquire principles but even to pick up the technical terminology of the artistic trades.¹⁶

Brunot also contends that French was less developed in Italy and Spain because those two countries saw their respective languages as candidates for the role of universal language, whereas in the lands in which German or English was used no such claim was made. Finally, the part played by the Protestant emigration, in the north, was so decisive that it made the role of Catholic congregations in the south or the advantages of linguistic kinship with Latin when one was learning French pale into insignificance.

13 Henri Bédarida and Paul Hazard, *L'influence française en Italie au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1934); Charles Dejob, 'Essai de bibliographie pour servir à l'histoire de l'influence française en Italie de 1796 à 1814', in *Madame de Staël et l'Italie* (Paris: Colin, 1890).

14 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966–7), vols 5 and 8. See the collection of articles 'Brunot et l'Europe du Sud', in *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 16 (1995) and especially Carla Pellandra, 'Le cas italien', *ibid.*, 150–4.

15 On Piedmont, see the chapter by Alda Rossebastiano in this volume; we shall return to the Duchy of Parma below.

16 'Le français en Italie', in Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 85.

Brunot found very little evidence about the teaching of French for the period 1625–59, and the process of Gallicization ‘hardly gained any momentum’, he observed, in the period from 1660 to 1715 either. As for Gallicisms, another significant indicator of the spread of French, Brunot pointed out that in 1681 the poet and naturalist Francesco Redi censured the usage of young contemporaries who said ‘perrucca’, instead of the correct form ‘parrucca’, so that they would ‘come closer to French’; Brunot also cited the extraordinary ‘infranciosamento’ [Frenchification/Gallicization] of the language of Lorenzo Magalotti, who lived from 1637 to 1712. As for the thinkers of the Enlightenment, they began to spread to the Italian peninsula from 1735, according to Friedrich Melchior Grimm. When the Enlightenment came, the matter was settled: the courts of Europe spoke French, which was then at the height of its prestige. French was considered the medium for intellectual communication and Italy could not escape its reach.

The second important moment in study of the linguistic and cultural impact of France on Italy came in the 1980s, when different paths were taken by scholars whom we might call the Italianizers and the Gallicizers. The former, keen to have a better knowledge of the influence of French on Italian, recorded and studied, for example, Gallicisms, Italians who wrote in French, Italian works which had undergone some deeper influence and so forth. Take, for instance, the studies of Andrea Dardi¹⁷ (of which I shall make extensive use in this chapter) and, as evidence from the French side, Françoise Waquet’s doctoral thesis.¹⁸ The dates given in these books are significant: the periodization put forward by Brunot needs to be considerably revised. French influence in Italy began well before the second half of the eighteenth century. Dardi, like Maugain, believes that the year 1657 could be taken as a symbolic date for the recovery of intellectual life, which

17 Andrea Dardi, ‘Uso e diffusione del francese’, in Lia Formigari, ed., *Teorie e pratiche linguistiche nell’Italia del Settecento* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1984), 347–72; *Dalla provincia all’Europa. L’influsso del francese sull’italiano tra il 1650 e il 1715* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1992).

18 Françoise Waquet, *Le modèle français et l’Italie savante: conscience de soi et perception de l’autre dans la République des lettres (1660–1750)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989).

ran parallel to the rise in the prestige of France and its culture as France took over hegemony from Spain. It was in that year that the Accademia del Cimento [Academy of Experiment] (of which Redi and Magalotti were members) was created in Florence. Waquet studied the new hierarchy which was established between French and Italian people of learning from 1660, when the 'Italian model', which was still very much alive at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was replaced by the 'French model': whence came the 'profound imbalance' which lasted for so long 'between a strong and much admired France and a weak and scorned Italy'.¹⁹

The Gallicizers, for their part, devoted themselves to study of an aspect of the Gallicization of Italy that was no less important, namely teaching and learning and the tools specially designed for Italian-speakers, which were signs of the influence that Brunot would undoubtedly have highlighted had he been aware of them. However, it has required a whole research team to compile a first reliable catalogue of textbooks²⁰ attesting to the early teaching of French in Italy and numerous close studies to produce a satisfactory overview of this teaching.

The late seventeenth century: The Orsi–Bouhours quarrel and the war of languages

In the second of his *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* [*Conversations between Ariste and Eugene*] (1671), which is devoted to the French language, Father Dominique Bouhours presents the reader with two protagonists who compare the 'three modern languages'. The comparison serves to demonstrate the superiority of French. It hardly needs to be said that Bouhours is

19 *Ibid.* For this formulation of the respective contributions of Brunot, Dardi and Waquet I am indebted to Pellandra, 'Le cas italien', 151–2.

20 Nadia Minerva and Carla Pellandra, *Insegnare il francese in Italia. Repertorio analitico di manuali pubblicati dal 1625 al 1860* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1997).

unoriginal: his debt to Henri Estienne is well-known. This is how Bouhours characterizes Italian and French:

Italian is like those streams that babble pleasantly over the stones, meandering through meadows full of flowers, yet sometimes swelling so much that they flood the whole countryside [...]. French is like those beautiful rivers that enrich every place they pass through; without being either fast or slow, their waters roll majestically and they take a course that is always even [...].

Italian is a 'coquette, always ready and always with her make-up on, who seeks only to please and enjoys only dalliances'. French is 'a prude, but an agreeable one who, being wise and modest, has nothing crude or wild about her'.²¹

Pierre Swiggers draws attention to the 'two characteristic elements of this (type of) dithyrambic discourse: (a) as a rule, it is about the "moral" qualities of languages; (b) French is praised for its qualities of (natural) purity and simplicity: it preserves, "naively", the genius of Latin'.²² We should also note that Bouhours appropriates for French an argument which had been typical of the champions of the pre-eminence of Italian (and which quickly became a recurrent stereotype): that the language had a closer kinship with Latin, an attribute which all the Romance languages liked to parade.

In a preface to the *Contes* [*Tales*] that he included in his grammar (*L'art d'enseigner la langue française* [*The Art of Teaching French*] 1677), Michele Berti defended Italian against the attacks of Bouhours, without actually mentioning him by name. (Paraphrastic reference to anonymous but easily recognizable works was quite frequent in grammars of the time.) He took issue with the characterization of languages sketched by Bouhours, turning it round in favour of Italian but using the same images and epithets. Another grammarian, Louis de Lépine, the author of the *Maître français en Italie* [*The French Teacher in Italy*] (1683), also referred to Bouhours's

21 Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Paris: A. Colin, 1962 [originally Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1671]), 44–5.

22 Swiggers, 'Le français et l'italien en lice', 70.

Conversations between Ariste and Eugene, but with a different aim. He borrowed the framework of Bouhours's *Conversations* but, unlike Berti, unconditionally took Bouhours's side when it came to praising the restraint and naivety of the French language.

Such assertions about the superiority of the French language were from then on the order of the day in late seventeenth-century grammars. These grammars abounded in eulogies to French, whose clarity, energy, precision, concision, gentleness and universality were praised. The comparison between Italian and French led people to take up a position on the well-known cultural stereotypes. Eulogies to the Italian national language were a response to Bouhours's caricatures of it. People praised the melodiousness, gentleness and force of Italian, the favourite language of the Muses, the heart and the passions.

The undisputed champion of French grammars for Italian-speakers was Louis XIV, the 'August monarch of the French [who] has taken particular care to make the Sciences reign [...]'. If French is 'a language as universal as Latin was when splendour, Politics and the curiosity of Princes took the court of the Roman Empire as their example, just as nowadays they take the ambience of the court of France as their example', then that is thanks to Louis. The most famous authors of the century were read in French and 'All these causes [gave] it pre-eminence over all other languages, its energy and its gentleness [made] people cherish it'. 'Thus nothing is so praiseworthy' – so Feri de la Salle exhorted his pupils – 'as the ardent desire that you show to gain a thorough knowledge of this charming language'.²³

These eulogistic sentiments, which were perfectly compatible with the ideas of Bouhours, passed over in silence a long-lasting quarrel which disturbed relations between Italian and French intellectuals during those years. Bouhours, in his *Doutes sur la langue française* [*Doubts about the French Language*] (1674), defended French lexical purism against the Italian, full of artifice, that was to be found in the poetry of Giambattista Marino and

23 Michel Feri de la Salle, in the dedication to his pupils in his *Nouvelle methode abrégée, curieuse, et facile pour apprendre en perfection, & de soi même la langue française* (Venice: Louis Pavin, 1701).

his imitators. (In the following century Italians themselves would appropriate this criticism of the supposed artificiality of Italian in general in order to justify their own Gallicisms.) He exalted the ‘beautiful’ French ‘spirit’ (a marriage of vivacity and rationality), contrasting it with the ‘brilliance’ of the Italian Baroque. In his *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l’esprit* [*Right Thinking in Works of the Spirit*] (1687) he repeated his attacks on the Baroque, Marino and Torquato Tasso. Bouhours’s *Right Thinking* enjoyed enormous success (sixteen editions of it were published between 1688 and 1735) and the discredit it brought upon Italian culture was therefore enormous too. It has been noted that the criticisms made by Bouhours were a stage in the development of French national consciousness and in the process by which the ascendant French model supplanted the Italian cultural model.²⁴ The Italian response to Bouhours came from three intellectuals, one of whom was Giovan Gioseffo Orsi, in *Considerazioni sopra la maniera di ben pensare* [*Considerations on Right Thinking*] (1704). The response was dedicated to Anne Dacier, a French scholar and translator who was taken to be a first-rank member of the Italianizers in the quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Through Francesco Algarotti’s *Saggio sopra la lingua francese* [*Essay on the French Language*] (1750) the comparison between French and Italian became a leitmotif of Italian linguistic thought at least until Giacomo Leopardi in the nineteenth century. Francophile Italians contrasted the stability and conservatism of the national language to the mutability of the ‘genius’ of the French language, whose evolution reflected its capacity to adapt to the cultural revolution and the ‘regeneration’ brought about by the Enlightenment.²⁵ With the appearance in 1729–38 of the fourth

24 Corrado Viola, *Tradizioni letterarie a confronto. Italia e Francia nella polemica Orsi–Bouhours* (Verona: Fiorini 2001).

25 We may compare this point of view with a passage from the preface of the trilingual dictionary of Annibale Antonini: ‘S’il m’est permis encore d’insister sur les prérogatives de notre langue, je ne sçaurois assez louer sa constance, & son invariabilité, soit pour les mots, qui sont toujours les mêmes, soit pour les règles, qui sont presque toutes constantes et invariables. On peut les suivre avec sûreté, sans être presque jamais asservi

edition of the dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca [Academy of the Bran], which confirmed the rigid traditionalism of the Academy, enlightened intellectuals reacted vehemently to its tyrannical authority. This was especially the case with those intellectuals who gathered around the journal *Il Caffè* [*The Coffeehouse*] (1764–6), namely the brothers Pietro and Alessandro Verri, Cesare Beccaria and Giuseppe Baretti, the author of a *Discours sur Shakespeare et sur monsieur de Voltaire* [*Discourse on Shakespeare and Mr Voltaire*] (1777), which was written in French. New linguistic models were provided by English and French thinkers and Italians needed to draw inspiration from them if they were to bring into being a language that was less ‘heavy’ and better able to promote the circulation of ideas. This development, needless to say, encouraged an open-minded attitude towards foreignisms.²⁶

French Europe

It was an Italian, the Marquess of Caraccioli, a statesman and diplomat of the Kingdom of Naples, who paid the most enthusiastic tribute to the universal glory of Paris and France when he gave the title *Paris le modèle des Nations étrangères, ou l’Europe française* (1777) [*Paris the Model for*

à la tyrannie & aux caprices de l’usage [...]. Dira-t-on la même chose du français?’ [‘If I may be permitted to stress once more the prerogatives of our language I would not know how to praise sufficiently its constancy and invariability, whether with regard to its words, which are always the same, or its rules, almost all of which are constant and unchanging. One can follow them with certainty, sure that one will hardly ever be a slave to tyranny and vagaries of usage [...]. Could one say the same of French?’] (*Dictionnaire italien, latin et français*, 2 vols (Venice: Pitteri, 1745), vol. 1, 9).

26 See *inter alia* Melchiorre Cesarotti, *Saggio sopra la lingua italiana* (1785) and *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue applicato alla lingua italiana* (1800), which were more moderate than previous works but adopted the principle that language inevitably evolved and hence accepted that Gallicisms were legitimized by French cultural supremacy.

Foreign Nations, or French Europe]²⁷ to his best-known book, echoing abbé Galiani, who in a letter of 24 July 1773 had written to Mlle d'Épinay: 'Soon all Europe will be Paris.'²⁸

What then was the origin of the commonplace which spread in the 1780s, the high point of the Gallicization of Europe and at the same time the point when French influence began to decline, according to which 'The universality of the French language is less true of Spain and Italy than of the rest of Europe'? Only four years after the appearance of Rivarol's famous *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française* [*Discourse on the Universality of the French Language*] (1784) Isabelle de Charrière remarked in her *Observations et conjectures politiques* [*Political Observations and Conjectures*] (1788): 'To whom does France owe this pleasant sovereignty which it exercises over England, Germany and Holland much more than over Italy and Spain, to whom if not to those fleeing from it, who have spread through all the Protestant countries?'²⁹

This assumption, which Brunot helped to disseminate, was quickly shown to be false. From the reign of Louis XIV, the status of French ensured that it was revered in Italy as much as elsewhere. During the seventeenth century, the French language, and French culture, changed from being occasional phenomena to which Italians did not pay much attention to phenomena which were more and more regularly present. Evidence of this change is provided by such things as the circulation of French books, which could easily be found in booksellers, the printing of books in French and the publication of an increasing number of grammars and bilingual dictionaries in Italy. Mastery of French soon became a necessity in daily life for the upper strata of society. French was an essential part of the education of the perfect gentleman or fashionable lady, and gentlemen and ladies became more and more worldly and cosmopolitan. The French language, Du Bois de Gomicourt observed in 1682 in the dedication of his *Nuova grammatica*

27 On the 'French Europe', see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Autrement, 2007).

28 Quoted by Dardi, 'Uso e diffusione del francese', 348.

29 Quoted by Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, part 1, 531.

francese spiegata in italiano [*New French Grammar Explained in Italian*], is 'si aisée aux Seigneurs italiens, que les Dames presque toutes l'apprennent' [a language 'in which Italians of the privileged class are so comfortable that almost all the ladies learn it']. Interest in everything that came from France, including French works and works in other languages for which French was the medium, was very lively. One has only to leaf through collections of letters and literary periodicals to realize the speed with which all sorts of French publications arrived in Italy, including the most daring works of the 'coterie' of the *philosophes*. Very numerous passages in the Italian writers of the eighteenth century make precise reference to works by d'Alembert, Diderot, Helvétius and others. In spite of the censorship and police repression, French books and journals circulated clandestinely from the first half of the eighteenth century through French booksellers, travellers, diplomats and military men. From 1698 French books dealing with all the sciences were on sale in the port of Livorno.³⁰ Fifty years later Algarotti noted the clamour aroused in Italy by French books to which people had recourse for any subject of study: only French books were read and it was only French books that inspired confidence.³¹ Of the 60,000 books registered by the customs in Venice between 1750 and 1790, at least 10,000, or 16–17 per cent, were written in French.³² In order properly to evaluate these findings, though, we should take into account the geographical discontinuity of French influence. Centres from which the light spread out – Piedmont (an amphibious region, in the felicitous words of Vittorio Alfieri), Parma and northern Italy in general – alternated with other regions which were more opaque and resistant, such as the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples. The findings

30 Dardi, 'Usò e diffusione del francese', 351.

31 Quoted by Dardi, *ibid.*

32 Franco Piva, *Cultura francese e censura a Venezia nel secondo Settecento* (Venice: Memorie dell'Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 36/3). Brunot produces a list of works recently written in French which were on sale at Galeazzi's bookshop in Milan, and which had appeared following the last number of the famous Lombard journal *Il Caffè* (1764–5), and 'what is more, without them always coming from France' (*Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 91). He also notes the role played by Switzerland in the spread of French books in Italy, the majority of the works he mentions having in fact been published in Yverdon or Berne.

also need to be considered alongside the numerous translations which very quickly appeared, showing that a large proportion of readers preferred to read these works in their own language.³³ We may also relate the publication of works in French in Italy to the fact that a good number of French publishers, such as Bulifon, Raillard, Gravier, Bouchard and Aubert, had established themselves there. The activity of these publishers was sometimes far-reaching. Impressions of the *Encyclopédie* [*Encyclopaedia*] in Lucca (1758–71) and Livorno (1770–9), for example, are notable for the number of subscribers (1,200 for the Livorno impression, an exceptional number if one compares it with 4,000 who subscribed to the edition published in France).³⁴

The Italian language faithfully reflects this collective infatuation with France: Gallicisms abound in the standard language as well as in specialized varieties and patois. The sway of French is manifested in borrowings and calques, which seeped in myriad ways into vocabulary and syntax. By analysing an impressive mass of writings from the period 1650–1715, Andrea Dardi has found numerous Gallicisms in several semantic fields ranging from fashion to the life of society, from politics to the army, from jurisprudence to bureaucracy and from literature to the fine arts, philosophy and science.³⁵ And as Paolo Zolli reminds us in his book *Foreign Words*, the prestige of words is linked to the superiority of a people in one or a number of domains.

In particular, French has had a profound influence on Italian lexis in fields from administration to politics, the economy, philosophy and intellectual and social life, resulting in the introduction of new terms and renewal

33 See, for example, L. Ferrari, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese nei secoli XVII e XVIII. Saggio bibliografico* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

34 The capacity of the Italian market to absorb important French works is also shown by the publication of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, which reached 230 volumes in 1817.

35 Dardi, *Dalla provincia all'Europa*. Calques such as 'brodosa' for 'ricamatrice' [embroideress] (< brodeuse), 'griffa' for 'artiglio' [claw, talon] (< griffe), 'portreto' for 'ritratto' [portrait] (< portait), 'visaggio' for 'viso' [face] (< visage), 'volare' for 'rubare' [to steal] (< voler), 'io vengo di leggere' for 'ho letto' [I have just read] (< je viens de lire), 'io vado a leggere' for 'leggerò' [I am going to read] (< je vais lire), and so on, are ephemeral products of the infatuation with French, whereas syntactic structures such as 'è con piacere che' [it is with pleasure that], 'è con sorpresa che' [it is with surprise that] are still in use.

of their meaning. The effervescence of French culture and the liveliness of its artistic scene made for the proliferation of translations; new objects, new types of knowledge and new ways of doing things made it necessary to find new words. The importance, for the evolution of the language, of media in the broad sense of the term became increasingly apparent in 1796–9, a period of revolutionary upheaval in Italy, and during the Napoleonic Wars. In particular, Italian Jacobin and Republican propaganda made massive use of the periodical press and pamphlets, working hard to explain new doctrines and to create the vocabulary for them with calques on the French model. The whole Italian administrative lexis was so full of borrowings from French that it awakened the first purist reservations put forward by Jacobin nationalism, which were also taken up by those Italians who were in favour of Napoleon.

The French spirit penetrated Italy in the eighteenth century on the level of philosophical ideas as well as on the linguistic and literary levels. Although they were often translated, the *philosophes* were also read in the original, first by an elite and later by a wider and wider public. The new ideas were often discussed in academies, salons and various societies. It was from French books that the Italians would draw a good part of their culture and it was through the medium of French that they most often entered into contact with other cultures. One has only to think of the rich group of intellectuals who divided their lives between Italy, France and England or who championed the Europeanization of Italian culture: for example, Francesco Algarotti, with his *Newtonianismo per le dame* [*Newtonism for Ladies*], an explanatory scientific booklet inspired by Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle which was at first highly valued but then denigrated by Voltaire, who drew on the writings of his ‘dear swan of Padua’ – that is what he called Algarotti – for subject-matter for his own *Éléments de la philosophie de Newton* [*Elements of Newton’s Philosophy*]. As for the 150,000 learned people counted by Giovanni Ristori,³⁶ they all knew French. This knowledge was essential if Italians were to keep up with Europe’s political, diplomatic, literary and scientific novelties, including German and English works which were read in French translation, for

36 ‘Colpo d’occhio su lo stato presente della letteratura italiana,’ which appeared in various numbers of *Nuovo giornale letterario d’Italia* between 1788 and 1789.

these two languages were known by few people at that time (it was through Pierre Coste's translation of them that John Locke's *Essays* became famous).

Moreover, many illustrious Italians wrote in French themselves. Suffice it to mention, in addition to those we have already encountered, Carlo Goldoni with several comedies, including *Le Bourru bienfaisant* [*The Benevolent Curmudgeon*] (1771) and *L'Avare fastueux* [*The Ostentatious Miser*] (1776) and his autobiography, *Mémoires* [*Memoirs*] (1787); Carlo Denina, with his *Essai sur la vie de Frédéric II* [*Essay on the Life of Frederick II*] (1788) and *La Clef des langues* [*The Key to Languages*] (1803); the economists and political figures Pietro Verri and, later, Giuseppe Gorani, who in 1792, at the suggestion of Bailly, received the title of French citizen; the renowned abbé Galiani, whose prose earned praise from Diderot and later from Sainte-Beuve;³⁷ Cesare Beccaria, author of the treatise *Des Délits et des Peines* [*Treatise on Crimes and Punishments*] (1764); Francesco Algarotti, who wrote part of his correspondence in French; Casanova with his memoirs, in which a precious literary style alternated with more spontaneous and spicy turns of phrase;³⁸ and, finally, Vittorio Alfieri, who used French for some of his letters, his first literary texts, some pages of his personal diary and his first two tragedies, *Philippe* and *Polinice* (1781).³⁹ As Brunot

37 He spent several years in Paris as ambassador of the Kingdom of Naples. His works written in French included *Commentaires sur Horace* [*Commentaries on Horace*] (in the *Gazette littéraire* [*Literary Gazette*]), a *Dialogue sur les femmes* [*Dialogue on Women*] and *Dialogues sur le Commerce des blés* [*Dialogues on the Wheat Trade*] (1770), which was his most highly valued work. Having returned to Italy, he kept up a French correspondence with Mme d'Épinay, Mme Necker, Mme Geoffrin, Diderot, Grimm and others.

38 Chantal Thomas notes that when Casanova envisaged a work of the scope of his *Histoire de ma vie* [*History of My Life*], French took over: see Marie-Laure Prévost and Chantal Thomas, eds, *Casanova: la passion de la liberté* (catalogue compiled under the direction of Thomas and Prévost (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France/Seuil, 2011), for an exhibition in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, site François-Mitterrand (15 November 2011–19 February 2012)). While the first version of Casanova's *Histoire de ma vie* was bursting with Italianisms it had been corrected before it appeared again in the version that circulated in the nineteenth century.

39 Alfieri admitted that he had yielded to 'a sort of superior force. In 1776, in order to tear himself away from the obsession with French, he had to refrain from all French

has remarked, 'There is perhaps no country whose nationals have written more in French than Italy'.⁴⁰

Teaching methods also encouraged the Italian taste for literature in French, which considerably predated the century of the Enlightenment. The French 'classics' undoubtedly entered the French lesson as early as the seventeenth century. Some teachers, anxious to make their lessons interesting, made use of texts 'hot off the Parisian press' for teaching their pupils to read, we are told by Charles de Richany, a teacher at the Nobles' College in Parma. The teacher would have books purchased (or would sell them himself) to make learners sensitive to the 'French turn of phrase'. The works of Bouhours and Nicolas Boileau, edifying texts, historical texts and so forth furnished good linguistic and literary models. Some authors, whose beautiful lapidary formulae were admired, were also commended as models of the art of letter-writing. Textbooks included the letters of Mme de Sévigné, Mme de Maintenon and Bussy-Rabutin or the maxims of La Rochefoucauld and, later on, Fléchier, Saint-Évremond, Buffier, Mme Lambert, Fontenelle and Rollin, not to mention Fénelon's *Télémaque* [*Telemachus*], a mandatory text for the learners of French. Authors were suggested as models to commit to memory and imitate, just as classical authors were learned and imitated: fine phrases were as good for style as for morality. Literature was at the disposal of grammar and rhetoric.

Teaching French in Italy

Pietro Durante's grammar, the first grammar of French to be published in Italy, opened a new era, as its title, *La grammatica italiana per imparare la lingua francese* [*Italian Grammar for Learning French*] (1625) suggests.

reading and to leave Piedmont for Tuscany. Up until then he had sometimes translated his work into Italian after having put his plans for plays into French prose' (Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 93).

40 *Ibid.*, 92.

This was the era of the text aimed at an Italian-speaking public. An Italian grammar for Italians wishing to learn French is a product aimed at a specific speaker and it inaugurates the season of contrastive grammars on the Italian peninsula.⁴¹

Several textbooks were the fruit of the authors' personal teaching experience in noble residences or in the increasingly numerous colleges. Michele Berti dedicated his grammar to the Marquess Gerini, a Florentine nobleman and future diplomat whose French teacher he had been, and Richany addressed his textbook to the pupils of the nobles' college in Parma where he worked in the last decades of the seventeenth century. These teachers of French, who populated courts, the colleges of education and the households of nobles or a few wealthy bourgeois, played a role of cardinal importance. Everybody who counted hastened to recruit the best of them. The tutor – often a Frenchman – would go to his illustrious pupil to deliver his teaching. Otherwise it was in the colleges that gentlemen and young ladies learned French. From the time when French was introduced in the *seminaria nobilium* [nobles' seminaries] in 1670, religious orders – particularly the Jesuits up until the dissolution of their order in 1773 – had a monopoly of this teaching.⁴² There are plentiful sources for the study of the college's teaching of French. Archives have preserved documents containing 'information'

- 41 See C. Pellandra, ed., *Grammatiche, grammatici, grammatisti. Per una storia dell'insegnamento delle lingue in Italia dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Pisa: Editrice Libreria Goliardica, 1989); Mario Mormile, *L'italiano in Francia. Il francese in Italia. Storia critica delle opere grammaticali francesi in Italia ed italiane in Francia dal Rinascimento al primo Ottocento* (Turin: Meynier, 1989); N. Minerva, *Manuels, maîtres, méthodes. Repères pour l'histoire de l'enseignement du français en Italie* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1996); *idem*, *La règle et l'exemple* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2002).
- 42 Gian Paolo Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento. I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1976), 225–6, 242; Carla Pellandra, 'Enseigner le français en Emilie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles' and Marie-Jeanne Piozza, 'L'enseignement du français dans les collèges religieux d'Emilie (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)', in Pellandra, ed., *Grammatiche, grammatici, grammatisti*, 11–34 and 35–53; *idem*, 'L'enseignement du français dans quelques collèges de jésuites du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 6 (September 1990), 73–81; Anna Maria Mandich, 'L'insegnamento del francese nei collegi parmensi tra Sei e Settecento', *ibid.* 8 (September 1991), 35–48.

for pupils' parents, accounts of plays performed by the pupils boarding in the colleges and the rules of academies organizing the 'chivalrous arts'. We have the names of the teachers, their place of origin, their salaries, the books they used, their pupils' names, the titles of the books bought by the colleges for their boarders and the communications between the pupils' families and the Jesuit Fathers about the pupils' education.⁴³ Command of French was part of the arts of pleasing, as well as of other disciplines which were taught in French, such as French dancing, fortification and sometimes history and geography. The nobles' colleges run by the Jesuits in Parma and Siena particularly catch one's attention. The Tolomei College in Siena began to welcome young nobles in 1676; it would become one of the most prestigious places of education in the whole of Italy and its fame would outlive the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers, at which point management of the Jesuit colleges passed to other religious orders. In the college of Parma, the French were accused in 1699 of spreading dangerous political 'novelties' among the boarders and they were eventually threatened with expulsion.⁴⁴ The Nobles' College in Milan was another prestigious institution where French was taught in the eighteenth century. Denis de Villecomte, who taught there and who was the author of *Lettres modernes* [*Modern Letters*]⁴⁵ which appeared in 1745, wrote that he had been teaching French for more than fifteen years. Having arrived in Piedmont in 1728, he had to devote himself to private teaching because of his financial difficulties. He started in a prince's household and would soon have a large number of pupils. During Napoleon's rule in Italy, teaching of French increased, as teachers began to carry out their work in new institutions such as lycées, imperial academies, universities and colleges of royal pages.

43 As for the female public, how many French travellers in the Italian peninsula, having been received in the salons of Italian women, paid tribute to their hostess's perfect mastery of the language of their guests! How many dedications there were to illustrious women whose linguistic competence was praised in grammars of the *ancien régime*!

44 Luigi Dossi, *I Gesuiti a Parma* [no place or date of publication].

45 *Lettres modernes mêlées de vers, de proverbes, de traits d'histoire, et de morale avec toutes les réponses à chaque lettre et un petit avis sur le style épistolaire* (Milan: Donati Ghisolfi, 1745).

The seventeenth century abounded in textbooks with a plurilingual purpose. The eighteenth century, on the other hand, aimed at specialization. Not only did the textbook stop claiming to teach several languages at the same time; we also see the proliferation of different types of teaching aid, such as collections of dialogues and letters, treatises on phonetics and orthography, phrasebooks, tables of verb conjugations and so on. Longevity was a characteristic of the textbook of that time. Sometimes seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammars underwent only a few alterations, or they were augmented by appendices which introduced the main linguistic or didactic novelties, but in other instances they were reworked in a more radical way and no more than the title of the work which had been so successful was retained, as was the case with the grammar written by Lodovico Goudar, whose name would long be synonymous with the French textbook.⁴⁶

The way in which an old textbook was structured is also of some interest. A grammar book would be divided into two parts. The first part presented grammatical theory and the second was devoted to practice, with vocabulary, phraseology, dialogues, stories, anecdotes, maxims and letters. Private and commercial correspondence took on particular importance, especially in the eighteenth century. Examination of textbooks enables us to follow the evolution of their linguistic and cultural contents, to find an echo of phonetic or orthographic debates that were of consequence at certain times in French linguistic history, to follow grammatical disputes and arguments about terminology, to record the development of lexis and to take note of methodological battles.

As for the dialogues and correspondence that textbooks contain, they help us to find out what sort of public the textbooks were addressed to. These methods of initiation into standard conversation and writing lend themselves to a sociolinguistic enquiry that aims to determine the role of French in family life and in the social relations of the age. We often find in the textbooks one or a number of dialogues or letters which enact the

46 *Nuova grammatica italiana e francese* (Milan: Agnelli, 1744). The fate of Louis Goudar's textbooks has been studied by Jacqueline Lillo, *Les grammaires de Lodovico Goudar. 1744-1925* (Palermo: Quaderni della Facoltà di Lettere, 1990).

French lesson. There were conversations between a master and his pupil, with practical and didactic instructions about the progress of the lesson, its frequency during the week (private lessons usually took place three times a week), its contents, the teacher's salary, the books used (a grammar, preferably by the teacher himself, if he had written one, and texts on history or geography,⁴⁷ which were often obtained by the teacher and for which the pupil reimbursed him) and the results achieved. There were also dialogues between two schoolboys having a conversation about their respective courses, letters sent by a teacher to his pupil illustrating his conception of teaching and so on.⁴⁸ Teaching was not confined to language but aimed to be cultural as well. Thus in a letter to her teacher of French a girl expressed her gratitude to him for having taught her all she knew 'about Geography, Heraldry and History'.⁴⁹ Textbooks, then, are a valuable source which enables us to improve our knowledge of the teaching of that age. They give a face to those unrecognized people of former times who taught Italians French and afford us an opportunity to learn how well prepared those teachers were who descended on Italy in search of employment.⁵⁰ Just as the spread of French in Italy was at its height, 'a swarm of hairdressers, cooks, dancing masters, preachers, artists and actors following theatre troupes' came from France⁵¹ and anyone at all tried their hand at teaching. Only one qualification was needed: to be French. This was a whole people of makeshift teachers, from all social levels and all regions of France. Hence the need arose to define professionalism and the moral qualities and cultural and social level of the ideal teacher.

47 This choice should not surprise us: several disciplines (history, geography, fortification, etc.) were taught in the colleges with the aid of French texts (see Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento*, 242 ff.).

48 See the grammars by Berti, Lépine and Feri de la Salle to which I referred in the section on the Orsi-Bouhours quarrel above.

49 Denis de Villecomte, *Lettres modernes avec leurs réponses* (Bassano: Remondini, 1766), 346.

50 See Dardi, 'Uso e diffusione del francese', 347–72.

51 *Ibid.*, 360.

Far more textbooks were published in Italy in the second half of the seventeenth century than those mentioned by Brunot (who used the only extant list, the imprecise and deficient list published by Stengel in 1890, which identified only a handful of them).⁵² For the period 1625–99 we have found fifty-two textbooks (perhaps there are others too), including fifteen first editions. There are around 150 eighteenth-century grammars. More recently, an Italian team led by Jacqueline Lillo has compiled a list of bilingual dictionaries,⁵³ according to which there were fifty dictionaries in the seventeenth century, sixty from the eighteenth (not including Antonini's dictionary, which is trilingual) and twenty-eight from the period 1801–14. To these already impressive figures we should add many works published in France or elsewhere which have always been useful for teaching French and of which Italian libraries have remarkable quantities.

There is, of course, a whole continent still left to explore. Besides the schools where French was taught (which have been quite fully studied) and the castles and houses where there were French governesses or tutors, there were libraries and reading rooms which received French works, French churches, places where French plays were performed and so forth.

Parma and France

In the history of the spread of French in Italy, the Duchy of Parma was a fixed point.⁵⁴ Cultural relations between the Duchy of Parma and eighteenth-century France under Bourbon rule were maintained very diligently

52 Edmund Stengel, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis französischer Grammatiken vom Ende des 14. bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts nebst Angabe des bisher ermittelten Fundorte derselben*, 1890, ed. Hans-Josef Niederehe, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 1976).

53 Jacqueline Lillo, ed., *1583–2000: quattro secoli di lessicografia italo-francese. Repertorio analitico di dizionari bilingue*, 2 vols (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008).

54 See Mandich, 'L'insegnamento del francese nei collegi parmensi', and *L'archive et la lettre. Enquêtes sur l'enseignement du français* (Parma: Proposte Editrice, 2002), 15–32.

for some forty years, from 1748 until the French Revolution. However, the whole century was a century of predominantly French influence in the duchy. This influence did not weaken until the house of Farnese died out in 1731, only to become strong once more after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, when the duchy returned to the Bourbons (Philip of Spain, Duke of Parma from 1748 to 1765, and his wife, Louise Elisabeth, daughter of Louis XV), who would restore its former splendour. Parma was therefore always in France's orbit and France would be linguistically and culturally dominant in it, especially under the influence of Louise Elisabeth. Guillaume-Léon Du Tillot would work hard to enable the duchy to flourish and to make it increasingly 'French'. Du Tillot's correspondence with the treasurer of the court of Parma in Paris, Claude Bonnet, shows to what extent this little Italian duchy was dependent on the court of France. Everything came from France, from the clothes of the dukes and courtiers to the furnishings of the ducal residences, from horses to choice dishes and wines for the duke's table; everything was French or in the French style. In addition to these products, there were French books, journals and reviews that were requested and read with passion at court and in cultured circles. The *Encyclopédie*, for example, arrived regularly in Parma in four copies, one each for the duke, the duchess, the library and Du Tillot. Thanks to the intervention of d'Argental, Parma's minister plenipotentiary at Versailles, volumes of the *Encyclopédie* continued to arrive in Parma even after the Council of State prohibited the circulation and sale of these volumes in France. There were numerous French tutors in Parma. Louise Elisabeth chose Condillac as tutor for her son, the crown prince Ferdinand, at whom the *philosophe's Cours d'études* [*Course of Study*] was aimed. Philip and Du Tillot particularly liked the French theatre and after the Bourbon court had been established at Parma French companies were invited to the duchy to stage new plays performed in France. The court and the cultivated public were mad about them.

Mandich's study goes up to the periods of French domination in Parma (first under Napoleon then under his wife Marie-Louise of Habsburg-Lorraine, who reigned there between 1815 and 1847).

This 'French' court attracted a crowd of French people, consisting of courtiers, artists, men of letters and officials; of the 25,000 inhabitants of Parma in 1765, 4,000 were French. French travellers who passed through Parma never ceased to wonder at the cultural and artistic development of this ever more French city. Everywhere one heard French spoken. Goldoni would write that his long stays in Parma enabled him 'to practise the French language.'⁵⁵

Napoleon, Italy and the French language

We thus come to the period when French influence recedes, which begins after the French Revolution of 1789 with the development right across Europe of patriotism and exaltation of national languages. Gallomania, often denounced by Italian purists, weakened only after Napoleon's armies had invaded. The Revolution, as Marc Fumaroli put it, aroused the 'genius' of nations and awakened in each a jealous love of its own language.⁵⁶ French ebbed, although the responsibility of the Revolution and Empire for this has perhaps been exaggerated, since a strong reaction against the language had made itself felt in Italy, Switzerland, England and even Germany well before 1789. But voices speaking against the French before 1789 were in a minority.

In the long age during which French was a 'universal' language, this period of around twenty years, from 1796 to 1814, invites further reflection. What changed at the moment when the political weight of France in the European balance of power (especially in Italy, where these years corresponded to a period of French domination) was added to the prestige that had long been associated with French civilization and literature? And how did the military, political and cultural dominance of France affect the teaching and learning of French in the Italian peninsula in that period?

55 Mandich, *L'archive et la lettre*, 9.

56 Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 2001), 18.

The subject of the impact of French in Italy during the Napoleonic period is vast and multi-faceted. I shall confine myself here to mention of just a few essential points: the linguistic policy of the French in Italy (an angle which very much concerned Brunot); Napoleon's special attitude towards Italian and his plans concerning French and Italian in a scheme for the linguistic reorganization of the whole of Europe; and the debate which began in Italy on the national language, Latin and French.

Let us briefly recall the events of these years. Napoleon descended on Italy with his army in 1796. The 'Jacobin triennium' – that is what the first three years of the French occupation are called in Italy – which began after Napoleon's victories was a period of uncertainty and instability. French and Austrians and former lords came and went in the administration of the northern provinces, while various republics (Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, Neapolitan), which led a troubled and fleeting life, were destined to be overthrown when the Egyptian campaign took Napoleon away but sprang up again after the Battle of Marengo (1800) and the triumphant return of Bonaparte to Italy. This first period of instability was followed by years during which the presence of the French in Italy increased until Italian territory was completely occupied, a point which was reached in 1809, when the temporal power of the papacy was ended by Napoleon's decree. The nature of the French occupation was patchy and different from one region to another, sometimes from one village to another. It need only be noted here that political conditions in Italy had changed profoundly: Napoleon's administrators, officials and family were occupying the peninsula.

The pages that Brunot devotes to the Gallicization of Italy after its occupation by Napoleon bring out the profound penetration of French culture, which permeated Italian daily life at all levels. 'French works and French ideas,' Brunot wrote, 'crossed the Alps with the armies. [...] Everybody could and had to become French.'⁵⁷ The difference by comparison with the preceding years therefore lay in the fact that Italians (not

57 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 9, 186–7. Brunot's source is the very well documented book by Paul Hazard, *La Révolution française et les lettres italiennes. 1789–1815* (Paris: Hachette, 1910).

just the elite, but broad layers of society) had to learn French and in the ease with which they could do so. ‘The language of the great nation [...] is necessary for any civilian or military job’, claimed Carlo Maselli, whether with satisfaction or bitterness we cannot to say, since he alludes, a few lines later, to ‘elderly people obliged by their condition to study French.’⁵⁸ How was this need catered for? Many French grammars came to Italy with Napoleon’s armies and they were soon republished, translated or imitated in the peninsula. However, these were first and foremost textbooks published in Italy during the Revolution and period of Empire and they may help us to understand how French control contributed to the teaching of French in Italy.

Between 1796 and 1814, 117 grammars were published in Italy. Information relating to the places of publication is also revealing: besides those that were traditionally the most active – Venice, Naples, Turin – others appeared. If before this period we can detect a great geographical discontinuity in the distribution of knowledge of French in Italy, now we find an unexpected dynamism. There is a veritable diffusion of the language, a capillary seepage, a homogeneous propagation of it throughout almost the whole territory. What is striking is the need to obtain grammars almost everywhere and the receptivity of small towns to the new didactic tools that were coming in to replace the old grammars like Goudar’s.

Why were there so many Italian publications when one could make use of French texts? There were didactic reasons for this, to be sure: Giovanni Momo, in his *Osservazioni critiche istruttive sopra il metodo d’insegnare la lingua francese agli Italiani* [*Critical and Informative Observations on the Method of Teaching French to Italians*],⁵⁹ shows us that not all the rules of pronunciation explained in French grammars were of use to Italians and that they often confused learners. Of the twenty diphthongs studied by one grammarian, Wailly, only six were difficult for Italians to pronounce. So he suggested that the others be

58 Carlo Maselli, *Compendio ragionato delle regole assolutamente necessarie per la lingua francese estratte da’ migliori, e più recenti autori e corredate di diverse utili osservazioni ad uso degl’Italiani* (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1808), 5–6. In the same year, 1808, twelve French grammars appeared!

59 Published in Lucca by Bertini in 1812: see p. 4.

eliminated.⁶⁰ There were economic reasons for the appearance of new Italian textbooks, as well as didactic ones. Italian books cost less than French books. Concern about cost makes us realize that the readership of such books had become considerably broader by comparison with the readership in the years before the Revolution, when the social condition of the person at whom the textbook was aimed sheltered him from this sort of material consideration. In 1807, on the other hand, an *Abécédaire récréatif* [*Recreational Primer*], which was presented as the first Italian edition based on the forty-second French edition, highlighted its modest price by comparison with the thirty sous that the Parisian edition cost. The abbé Luigi-Carlo Federici, moreover, in the second edition of Wailly (1808), justifying the concision of the section devoted to syntax, referred readers to Michel's *Dictionnaire des expressions vicieuses* [*Dictionary of Incorrect Expressions*] and to Chaptal's *Nouveau dictionnaire grammatical* [*New Grammatical Dictionary*]; but since these two works were rare and costly, he promised to republish them himself.⁶¹

In many textbooks there were signs of French dominance and of the political and institutional changes that followed the French occupation of Italy. Sometimes the signs were only external,⁶² attesting to modernization that was superficial or ideological. Ideology, moreover, entered imperiously into the cultural models offered by the textbooks (and not only in the revolutionary years after 1796 and the Napoleonic age) and into the way of life presented in them, their patterns of thought and so on.

The political and military primacy of the invader as well as the intrusion of the French language⁶³ and cultural model led to widespread hostility towards the French and the French language during the revolutionary and

60 *Ibid.*

61 *La grammatica francese del Signor Vailly esposta ad uso degl'Italiani [...]* (Naples: Tipografia Trani, 1808).

62 In Year 3 of the Genoese Republic, for example, the Liberty Press republished the nth Goudar, the most widely studied grammar in the eighteenth century; the work was revised and updated by Luigi Mora and republished in Milan in Year 1 of the Italian Republic (1802).

63 Erasmo Leso, *Lingua e rivoluzione. Ricerche sul vocabolario politico italiano del triennio rivoluzionario 1796–1799* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1991).

Napoleonic years. The most striking phenomena were Alfieri's 'misogallismo' [Francophobia] (in his pamphlet *Il Misogallo* [*The French-Hater*], in which Alfieri stigmatized every aspect of French culture and the French people) and, among other writers, a fanatical affection for Italian culture. Many Italian men of letters complained of the Gallicization of the Italian language. They deplored the corruption of the national language under the influence of the military jargon imported by Napoleon's armies or through journalistic jargon (even journalists who wrote in Italian used more and more French words and turns of phrase as a result of the invasion of the francophone press). Indeed, some of the ephemeral periodicals abandoned their propagandistic functions in order to become more literary or to lean more towards the Italian public than the French armies. These periodicals had Italian subscribers and it was no accident that their fate was endangered when they showed themselves to be too close to Italian patriots who were already talking of the unification of Italy.⁶⁴

For similar reasons, anti-French sentiment found expression in other places too, for instance in Germany. In Italy, the arrival of Napoleon's armies had aroused great hopes for an end to the oppressive rule of the many governments which shared sovereignty in the peninsula, but these hopes were dashed when a new form of occupation, that is to say occupation by the French, was established. Francophobe sentiments were expressed in works such as Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* [*The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis*] and later in Alessandro Manzoni's tragedy *Adelchi*.

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The adventure of the French language in Italy was not to have the sad outcome that the Gallophobia of certain thinkers might have seemed to portend. For most cultivated Italians, French would remain throughout the nineteenth century the only foreign language they knew. It also became a school subject. Under the old regime, it was considered essential that French be taught in a way that was appealing to learners. The authors of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century textbooks continually demanded that

64 Gilles Kraemer, *Trois siècles de presse francophone dans le monde* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).

teaching be made pleasant and learning easy, that pupils be amused and encouraged in order to draw them towards a discipline which, it should not be forgotten, was optional. When, in the nineteenth century, French was introduced as a school subject other objectives emerged. Cultural content and moral content became closely intertwined and what was taught was subservient to an educational goal.

On the eve of the First World War there were eight French journals in Italy, as against five in Greece, four in Germany and two in Holland, proof of a lasting demand. Gallomania persisted until the first decades of the twentieth century, powerfully supported by journals, fictional literature, the use of French in the conversation of the cultured classes (especially in the north, owing to the weak spread of everyday Italian) and, more generally, by the cultural, scientific and technological prestige of France. In private correspondence, literature for mass consumption and the language of the press, as well as in translations from French, there was an abundance of non-adapted borrowings dictated by the taste of the age or the lack of Italian equivalents, which are always suggestive of a culture – in this case French – which enjoys great prestige.⁶⁵ This tide would only be temporarily interrupted in the third decade of the twentieth century by the notoriously xenophobic Fascist regime, which dictated a new purism entailing censorship of the most obvious borrowings.

As we began with something that made Italy untypical in the panorama of European Gallomania – her lateness in bowing to the supremacy of French – so we shall end our survey with another of her peculiarities, and again it is something that occurs later than elsewhere. If we regard the superiority of French in Europe as coming to an end at the time of the Great War, at which point the whole of Europe turned to English, Italy would maintain her privileged bond with her sister on the other side of the Alps for much longer: French would enjoy the status of the first foreign language taught in Italian secondary schools and universities right up until the 1970s. Utilitarian considerations were trumped by factors that had to do with cultural closeness and affinities relating to identity.

65 See Hope, *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages*, 569, and Morgana, 'L'influsso francese', 709–11.

6 The Use of French among the Dutch Elites in Eighteenth-Century Holland

In order to show how French was used among the Dutch elites in the eighteenth century, it will be useful to begin by defining the broader historical and linguistic context in which this phenomenon should be seen.¹ The use of French was not confined to the elites – in fact, the so-called ‘French schools’, which developed from the end of the sixteenth century, reached the merchant classes – but it did, in the case of the elites, take on particular features which we shall bring to light below.

The spread of French in Holland: A historical sketch from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century

The use of French in the Low Countries (hereafter the Netherlands) goes back a very long way, for the language penetrated Dutch linguistic space from the fourteenth century through the Court of Burgundy, which increasingly contrived to seize the Dutch provinces. In the sixteenth century, during the reign of Charles V (1515–55), the territorial grouping which

1 This study is related to a work in progress focusing more specifically on the personal writings of these elites in French. See also Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau, ‘Ecrits en français dans les archives hollandaises: relations de voyage et journaux personnels du XVIIIe siècle’, in Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stroeve and Catherine Viollet, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles: perspectives littéraires, historiques et culturelles* (Brussels: PIE Lang, 2012), 79–93.

brought the northern and southern Netherlands back together numbered seventeen provinces and thus restored the territorial unity that had disappeared with Charlemagne.

At the end of the sixteenth century the northern Netherlands, which had joined the Protestant Reformation, rebelled against their Catholic sovereign, the King of Spain, Philip II. In signing the Union of Utrecht in 1579 (which represents the legal foundation of a new state), they gave birth to the Republic of the [Seven] United Provinces, which was officially recognized in 1648 at the Peace of Westphalia² and which foreigners who travelled through its territory often referred to as Holland, the richest and most influential province of the confederation.

Religious sanctuary

Even before the rupture between the northern Netherlands and the southern Netherlands and the appearance of this new state on the map of Europe, we see the spread of French in the northern Netherlands; French was the language of the first wave of Walloon refugees – francophone Protestants who had been natives of towns such as Arras, Lille, Douai, Cambrai and Valenciennes which were actually situated in the north of France but which at that time were still part of the southern Netherlands. The Walloons had been fleeing from religious persecution from the early sixteenth century. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, this movement swelled. It included Flemings among whom there were language teachers and publishers and booksellers who had textbooks designed for learning French in

- 2 The seven provinces were Friesland, Gelderland (Guelders), Groningen, Holland, Overijssel, Utrecht and Zeeland. Drenthe and the so-called Lands of the Generality (that is to say, they depended on the States-General), namely North Brabant, some territory in the present-day province of Limburg (including Maastricht) and the Zeeland part of Flanders, were also part of the Republic. The southern Netherlands passed at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) from Spanish to Austrian rule. One therefore speaks from that point of the Austrian Netherlands rather than the Spanish Netherlands.

their stocks: they took the northern route and left Antwerp for Rotterdam, Amsterdam or Zwolle.³ Later, in the seventeenth century, there was a second wave of refugees, made up of Huguenots who were driven out of France for good by the Edict of Fontainebleau which in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes.

These refugees played a noteworthy role in the spread of French in the Republic of the United Provinces, first and foremost merely by their presence, for they constituted an important community,⁴ but also through their churches, the Walloon Church, that is to say the Reformed Church whose worship was conducted in French and which had official status in the Republic from a very early stage.⁵ At the beginning of the nineteenth century Cuvier and Noël, in a report of 1811, were still underlining the role of Walloon churches in the teaching of French. 'It is a distinctive feature of the Walloon Reformed Churches, which are made up for the most part of descendants of refugees', they wrote, 'that French is taught in their church

- 3 Thus the textbooks of the schoolmaster Gabriel Meurier were published first in Antwerp by Jean van Waesberghe, then in Rotterdam, to which Waesberghe emigrated in 1587 and where he founded a dynasty of publishers and booksellers specializing in scholarly works. On G. Meurier, see Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, 'L'emploi du temps d'une écolière à Anvers, en 1580, d'après *La Guirlande des jeunes filles* de Gabriel Meurier', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance* 44/3 (1982), 533–44. Peeter Heyns, a teacher of French, a master in a boarding school and the author of numerous works of scholarship, including some plays for the theatre, left Antwerp in 1585 to settle first in Frankfurt am Main and then Haarlem in Holland. His son, Zacharias Heyns, left Antwerp in 1592 to settle first in Amsterdam then in Zwolle and published and republished a good number of his father's works: see Hubert Meeus, 'Peeter Heyns, a "French Schoolmaster"', in J. de Clercq, N. Lioce and P. Swiggers, eds, *Grammaire et enseignement du français, 1500–1700* (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), 301–16, and *idem*, 'Zacharias Heyns, Sometime Apprentice to Moretus, Becomes the First Merchant/Publisher in Amsterdam', *Querendo* 38 (2008), 381–97.
- 4 Jan Lucassen, *Immigranten in Holland: een kwantitatieve benadering* (Amsterdam: Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, 2002).
- 5 From 1586, the refugees obtained their own ecclesiastical organization and special reformed Synod. There are still fourteen Walloon churches in the modern Netherlands.

schools: that is a tribute which these unfortunate families have continually paid to their former homeland.⁶

These schools, which were originally created to educate the refugees' children, came also to be attended by the children of the local population, more particularly the children of the middle classes, who learned arithmetic, accountancy, geography, history and navigation as well as French in them. They were to be found in almost all towns, great and small, and often more than one in a town if the schools were private. The French schools – so-called not merely because French was learned in them but also because the teaching of various subjects was conducted in that language – would survive up until the nineteenth century,⁷ as this passage from the report of Cuvier and Noël confirms:

Thus throughout Holland young people destined for commerce, manufactories, the administration or the military did not attend Latin colleges or schools but gave themselves up, until the age at which they were able to take up their calling, to the study of French, English, geography, commercial arithmetic and some rather shaky notions of algebra and geometry.⁸

In the seventeenth century, people who came for the most part from a Huguenot background, such as Nathanael Duez, Thomas la Grue, Barthélemy Piélat and Pierre Marin, but also some Catholics, such as Jean Nicolas de Parival, took up the work of the sixteenth-century bilingual Flemish language teachers and published textbooks. Some of these

6 J. [G.] Cuvier and J. Noël, *Rapport sur les établissements d'instruction publique en Hollande et sur les moyens de les réunir à l'Université impériale* (Paris: Fain, imprimeur de l'Université, 1811), 35.

7 The primary schools among these French schools would disappear little by little after the law of 1806 on primary education. The secondary schools, on the other hand, would see their numbers grow and their teaching would serve as a model for the modern style of teaching provided for by the Thorbecke law of 1863. See M. van Strien-Chardonneau and Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, 'Le français aux Pays-Bas (XVIIe–XIXe siècles): de la langue du bilinguisme élitare à une langue du plurilinguisme d'éducation', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 45 (2010), 133.

8 Cuvier and Noël, *Rapport sur les établissements d'instruction publique en Hollande*, 51.

textbooks were conceived also as self-teaching aids and they would continue to be published for over a hundred years.⁹

Sanctuary for scholars

With the presence in the Netherlands of Descartes, Pierre Jurieu, Pierre Bayle, Jean Le Clerc and Jacques and Henri Basnage de Beauval religious sanctuary became coupled with sanctuary for scholars. (One could also mention Voltaire, who frequently stayed there.) These scholars and men of letters 'played a role in the internationalization of Dutch learning through the agency of French'.¹⁰ In close connection with the presence of scholars finding sanctuary in the United Provinces, we see the development in the mid-seventeenth century of a flourishing francophone press which would last until the second third of the eighteenth century.¹¹ People in the nineteenth century were therefore inclined to think of Holland in the second half of the seventeenth century as a country where the use of French was universal. Thus a historian of literature, A. Sayous,¹²

- 9 Like Pierre Marin's *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre les principes & l'usage des langues française et hollandaise*, 1698 (republished up to the mid-nineteenth century). On Marin and other Huguenot language teachers, see Pieter Loonen, 'The influence of the Huguenots on the teaching of French in the Dutch Republic during the 17th Century', in J. de Clercq *et al.*, eds, *Grammaire et enseignement du français 1500–1700*, 317–33. See also M.-C. Kok Escalle and M. van Strien-Chardonneau, 'Apprentissage de la langue et comparatisme culturel en Hollande: le métier de maître de langue (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 33–4 (2005), 120–43. For textbooks, see Kornelis Jacobus Riemens, *Esquisse historique de l'enseignement du français en Hollande du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1919).
- 10 Willem Frijhoff, 'L'usage du français en Hollande XVIIe–XIXe siècles: propositions pour un modèle d'interprétation', *Etudes de linguistique appliquée* 78 (1990), 23.
- 11 Hans Bots and Jan de Vet, *Stratégies journalistiques de l'Ancien Régime. Les préfaces des 'Journaux de Hollande', 1684–1764* (Amsterdam and Utrecht: APA-Holland University Press, 2002).
- 12 A. Sayous, *Histoire de la littérature française à l'étranger depuis le commencement du XVIIe siècle* (Paris and Geneva: J. Cherbuliez, 1853).

cites the example of Saint-Evremond who, 'spending the last years of his exile in Holland, did not take the trouble to learn Dutch' because everyone around him spoke French. We find other evidence of the importance of French, such as the following from the early eighteenth century: 'La langue française est devenue une partie essentielle de l'éducation dans la République des Pays-Bas Unis. Il en est même plusieurs emplois que l'on ne peut obtenir sans la connaissance de la langue.' [The French language has become an essential part of education in the Republic of the Low Countries [i.e. The United Provinces]. There are even several types of employment that one cannot not obtain without knowledge of the language.]¹³

A century later, one could read in the *Gazette nationale* [*National Gazette*] or *Le Moniteur universel* [*Universal Monitor*] the following information, which comes from an anonymous correspondent writing from The Hague on 21 Prairial¹⁴ (10 June 1805):

On remarquera que la langue française devient de jour en jour d'un usage plus habituel dans ce pays-ci. La plupart des Hollandais distingués par leur fortune ou leur éducation la parlent entre eux dans l'intérieur de leurs familles, de préférence à la langue du pays; de sorte que celle-ci s'en va tout doucement se reléguer dans les basses classes du peuple; et il n'en restera peut-être, dans cinquante ans, qu'un patois que les gens comme il faut abandonneront à leurs domestiques, aux ouvriers et aux matelots. Cependant, la langue hollandaise est assez riche; mais elle a l'inconvénient d'être refermée dans une trop petite étendue de pays, pour que les étrangers veuillent se donner la peine de l'apprendre; comme nous nous trouvons nécessairement en relations avec des nations beaucoup plus considérables que la nôtre, le fort emporte le faible; et c'est nous qui sommes obligés d'apprendre la langue des autres.

13 See the preface to François Halma's French-Dutch Dictionary: *Dictionnaire complet français et hollandais comprenant les mots de l'usage avoué de l'Académie française et autres auteurs d'élite exactement définis et clairement expliqués par des exemples qui découvrent le véritable génie de l'une et de l'autre langue* (Utrecht: W. de Water and Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1710).

14 i.e. one of the months in the French Republican calendar used for about twelve years from 1793 to 1805.

[It will be noticed that with every passing day the French language is becoming more and more usual in this country. Most Dutch people who are distinguished by virtue of their wealth or education speak it among themselves within their families in preference to the language of their own country; so that the latter [i.e. Dutch] is gently being pushed down into the lower classes of the people; and in fifty years perhaps nothing will remain of it but a patois that respectable people will leave to their servants and to workers and sailors. However, the Dutch language is quite rich; and yet, it has the disadvantage of being confined to a stretch of country that is too small for foreigners to wish to take the trouble to learn it; as we inevitably find ourselves in relations with nations which are much more considerable than our own, the strong nation prevails over the weak one; and it is we who are obliged to learn the language of others.]

This is a very pessimistic vision of the national language, which may be explained by the political context of the age. French revolutionary troops invaded the United Provinces in 1795 and supported those Dutch who were hostile to the old regime and open to the new ideas which brought about the Batavian Republic (1795–1806), but this ‘sister Republic’ was not docile enough in Napoleon’s eyes and became the Kingdom of Holland in 1806, with the Emperor’s brother Louis at its head, and it subsequently experienced annexation pure and simple to the Empire (1810–13). From the language of liberty French became the language of the occupier.

In 1813, after the defeat of Leipzig (at which Napoleon was vanquished by the combined armies of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Sweden) and the subsequent collapse of the First French Empire, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was founded, which brought back together the old Republic of the United Provinces and the Austrian Netherlands, but this union was a failure and the Belgian Revolution of 1830 put an end to it. During the so-called French period (1795–1813) French was needed to communicate and negotiate with the occupier and to obtain a post in the administration and, from 1806 in particular, it made a strong mark on the administrative and legal structures of the country. However, we should certainly qualify the testimony of the anonymous correspondent of the *Gazette nationale* cited above; in fact Dutch was far from neglected at this moment when people were becoming aware of national identity, and well before that too.

Dutch, French and other languages

The standardization of Dutch and plurilingualism

In fact indifference towards Dutch was not a corollary of the privileged position that French occupied, as we might deduce from the violent criticisms of French influence in the domain of language as well as manners that were made from the seventeenth century, and above all in the eighteenth century. This is what Willem Frijhoff shows in his recent ground-breaking overview of plurilingualism in Holland in the Golden Age (that is to say, the period from 1609 to 1713).¹⁵ Frijhoff points out first of all that from 1582, three years after the Union of Utrecht, the States-General (that is, the government of the Republic of the United Provinces) decided to use Dutch for official texts. Moreover, the official translation of the Bible into Dutch in 1637 represented an important stage in the process of the standardization of the language. There were also many Dutch men of letters who wished to safeguard the purity of their language and fought against the intrusion of Latin, Italian or French words. In 1692, as francophone periodicals were rapidly expanding in the territory of the Republic, the first learned periodical in Dutch, *Boekzaal van Europe* [*Library of Europe*], appeared. But this process of standardization and purification of Dutch did not preclude the presence of several other languages on the territory of the United Provinces and the use of several of these languages by the same speaker alongside his or her mother language.

We therefore have a plurilingual situation. First of all, in the province of Friesland, Frisian was used in everyday life. It was also noted, in the early seventeenth century, that Latin played an essential role alongside Dutch in learned communication as well as in controversies of a religious order. Knowledge of modern languages (French, English, German and to a lesser

15 *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw, een verkenning* (Amsterdam: KNAW Press, 2010). Frijhoff reprises and summarizes this study in 'Amitié, utilité, conquête? Le statut culturel du français entre appropriation et rejet dans la Hollande prémoderne', in *Documents de la SIHFLES* 50 (June 2013), 30–48.

extent Spanish and Italian) proved essential too, especially for economic purposes – trade was carried on with the countries where those languages were spoken – and also because contact with groups who came originally from these linguistic spaces and had settled in the United Provinces encouraged the learning of these languages. I have already mentioned French and other francophone refugees and their role in the spread of French; the numerous foreign regiments (Germans, French, francophone Swiss, English, Scottish) in the service of the States-General should be mentioned as well.

The increasing hegemony of French

Several factors helped French to occupy a privileged place among the languages used on the territory of the Republic. First of all, Latin gradually lost its status as a language of international communication.¹⁶ The ascendancy of the vernacular languages in Europe accelerated this process. In the case of French, we should recall the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) by which King Francis I imposed the use of French for the kingdom's official enactments. Spoken in a country which was then the largest, most populous and most powerful in Europe, French would occupy a more and more dominant place on the international level. It would rival Latin in international scholarly communication. Thus Sayous, whom I have already cited, mentions a passage from Pierre Bayle who argued in 1684 that people of letters would do better to have French than Latin:

La langue française est si connue en ce pays-ci que les livres français y ont plus de débit que tous les autres; il n'y a guère de gens de lettres qui n'entendent le français, quoiqu'ils ne le sachent pas parler. Le latin n'est pas si connu; c'est pour cela que M. Jurieu fait à présent toutes ses leçons en français, afin d'avoir pour auditeurs les gens mêmes qui n'entendent pas le latin.

[French is so well known in this country that French books have a greater turnover than any other; there are scarcely any people of letters who do not understand French, although they are not able to speak it. Latin is less well known. That is why

16 *Ibid.*, 16–19.

Mr Jurieu gives all his lessons in French now, in order to attract those very listeners who do not understand Latin.]¹⁷

Moreover, this hegemony favoured the learning of the language for utilitarian ends. French was used by merchants and above all it became the language of communication in international diplomatic negotiations from the time of the Treaty of Nijmegen, concluded in 1678 between the United Provinces and France, which brought the Dutch War (1672–8) to an end.

The hegemony of French had another consequence as well, namely that it would come to be considered a language of distinction – to take up a term used by Pierre Bourdieu¹⁸ – by certain groups in Dutch society who wanted to increase their social prestige. This factor was often as important as strictly utilitarian considerations, if not more so. We see this state of affairs implicitly expressed by the Huguenot François Michel Janiçon, who was active in the Republic as a tutor, journalist and man of letters:

La langue française y est aussi fort en usage, par le grand nombre de Français protestants qui s’y sont réfugiés, depuis la révocation de l’Édit de Nantes en 1685. Et, comme toutes les négociations entre la République et les autres puissances de l’Europe se font presque toutes aujourd’hui en français, il n’y a point de membre de la Régence, qui ne se pique de savoir cette langue, et de la faire apprendre à ses enfants. Les négociants et les autres bourgeois ont la même ambition.

[French is much used there by the large number of French Protestants who took refuge there after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. And as almost all negotiations between the Republic and the other powers of Europe are nowadays conducted in French there is no member of the regency [i.e. townsmen participating in organs of government] who does not pride himself on knowing this language and on having his children learn it. Merchants and other bourgeois people have the same ambition.]¹⁹

17 Quoted by Sayous, *Histoire de la littérature française*, vol. 1, 219, from *Nouvelles lettres de Bayle*, vol. 2, 20.

18 Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1979).

19 François Michel Janiçon, *Etat présent de la République des Provinces-Unies [...]*, 2 vols (The Hague: Jan van Duren, 1729–30), vol. 1, 12–13.

Janiçon identifies two large groups: the regency, that is to say those who wielded political power (the patriciate and the aristocracy), the group which set the tone as it were, and the merchant class. For the latter group French was useful, to be sure, and had long since been used in commercial relationships, but Janiçon seems here also to suggest a wish on their part to imitate the socially superior group.

Another sign of the quality of distinction that was attached to French was the status acquired over time by the Walloon Church, which from a church originally aimed at the French Huguenots who had found refuge in Holland and their descendants developed into one that Dutch elites also found it in good taste to attend.²⁰ It may be noted, moreover, that in the textbook of Claude Mauger, whose dialogues were conceived for a public of students and young aristocrats and patricians preparing for the Grand Tour, it was strongly recommended that they attend the Walloon Church and ‘listen to the sermons’²¹ in them as a practical exercise to complement study from the textbook.

The French of the elites

The elites: An attempt at a definition

What do we understand by elites in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Republic of the United Provinces, which along with the Republic of Venice was one of the few republics in Europe?

20 W. Frijhoff, ‘Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic’, in Bertrand van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds, *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 128–71.

21 Claude Mauger, *Grammaire françoise et flamende [...] avec les dialogues du même auteur [...]* (Leiden: Frederik Haaring, 1700), 238.

The two poles of power in the republic were the States-General, that is to say the representatives of the provinces and towns, on the one hand, and the person of the stadholder [Dutch *statthouder*], or governor, a prince of the House of Orange, on the other. The States-General was sovereign and the stadholder was at their service in his capacity as head of the army and grand admiral of the fleet. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there would be tension between regents (townsmen of the governing class) who were supportive of the federal Republic and Orangists backing a stadholder who wished to increase his powers. The elites in the Republic comprised the nobility and the urban patriciate, among whom prestige, wealth and political power were concentrated.

The nobility enjoyed an elevated status but the numbers of this group were limited, because throughout the two centuries of the Republic's existence there had been no process of ennoblement.²² The urban patriciate was dominant in the municipal councils of the numerous and powerful townships of the western provinces (Zeeland and especially Holland). In the eighteenth century this urban patriciate became more and more closed, so that one may speak in this connection of a process of oligarchization of the Republic.²³

Jean Nicolas de Parival, who was not only a language teacher and the author of *Dialogues* aimed at students of the University of Leiden, to whom he gave French lessons, but also the very successful author of *Délices de la Hollande* [*Holland's Delights*], a geographical description which served as a guidebook for generations of foreign travellers, defined the patriciate in the following way:

des familles qui dans toutes les grandes villes vivent du revenu de leur bien [et qui] sont une certaine sorte de gens qui sont tout autrement nourris et élevés, que les

- 22 In the nineteenth century, after 1813 (which marks the end of the French occupation and the accession of King William I, the son of William V, the last stadholder of the Republic), we witness the ennoblement of a certain number of members of the patriciate.
- 23 J. Aalbers and M. Prak, eds, *De bloem der natie. Adel en patriciaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Meppel-Boom, 1987).

marchands, quoique la modestie de leur air et de leurs habits, ne soit pas fort différente de celles des autres, aussi bien que de leur manière retirée de vivre. [...] La principale vue de l'éducation de leur jeunesse est de la rendre capable de servir le pays dans la magistrature de leurs villes, de leurs provinces et de leur Etat. Les offices politiques de ce gouvernement sont presque tous remplis de cette sorte de gens qui sont descendus de famille, qui ont été dans le magistrat des villes, où ils sont nés, pendant une longue suite d'années.

[families who in all the great towns live off the income from their property [and who] are a certain sort of people who are quite differently raised and brought up than the merchants, although the modesty of their demeanour and clothes is not so very different from others', just like their withdrawn way of life. [...] The main object of the education of their young is to make them capable of serving the country in the magistrature of their towns, provinces and State. The political offices of this government are almost all filled by people of this sort who are descended from families which for many long years have been in the magistrature of the towns where they were born.]²⁴

What distinguishes these patricians from the merchant bourgeoisie is essentially the fact that they live off their private income and devote themselves to political roles handed down from father to son. The nobility to which Parival devotes a special chapter (a reminiscence of his pre-eminent position in France) was more cultivated than the French nobility²⁵ and lived mainly in the countryside, in relative simplicity. However, some of its members imitated the French 'in their appearance, in their clothes and in their manner of speaking and eating' and people lamented the fact that by doing this they became just 'nasty copies', a criticism widely taken up in the eighteenth century by Dutch publicists and to which we shall return later. In the nineteenth century the notion of the elite

24 Jean Nicolas de Parival, *Les Délices de la Hollande* [...] (Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang, 1685), 22–3. This passage is not found in the earlier editions of 1662 and 1669 and is most probably borrowed from a work by William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1672).

25 'Elle [...] ne méprise pas tant les bonnes lettres, que font la plupart des seigneurs français. [...] Elle aime les lettres et principalement les mathématiques et la politique' ['It does not scorn literature and learning to such an extent as the majority of French lords. [...] It loves letters, especially mathematics and politics'] (*ibid.*, 215).

expanded to include well-to-do and educated milieux in which French was still used widely.

I should like now to dwell on the use of French among these elites, the functions assigned to French and the role it played in the sense of identity of those who spoke it and wrote it.

The use of spoken and written French

To assess the use of spoken French and its quality we can do no more than refer to scattered evidence which is contained, for example, in correspondence, travellers' journals or even certain textbooks on conversation.

The evidence I have already mentioned from Bayle, Halma or Janiçon indicates that French would have been much spoken in Holland. The testimony of foreign travellers²⁶ also furnishes some useful information, although it is not quantifiable. French travellers found that the Dutch of the upper classes expressed themselves to their foreign guests with great ease, and women generally better than men, for it was in French that the upbringing of girls took place, whereas boys, even if they learned French with a language teacher or tutor, were educated in the so-called Latin schools in Latin, which was indispensable for entry to university. On the other hand, French was often unknown to the common people and outside the big towns it was quite difficult to communicate in it.

How good was this French? The evidence on this score is conflicting. Here are two testimonies by way of example, the first from Claude Mauger: 'L'on m'a dit de beaucoup de Français qui parlaient fort mal quand ils sortirent de France, étant ignorants et nés dans des provinces où le langage est fort rude, qu'ils ont appris à parler bon français à La Haye.' [I have been told of many French who spoke very poorly when they left France, for they

26 See Roelof Murriss, *La Hollande et les Hollandais aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles vus par les Français* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1925); M. van Strien-Chardonneau, *Le Voyage de Hollande: récits de voyageurs français dans les Provinces-Unies 1748-1795* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation [*SVEC* 318], 1994).

were ignorant and born in provinces where the language is coarse, [but] that they learned to speak good French in The Hague.]²⁷ This may be an exaggeration, but we do know of British travellers who took French lessons in Holland before perfecting it during their Grand Tour in France.²⁸ We also see German students at the University of Leiden spending their leisure taking lessons in riding, dancing and French.

On the other hand, the Dutch woman writer Isabelle de Charrière, known in the Netherlands as Belle de Zuylen, who wrote all her works in French, did not hold back in her correspondence from making caustic references to the bad French of some of her relations and friends. Moreover, she was entirely aware of the inevitable interference bilingualism could cause, which impaired the quality of a person's French as well as the quality of their Dutch, as she wrote to her brother in 1797: 'Our two languages, marching side by side from our childhood on, do a lot of harm to each other, harm to speaking and harm to writing'.²⁹

If it is difficult to give an opinion on the question of spoken French, on the other hand we can more easily detect and define written usage, because traces of it have been preserved, and hence we can assess the level of language attained. This level may range from immaculate French to a phonetic variety of the language which needs to be read out loud to be understood.

We may distinguish two large categories of texts. On the one hand, there are texts which might be classified under the heading of literary

27 Claude Mauger, *Grammaire françoise et flamende*, 239.

28 Cornelis Daniël van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period. Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1993), 7, 100. In the second half of the eighteenth century James Boswell turned his stay in Holland to good account (he went to study law at the University of Utrecht in 1763–4) by, among other things, improving his French, partly out of linguistic interest but also because he needed it in order to frequent the aristocratic and patrician milieux of Utrecht (C. C. Barfoot and K. J. Bostoën, eds, *'Een Beytie Hollandsche'. James Boswell's Dutch Compositions* (Leiden: Leiden Academic Press, 1994), xx.

29 Letter 1766 of 13 January 1797 to her brother Vincent, in Isabelle de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux *et al.*, 10 vols (Amsterdam: G. A. van Oorschot, 1979–84), vol. 5, 284.

writings, texts of various status which were published or, if they were not intended to be published, were at least expected to be read critically by a circle of people who knew the subject. On the other hand, there are personal documents which were not intended for publication, such as travel journals, personal journals and letters.

There were not many authors who wrote all their works in French, as did the philosopher Franz Hemsterhuis³⁰ or Isabelle de Charrière, who was not only a remarkable letter-writer but also a novelist, pamphleteer, poet and dramatist;³¹ more often we find occasional publications, librettos, poems, tales, essays and epistles on various subjects, often published in periodicals in French.

As far as personal writings are concerned, they are found in manuscript form in public and private archives; some were published in nineteenth-century scholarly reviews or in more recent publications. For travel journals and personal journals we have two excellent inventories at our disposal, which provide information on where to find texts in Dutch archives and libraries, their contents, the language or languages used and their authors.³²

30 Hemsterhuis often wrote works in the form of letters on aesthetics, geometry and natural sciences. His first philosophical text, *Lettre sur l'homme et ses rapports* (1772), was the subject of a commentary by Diderot: see Denis Diderot, 'Observations sur la Lettre sur l'homme et ses rapports de Hemsterhuis', text prepared and commentary by Gerhardt Stenger, in Diderot, *Ceuvres complètes*, vol. 24 (Paris: Hermann, 2004), 215–419). More than a thousand letters (in French) from Hemsterhuis's correspondence with Amalia von Schmettau, Princess Gallitzin, are also extant: see *Lettres de Socrate à Diotime. Cent cinquante lettres du philosophe néerlandais Frans Hemsterhuis à la princesse de Gallitzin*, selected and ed., with introduction and notes, by Marcel Franz Fresco (Frankfurt am Main: Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 2007).

31 A further example is Etta Palm d'Aelders, who was less well known and whose output was small. She played a political role during the revolutionary period. Her letters, as well as the pamphlets and discourses she left (e.g., *Appel aux Françaises sur la régénération des mœurs, et nécessité de l'influence des femmes dans un gouvernement libre* (Paris: L'Imprimerie du Cercle Social, 1791); *Réflexions sur l'ouvrage intitulé aux Bataves sur le Stadhoudérat, par le comte de Mirabeau* (Paris: [no name of publisher], 1788)), attest to the quality of her French and her mastery of the art of rhetoric.

32 R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf and R. M. Dekker, eds, *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders uit de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst*

The inventory of personal documents (*Egodocumenten*) lists 630 texts for the period 1523–1814, including ninety-one written in French, and the one on travel accounts (*Reisverslagen*) lists 497 texts for the period 1509–1813, of which ninety-two are in French.

The journals written in French emanate essentially from members of the aristocracy and above all the urban patriciate. They include travel accounts written by young people undertaking the Grand Tour and by older travellers journeying for military or diplomatic reasons and accounts of pleasure trips, which became more frequent in the course of the eighteenth century and which were also shorter, for instance to Spa, Switzerland or Paris.³³ Personal journals, on the other hand, were more factual. We also find military journals or journals of a political complexion. Some journals have features of the diary and the tendency to introspection becomes more pronounced in texts of the late eighteenth century. It is noticeable that there are rather few personal documents written in French by members of the trading bourgeoisie, which confirms that this class used French for a professional and utilitarian purpose.³⁴

Correspondence in French was standard among the elites. One of the collections of letters that is best known, because it has been the subject of a modern edition (six volumes out of the ten that make up the *Complete Works*) is that of Isabelle de Charrière. Unfortunately, we do not have an inventory analogous to the two mentioned above. There is, however, a study of 2005 which relates to the correspondence of the elites for the period 1770–1850 and which provides interesting information on the proportion of letters

(Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit, 1993); R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf and R. M. Dekker, eds, *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit, 1994).

33 W. Frijhoff, 'Le Paris vécu des Néerlandais: de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration', in M.-C. Kok Escalle, ed., *Paris: de l'image à la mémoire. Représentations artistiques, littéraires, socio-politiques* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 27.

34 Of the seventy-nine travel accounts listed for the eighteenth century only eighteen do not come from patricians or aristocrats – and account also needs to be taken of the fact that some (five) are anonymous and that of the sixty-three personal journals listed there are only sixteen written by merchants, who are often of French origin, or by pastors of the Walloon Church, among whom the use of French was taken for granted.

in French.³⁵ There are also numerous collections of letters, in manuscript form, which were written by Dutch people in French well before 1770 and which have been preserved in archives, and they too deserve to be studied.

Functions of French

French assumed two main functions: it was the language of international contacts and, at the same time, a language of intimacy.

French as the language of international contacts

As I have already pointed out, French had been the language of diplomacy since the Congress of Nijmegen in 1679, even if competition from Latin persisted. This would remain the case throughout the eighteenth century, despite the growing hegemony of England on Europe's political chessboard. The following extract from a reply by Isabelle de Charrière to her brother, who is asking her for advice on the education of his son, Willem-René, illustrates very well the links between politics and linguistic choices:

Si je voulais que mon fils fut hollandais en ce moment-ci, je le ferais un peu allemand ou anglais. Il serait à l'unisson du parti qui domine. Si ce parti me déplaisait trop, je le ferais français afin qu'il put l'être un jour tout à fait. Il est bien sûr que chez nous la liberté est sur le soir, et qu'en France elle est à son aurore.

[If I wanted my son to be Dutch at this moment, I would make him a little German or English. He would be in unison with the party that is dominant. If that party became too disagreeable to me I would make him French so that one day he could

35 Willemijn Ruberg, *Briefcultuur van de Nederlandse elite, 1770-1850* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2005). This study is based on a corpus of 2,300 letters: for the period 1770-80, 32 per cent of the letters are in French, for 1780-1810, 19 per cent and for 1818-40, 18 per cent.

be that absolutely. It is certain that liberty is in its twilight here whereas in France it is dawning.]³⁶

Taking account of the position of her family, who were associated with the pro-English Orangist party, Isabelle de Charrière does not rule out the study of English for her nephew (she learned English herself and, moreover, had quite a good command of it) but, sensitive to new ideas, she exhibits her preference for French as the bearer, she believes, of ideals capable of regenerating society. Although she became disillusioned following the excesses of the Jacobin Terror of 1793–4, she was nonetheless aware of the power of the French Revolution to grow when in 1793 she wrote to Willem-René:

Sachez aussi le français et cela très parfaitement parce que c'est dans ce moment la langue universelle, et qu'ayant sans cesse à l'écrire et à la parler il ne faut pas s'exposer à une perpétuelle gaucherie, *lampootigheid*, d'expression qui souvent donne l'air d'un sot à un homme d'esprit et cela vis-à-vis d'un sot, ce qui est double honte et double malheur.

[Know French too, and perfectly, because that is now the universal language and because, as one continually has occasion to write it and speak it, one must not lay oneself open to perpetual awkwardness of expression, *lampootigheid*, which often makes a man of wit look like a fool, and indeed to look a fool in front of a fool, which is doubly shameful and a double misfortune.]³⁷

Having witnessed the accession of Napoleon, she reaffirmed, in a text of 1798, *De l'Esprit et des Rois* [*On the Spirit and on Kings*],³⁸ the need to have a perfect command of spoken and written French, 'the [language] that is understood everywhere',³⁹ the language, after all, of the invader at that time and, above all, the language in which the political elites of Europe

36 I. de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 3, 110 (letter of 5–12 November 1788 to her brother Vincent).

37 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 137 (letter of 3 August 1793).

38 Isabelle de Charrière is probably echoing the title of Montesquieu's famous work of political philosophy, *De l'Esprit des lois*, first published in 1748.

39 *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 251.

would be duty bound to be fluent when the Emperor had extended his hold on Europe.

French was also the language of the great international trade that was carried on, as part of the correspondence of Baron Lubbert Jan van Eck shows: this high official of the Dutch East India Company, who was appointed governor of Ceylon in 1761, did business on a private basis with officials of the French East India Company. It was natural that French should be the medium for this trade, but we find it used also with English correspondents.⁴⁰

French was also, and above all, the language of the Republic of Letters. In the first instance, this function was made possible by the French-language periodicals which, as I have already mentioned, thrived on the territory of the Dutch Republic. Numerous Frenchmen who for various reasons had sought and found refuge in Holland became journalists in the service of learned periodicals or newspapers. These included the above-mentioned Michel Janiçon, who was in turn editor of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* [*Amsterdam Gazette*], the *Gazette de Rotterdam* [*Rotterdam Gazette*] and the *Gazette d'Utrecht* [*Utrecht Gazette*]. Because of the success and readership of this francophone press, Dutch people themselves began to publish journals in French, for instance Justus van Effen, who started out in journalism, in the first third of the eighteenth century, by launching *Le Misanthrope*, a periodical written in French and inspired by the English *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. Van Effen would later turn to Dutch and set up the first *Spectator* in the Dutch language (1731) with the stated aim of reaching a wider public than the nobility and the patriciate, specifically

40 On Lubbert Jan van Eck see Jan Christiaan Nierstrasz, *In the Shadow of the Company: The VOC (Dutch East India Company) and Its Servants in the Period of Its Decline (1740–1796)* (University of Leiden thesis, 2008), 11. Here, by way of illustration, is a brief extract from a letter that van Eck wrote on 8 September 1758: 'Monsieur / J'ai visité vos 2 bales de mouchoirs que je ne trouve point du sortement qu'il nous faut pour Batavia il n' y faut ni de si fyn ni a coing blanc mais comme il sont ici je le prendrai et je les anverez pour mon compte a Batavia' ['Sir, I have visited your two bales of handkerchiefs, which I don't think are at all the sort of thing we need for Batavia; we don't need them to be so fine or with white corners, but as they are here I'll take them and send them on my account to Batavia'].]

the bourgeoisie, which was well-to-do and cultivated but barred from political power by the oligarchy then in place.

French was also to be found among the elites who congregated in literary circles, that is to say meetings of friends where people could take their first literary steps. The literary societies in Utrecht and The Hague that Isabelle de Charrière frequented in her youth were international in character and French was a language of communication in them: many a fable, tale, portrait and piece of occasional verse circulated there among friends in manuscript form. These texts are the typical products of an aristocratic pursuit, the use of leisure for reading and writing, which was not necessarily intended to lead to publication, but did offer the possibility of publication in the French-language periodicals for those who had such ambitions. This was the case, for example, with the young Isabelle de Charrière, who had her first text, *Le Noble, conte moral* [*The Noble, A Moral Tale*] published in *Journal littéraire et étranger combiné avec l'Année littéraire* [*Literary and Foreign Journal Combined with the Year in Literature*] (1763).

Willem Emmerij de Perponcher Sedlnitzky,⁴¹ who was related to Isabelle de Charrière, made his literary debut in 1767 with an anonymous translation into French of the fourth part of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* and in doing so he played a part in cultural transmission, through the medium of French, making Young's text accessible to a francophone Dutch readership. Between 1769 and 1770 he published poems in prose and idylls inspired by those of the German Swiss poet Gessner in various issues of the *Bibliothèque des sciences et des beaux-arts* [*Library of the Sciences and Fine Arts*], a periodical run by Charles Chaix, a pastor in the Walloon Church in The Hague. In 1774 a more important work appeared, his *Instructions d'un père à son fils* [*Instructions of a Father to His Son*], in which Perponcher's admiration for Rousseau and Rousseau's *Emile* was evident. Why this choice of French? In his preface, Perponcher seems to want to reach an international public:

Quoique je n'aie qu'une connaissance très imparfaite de la langue française, je l'ai choisie cependant de préférence afin de rendre mon travail d'un usage plus étendu.

41 On Perponcher, see Francis Bulhof, *Ma patrie est au ciel: leven en werk van Willem Emmerij de Perponcher Sedlnitzky (1741-1819)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993).

Ce motif l'a emporté sur ceux que l'amour propre devait naturellement y opposer; puisque je ne pouvais manquer de donner une grande imperfection de plus à mon ouvrage, en l'écrivant dans une langue qui m'est étrangère. J'espère que cette considération suffira pour faire mon Apologie.

[Although I have only a very imperfect knowledge of French, I have chosen it nonetheless as my language of preference in order to make my work more widely accessible. This motive has prevailed over motives that amour-propre was naturally bound to set against it; since I could not fail to make my work even more imperfect by writing it in a language which is foreign to me. I hope that this consideration will suffice as my vindication.]⁴²

And yet, Perponcher is undoubtedly addressing himself to a Dutch-speaking public, for there are references in a note to one of his works written in Dutch (*Zedekundige brieven over het geluk* [*Moral Letters on Happiness*], the first edition of which came out in 1769).

Subsequently Perponcher would write numerous pedagogical works exclusively in Dutch. He wanted to do useful work and to reach not just members of his own milieu but the totality of his compatriots. We find the same choice of language of publication being made by women writers who began their literary careers in French but opted subsequently for Dutch, such as the poet and dramatist Juliana Cornelia de Lannoy.⁴³ Or else, while publishing all the time in Dutch, they kept using French in their personal writings: that is the case with the novelist Margaretha Jacoba de Neufville, who in the diary that she kept in French, sometimes with passages in Dutch and English, analysed her feelings and recorded her observations and comments on people in her circle.⁴⁴

42 Willem Emmery de Perponcher Sedlnitzky, *Instructions d'un père à son fils* (Utrecht: Henri Spruit, 1774), iv.

43 She wrote poems in French, including a poem of 1776 for Catherine II of Russia (*A sa Majesté l'Impératrice de Russie*), which was published in September that year in the *Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe*: see W. R. D. van Oostrum, 'De Lannoy's Keizerinnengift en Europese faam', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 31/2 (2008), 138–40.

44 A. M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'Het dagboek van Margaretha Jacoba de Neufville', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 53 (1966), 85–94.

French as the language of intimacy

Alongside this international dimension of the use of French, we thus see too a private dimension which is attested by the numerous personal journals and letters that we have mentioned (letters between spouses separated by war or business, between fathers and sons, mothers and daughters⁴⁵ and brothers and sisters). That travel accounts should have been written in French is quite natural in the case of young people undertaking their Grand Tour, for it was a good exercise by means of which to improve their linguistic skills and the governor accompanying his pupil would not infrequently correct the pupil's journal or the letters written to his or her family. The element of linguistic exercise might also come into play in the keeping of a personal journal.

It has been suggested that the Dutch elites had a better command of written French than of written Dutch. Willemijn Ruberg has put forward this hypothesis with regard to the letters she has studied⁴⁶ and one could certainly advance it for personal journals as well. It would seem, though, that the point might apply more to women than to men, for the latter, owing to their roles in the administration or in town or provincial organs of government, had to have a command of Dutch.

At the same time, we do find plenty of personal journals written in French by men. The case of Justinus de Beijer⁴⁷ illustrates the point. As an alderman and then burgomaster of Nijmegen, de Beijer had to master Dutch, but during his Grand Tour in 1726 he had written to his mother, as propriety required, in French. Then, in 1734, he began a literary career in parallel with his political career, publishing articles in Henri du Sauzet's *Bibliothèque française* [*French Library*] and from 1743 to 1767 he kept a

45 The correspondence of Isabelle de Charrière's nephew, who came to visit his aunt in Switzerland in 1799–1800, and his mother has survived. It has been partly published in M. van Strien-Chardonneau, 'Willem-René van Tuyll van Serooskerken en visite à Colombier (mai 1799–mars 1800)', *Cahiers Isabelle de Charrière/Belle de Zuylen Papers* 5 (2010), 75–120.

46 Ruberg, *Briefcultuur van de Nederlandse elite*, 65.

47 *Biografisch Woordenboek Gelderland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 20–3.

personal journal, which was also written in French. Besides factual notes on his daily life, this journal contained personal reflections on the illness and death of his wife and on his states of mind:

Je deviens laconique, et je compte bien de l'être encore davantage dans la suite. J'ai été bien fou d'écrire tant de balivernes, pendant un temps si considérable. Après tout, à quoi servira ce journal? Aussi, si Dieu me préserve de mourir de mort subite, je le brûlerai sans faute avant mon départ pour l'autre monde.

[I am becoming a man of few words and I fully expect to be more so in future. I have been quite mad to write so much twaddle for such a long time. After all, what purpose will this journal serve? So if God spares me from dying a sudden death I shall burn it without fail before my departure for the other world.]⁴⁸

It may be that the French language, through the French literature that had spread widely in the United Provinces, stimulated this introspective approach which would develop in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

48 *Journal van Mr Justinus De Beyer, Heer van Hulzen over de jaren 1743–1767*, ed. by H. D. J. van Schevichaven (Arnhem: P. Gouda Quint, 1906), 356.

49 In his journal, Willem-René van Tuyll van Serooskerken noted his feelings towards people in his circle and his enthusiasm but also his melancholy and his doubts: 'Premier jour du 19e siècle. Qu'ai-je fait, qu'ai-je vu ce matin? J'ai baguenaudé, j'ai ôté des taches à mon habit et j'ai vu les gens de Colombier donner une mascarade. Voilà ce qui s'appelle bien commencer un siècle. Mais quelle raison aurait-on de croire que les hommes furent plus sages ou plutôt moins fous le 1er janvier 1800 que le 31 décembre 1799? Aucune. Ce sont les mêmes hommes et par conséquent les mêmes passions, les mêmes travers, les mêmes ridicules qui les gouvernent. Non je le répète, pour qu'on voie les hommes changer et devenir meilleurs, il faut que le bon Dieu en crée de nouveaux.' ['First day of the nineteenth century. What have I done, what have I seen this morning? I have wasted time on trivial things, I have removed some stains from my clothes and I have watched some people from Colombier put on a masquerade. That is what you can call beginning a century well. But what reason would one have to think that men were wiser or less foolish on 1 January 1800 than on 31 December 1799? None. These are the same men and therefore the same passions, the same failings, the same ridiculous things which govern them. No, I repeat, if one is to see men change and become better, then the good Lord would need to create new ones.'] See *Cahiers Isabelle de Charrière/Belle de Zuylen Papers* 5 (2010), 98–9.

The example of Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, a politician of the first rank in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, illustrates very well the two functions of French and also its joint use with Dutch. Sent away at the age of eleven to serve Prince Henry of Prussia as a page, he wrote to his mother and his sisters in French. On returning to Holland in 1781 he asked his mother to write to him in Dutch so that he could learn once more how to express himself in that language. In his case, French was at one and the same time the private language in which he communicated with his mother and his sisters and the language of foreign experience, since Frederick II had imposed the use of French at the court of Prussia. Dutch was not, or was no longer, the mother tongue in the proper sense of the word: in fact Gijsbert Karel's mother explained to him that the 'mother' tongue of a person of his rank should in fact be three languages: the language of books (Latin), the language of correspondence (French) and the spoken language (Dutch), 'for being able to communicate with ordinary citizens', that is to say commoners. The young man turned to his sisters and asked them not to write to him in French any more.⁵⁰ Dutch for him was the language of country of origin and he had to be able to master it. Remaining loyal to the House of Orange, Karel Gijsbert van Hogendorp would play an important political role after 1813; he published essays in Dutch on political and social questions and wrote the text of the first Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, while continuing to write personal letters and journals in French.

Bilingualism and identity-building

Active use of French is obviously a marker of social identity for the Dutch elites but we see a development take place. In the course of the eighteenth century the use of French does not necessarily imply the adoption of a model of sociability in the French manner. However, it would seem to

50 Henriëtte Maria Laman Trip-de Beaufort, *Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, grondlegger van het koninkrijk* (Rotterdam: Donker, 1948), 29–37.

have implied that model in the seventeenth century, at the time when young members of the aristocracy and the patriciate were being shaped by, among other things, the Grand Tour and when French was the language of aristocratic civility, the language of the 'honnête homme'.⁵¹

Criticisms with regard to the Gallicization of the elites had already been expressed in the seventeenth century,⁵² but they became virulent in the eighteenth. On the one hand, this was because of the frustrations of the bourgeoisie, who had been removed from political power as a result of the process of oligarchization of the Republic, and on the other hand it was due to the development of a press on the model of *The Spectator*. Under the influence of polemical writers such as Justus van Effen the French language and the social values for which it served as a vehicle became detached from one another: van Effen, in his *Spectators*, wrote violent diatribes – in French in the first instance – against the Gallicized manners and morals of his compatriots, aiming at the elites in particular.⁵³ He thus became the

51 The journal of Philippe and François Zoete van Laecke, which they kept during their stay in Paris in 1656–8, bears witness to their wish to acquire the manners of an *honnête homme* and to learn the art of conversation 'à la française': François and Philippe de Villers, *Journal du voyage de deux jeunes Hollandais à Paris en 1656–1658* (Published by A.-P. Faugère [1862]; new edn with the collaboration de L. Marillier published in Paris: Champion, 1899).

52 W. Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw*, 22, 53. See also Parival, *Les Délices de la Hollande*, 215.

53 For example, in *Le Misantrope* (1711–12), where van Effen stigmatizes the corrupting influence of French refugees on the Dutch, who had forgotten the manly virtues of the ancient Batavians: 'Cette heureuse, cette sage nation n'est plus; la politesse et les trésors superflus ont été la guerre et la peste qui l'ont effacée de dessus la surface de la terre. Messieurs les Français, reconnaissez-vous dans le portrait que je viens de vous tracer les ancêtres de ceux qui, gardant encore quelques restes de leur ancienne cordialité, vous ont soulagé dans vos malheurs et que par reconnaissance vous avez achevé de corrompre. Il est vrai que par le bon air et par la politesse vous avez remplacé les vertus que vous leur avez fait perdre, et à ce troc ils ont gagné indubitablement.' ['This happy, wise nation is no more; politeness and unnecessary riches have been the war and the plague that have wiped it from the face of the earth. Oh French sires, do you recognize in the portrait I have just drawn for you the ancestors of those people who, still preserving some vestiges of their old cordiality, have given you relief in your

spokesperson of the trading class: in fact the merchants who recognized the usefulness of the French language for their professional life used the language sparingly in their daily life and distanced themselves from the culture of the ruling classes, whose Gallicization was seen as 'synonymous with being soft, precious and mannered [...] by contrast with the old and robust Batavian virtues symbolized by use of the Dutch language'.⁵⁴ Later in the century, the two Dutch novelists Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, in the preface to their most famous novel, *Sara Burgerhart* (1782), severely criticized Dutch girls who had 'forgotten' their mother language and who neglected national virtues while voraciously consuming French novels of doubtful morality.

French nonetheless remained a useful, indeed indispensable, language if one was to hold high office in the administration or in the diplomatic service and especially during the so-called French period. Moreover, people continued to use it in personal writings, even while sometimes expressing violently anti-French sentiments, as did Margaretha Jacoba de Neufville and Magdalena van Schinne⁵⁵ in their diaries.

The point is that the French spoken and to an even greater extent the French written by Dutch patricians and aristocrats was always considered a sign of distinction differentiating them from other classes and also as a sign of recognition between people belonging to the same social group.

Contrary to what one might have argued, though, it was use of bilingualism rather than exclusive use of French to which Dutch elites seemed to lay claim in the late eighteenth century, as we may see from the following

misfortunes and whom you have repaid by altogether corrupting them. It is true that you have replaced the virtues that you made them lose with good demeanour and politeness and that they have undoubtedly benefitted from this transaction.'] See J. L. Schorr, ed., *Le Misanthrope* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation [SVEC 248], 1986), 62, letter 13 (10 August 1711).

54 W. Frijhoff, 'La formation des négociants de la République hollandaise', in *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1995), 194.

55 Rudolf Dekker and Anje Dik, eds, *Journal de Magdalena van Schinne, 1786-1805* (Paris: Editions Côté femmes, 1994).

passage from a letter of one of the brothers of Isabelle de Charrière, Vincent van Tuyll van Serooskerken:

Tout ce que vous remarquez quand au parler et penser juste est de la dernière vérité, et du dernier difficile surtout pour un Hollandais qui doit, ou qui devrait pour cela connaître également sa propre langue, et la française, je vous remercie de m'avoir indiqué la grammaire de Gibelin, et les Mémoires de du Clos.

[Everything that you say about speaking and writing properly is absolutely right and extremely difficult, especially for a Dutchman who must or ought for that purpose to know both his own language and French, I thank you for having pointed out Gibelin's grammar to me, and the *Memoirs* of du Clos.]⁵⁶

Command of both languages is presented as an ideal which apparently concerns all Dutch people (although for Vincent van Tuyll that means the members of his social group); Dutch is considered the mother tongue and French a second language. Isabelle de Charrière too, in the series of letters addressed to her nephew Willem-René, does indeed remind him that a good knowledge of French is taken for granted in a young man of his milieu. Nor does she overlook the utilitarian side of things in the political context of the end of the century. And yet, she insists repeatedly on the absolute necessity of completely mastering Dutch (spoken and written) for a person who, by virtue of his social rank, will be called upon to hold high office. We also see this ideal of a bilingual Dutchman defended in the innovative reform project presented in 1792 by Gerrit Vatebender,⁵⁷ the rector of a college in Gouda, who championed French not only as a discipline but as an everyday language at school: the enlightened citizen should be bilingual in Dutch and French.⁵⁸

56 Letter of 30 June 1792, in I. de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 3, 377.

57 G. C. C. Vatebender, 'Plan van een Nederlands Opvoedings-School', in *Mengelwerken der Kamer van Rhetorica, genaemd De Goudsbloemen* (Gouda: [no name of publisher], 1792), 21–136.

58 W. Frijhoff, 'Le français en Hollande après la paix de Westphalie: langue d'immigrés, langue d'envahisseurs ou langue universelle?', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 18 (1996), 330.

This bilingualism did not preclude interest in other languages. When in 1784 Rivarol published his work *De l'universalité de la langue française* [*On the Universality of the French Language*] it was indeed plain that French had triumphed in Europe. However, if French remained the language of choice of numerous members of the Dutch elites it began to be rivalled by German and to a lesser extent English.⁵⁹ Confining ourselves to examples already cited, we should recall that Isabelle de Charrière knew English well and that Gijsbert-Karel van Hogendorp had studied German during his stay in Prussia. There we have the precursors of the plurilingualism which would characterize the educated Dutch upper classes in the nineteenth century.

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At the dawn of the nineteenth century the use of French was still characteristic of the Dutch elites, but it was no longer a sign of cosmopolitanism, or was much less so. At any rate, the use of French did not preclude the use of Dutch, quite the contrary. If French was still the mark of *bon ton* [good taste] for the Dutch elites, as well as the language of individual sensibility and introspection, as travel journals and personal diaries indicate, we see it increasingly changing in status during the nineteenth century from a second language to a foreign language (albeit the first foreign language) alongside German and English. On the cultural plane, command of three foreign languages, French, German and English, would seem to have become one of the components of Dutch identity, or at least the identity of the upper classes of society – a development to which the organization of primary and secondary education and, later, university education, gave impetus over the course of the century.⁶⁰

59 Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw*, 57–8.

60 French would not become an everyday language as advocated by Gerrit Vatebender in 1792, but it would become part of a pupil's academic training in the Dutch primary school founded by the law of 1806 and then one of three compulsory languages taught to boys and girls at secondary schools from 1863. On the other hand, it was not until 1884 that a chair of French was founded in a Dutch university, at Groningen.

7 The Domains of Francophonie and Language Ideology in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Prussia

In order to describe the role of French in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Prussia we shall inevitably have to speak of the power of attraction that French culture exerted on Prussia in the Age of Enlightenment. This power made itself felt in a large number of the practices and cultural phenomena of the time: literature, fashion, architecture, daily life, music, correspondence and, of course, language. Francophonie in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Prussia was thus part of a far-reaching social process of cultural positioning. Almost simultaneously with this turning towards France, a rediscovery of language was taking place in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century. This rediscovery, as Peter Burke has said, did not embrace diversity and plurilingualism, unlike in the previous two centuries, but shifted attention towards linguistic unity. It was closely bound up with the invention of the nation and the formation of national identities.¹

Prussia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a multi-denominational, multi-cultural and plurilingual country, on discontinuous territory, and found itself between militarism and the *Aufklärung/Idealismus* [German Enlightenment/Idealism]. The key words which describe it are expansion, modernity and Enlightenment/Idealism. As far as the sociopolitical and linguistic situation of this state is concerned, these words best express the contradictory tendencies. For by means of economic and political innovation, expansion and militarism Prussia was rising to the rank of

1 Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 160–72.

one of the major empires of Europe.² At the same time, its capital Berlin, in parallel with Leipzig, Halle and Gotha in central Germany, was becoming a staging-post of the Enlightenment. Owing to the long reign of Frederick II, which lasted from 1740 to 1786, cultural activities were at first influenced and marked by the French model, but they were turning towards German culture, literature and philosophy.

In this necessarily restricted survey I shall trace the function and use of French in its most important domains, that is to say among the high nobility, in the sciences and scholarship, in higher education institutions and, lastly, in Berlin, where traces of it could be noticed even in the informal language of ‘petites gens’ [lower social classes]. My aim will be to attempt to provide an answer to Joshua Fishman’s famous question, ‘who speaks what language to whom and when?’, the title of a ground-breaking article on research into multilingualism.³

It should be noted that the use of French was linked above all to two parameters: first, membership of a social group and, secondly, urban space. The use of French according to membership of social group and location will therefore be a guiding thread in this chapter. The prestige of French culture enabled higher social strata to distance themselves by means of language from lower strata. In the eighteenth century, the higher social stratum was first and foremost the ‘old’ higher stratum, that is to say the aristocracy, which was then being challenged by the ‘new’ one, the bourgeoisie, which was in the process of completely emancipating itself.

The role that French played in this process is not to be disregarded. For the aristocracy, who focused on the ceremonies at the court of Louis XIV, French was a *lingua franca*. For the bourgeoisie, it was the language of culture and a pre-requisite if they were to rise socially. In the concert of languages in use on germanophone territory, French triumphed from the late seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth mainly because of its multiple functions: as a *lingua franca* of the nobility, a diplomatic language and also

2 See Rudolf von Thadden, *Fragen an Preußen. Zur Geschichte eines aufgehobenen Staates* (Munich: Beck, 1981), and Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2009).

3 Joshua A. Fishman, ‘Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?’ *Linguistics* 2 (1965), 67–88.

the language of culture and the Republic of Letters. Plainly it is difficult to differentiate between these functions, since they were complimentary and supported one another and were sustained by the prestige of French.

At the same time that French was prospering, German was going through a process of standardization and consolidation which continued until the end of the nineteenth century. Grammarians and lexicologists codified it and writers refined it stylistically.⁴ Furthermore, as German territory was divided up without centralized political power, the German language became a unifying bond in a time of political rifts.⁵ This territorial division was also marked by the absence of a centre which could serve as a beacon from the points of view of culture and linguistic politics. It was also in keeping with the strong dialectal division of German. We may take it as a starting-point that up until the nineteenth century there was no standard spoken language on German territory which speakers from different dialect regions would have been able to use. There was thus no supra-regional communication which could not equally take place in Latin or French.⁶ This state of affairs reinforced the function of French as a *lingua franca* and language of culture among educated speakers and the upper classes. By the end of the eighteenth century, with the appearance of Romanticism, and then from the time of the Napoleonic occupation,⁷ a clear change could be detected in the attitude towards French: increasingly the Prussian elites referred to themselves as belonging to a nation and they wrote and spoke German.

As far as urban space, the second parameter I have identified, is concerned, it should be emphasized that the use of French was above all a phenomenon associated with the city. Francophonie was probably more firmly rooted in

4 See Utz Maas, *Was ist deutsch? Die Entwicklung der sprachlichen Verhältnisse in Deutschland* (Munich: Fink, 2012), 137–46.

5 See Anja Stukenbrock, *Sprachnationalismus. Sprachreflexion als Medium kollektiver Identitätsstiftung in Deutschland 1617–1945* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), and Andreas Gardt, ed., *Nation und Sprache. Zur Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000).

6 See Klaus J. Mattheier, 'Standardsprache als Sozialsymbol. Über kommunikative Folgen gesellschaftlichen Wandels', in Rainer Wimmer, ed., *Das 19. Jahrhundert. Sprachgeschichtliche Wurzeln des heutigen Deutsch* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 55.

7 Parts of Germany were directly or indirectly under French rule from 1794 to 1815.

Berlin, the centre of Prussia, than in other parts of germanophone territory in the eighteenth century. Berlin was at one and the same time the Prussian capital, the centre of the German *Aufklärung* and, together with Potsdam, the residence of the Prussian kings, of whom the most renowned, Frederick II, had set up not merely a court à la française but a whole francophile and francophone culture. Moreover, the region of Brandenburg Prussia was a place which from the seventeenth century welcomed francophone immigrants, the Huguenots. As Protestant refugees, the Huguenots constituted the largest minority and their considerable presence reinforced the region's francophonie.⁸

Thus we may say that French in Prussia could simultaneously be a means of communication, a means of distinguishing oneself socially and a sign of prestige. It was used in both modes, written and spoken, as a mother tongue or quasi mother tongue (for example, by the high nobility and the Huguenots and their descendants) and also as a second language.

In order to prepare the ground for the analysis that I shall undertake in the main part of my study of the use of French in various francophone domains in Prussia, I shall begin with some remarks on the debate about French which took place in the realm of linguistic ideology. For the prestige of French in Germany cannot be understood without reference to the linguistic and ideological conceptions of the time concerning the supposedly rational structure of the French language.

Ideology and linguistic politics: Constructions of French and German

As elsewhere on germanophone territory, French in Prussia was not merely sustained by its multiple functions but also underpinned by an ideological framework according to which French had certain linguistic properties,

8 See Manuela Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel. Akkulturation und Mehrsprachigkeit der Brandenburger Hugenotten vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010).

especially clarity of syntactic structure. The claim that French has more clarity than other European languages was at that time (and has remained to the present day) the *raison d'être* of another ideologeme, the universality of French.⁹

Marc Fumaroli, in his work *Quand l'Europe parlait français* [*When Europe Spoke French*] (2001), presents twenty-six portraits of people who he thinks were most representative of the European politico-social elite and who contributed to the spread of the French art of living between the end of the reign of Louis XIV in 1715 and the French revolutionary terror that began in 1793. In his book, the people of the Republic of Letters meet, speak and then write to one another – in French, of course, for this language, according to Fumaroli, was a mixture of erudition and courtesy and was used by anyone who wished to be an *honnête homme*. Besides, for decades French was essential as the language of wit, intelligence and conversation:

Like America today, without resorting to the voluntarism of a cultural policy or a language policy, eighteenth-century France and its language were simply infectious and irresistible [...]. However, it was the demand for style that made the prestige of French universal, whereas the English that has established itself throughout the modern world is a technical vernacular which has dispensed with all style [...]. The feeble 'transparency' of this global English is the opposite of the precise and lively clarity to which the French of the Enlightenment laid claim [...].¹⁰

With this notion of a francophone Europe and the universal French language, extolled for its logic and clarity, Fumaroli is reviving an ideology that was born in the seventeenth century. This ideology, affirmed in the eighteenth century, always has topicality, as has been shown by Jürgen Trabant in *Der Gallische Herkules* [*The Gallic Hercules*] (2002) and Gilles Siouffi in his critique of the concept of universalism. The key elements of the ideology

- 9 See Jürgen Storost, *Langue française, langue universelle? Die Diskussion über die Universalität des Französischen an der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften. Zum Geltungsanspruch des Deutschen und Französischen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 1994), and Gilles Siouffi, 'De "l'universalité" européenne du français au XVIIIe siècle: Retour sur les représentations et les réalités', in *Langue Française* 3 (2010), 13–29.
- 10 Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2001), 18.

are combined in what at the time was called the *génie de la langue française* [the genius of the French language]: ‘clarity’, ‘logic’ and natural order.

In order briefly to illustrate some of the stages of what Trabant calls the ‘mythogenesis’,¹¹ here is Voltaire who, as a ‘trail-blazer’ in the popularization of this ideologeme,¹² remarked in the article ‘French’ in the *Encyclopaedia* that French was the language which, thanks to its syntactic structure, best rendered the order of ideas. ‘Since it has no declension and is always dependent on articles’, Voltaire wrote, ‘French cannot adopt Greek and Latin inversions; it forces words to arrange themselves in the natural order of ideas.’¹³ We thus come to the heart of a debate that took place in France in the late seventeenth century. The debate was exported to Prussia, where it can be found in the 1780s. Here there were two very visible spokesmen who, while their positions were noticed locally, that is to say in Berlin, also caused a wider stir in Germany and Europe as a whole. These were Frederick II and Antoine de Rivarol, the author of a discourse which won the prize in the Berlin Academy’s competition in 1784.

We shall begin with Frederick, who in 1780 published his work *De la littérature allemande; des défauts qu’on peut lui reprocher; quelles en sont les causes; et par quel moyens on peut les corriger* [*On German Literature; Some Faults for which it Might Be Reproached; What Causes Those Faults; and How They Might Be Rectified*].¹⁴ Frederick paints quite a gloomy picture of the German language of the time and of German literature and science, which were far from perfect. He blames lack of clarity in the ideas and style of literary works, the pedantry of German authors and their want of good taste for this situation. This, he thinks, is why the German language is still not properly constructed or refined: ‘Je trouve une langue à demi barbare

11 Jürgen Trabant, *Der Gallische Herkules: Über Sprache und Politik in Frankreich und Deutschland* (Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 2002), 107.

12 Siouffi, ‘De “l’universalité” européenne’, 15.

13 Quoted from Trabant, *Der Gallische Herkules*, 111.

14 The work appeared simultaneously in French and German. See Manuela Böhm and Joachim Gessinger, ‘Kulturtransfer und Übersetzung. Kulturkritik im Essay Friedrichs II. “De la littérature allemande”’, in Bernard Banoun, Michaela Enderle-Ristori and Sylvie Le Moël, eds, *Migration, exil et traduction* (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2011), 27–48.

qui se divise en autant de dialectes différents que l'Allemagne contient de provinces.' ['I find a language half-barbarous, which is divided into as many different dialects as Germany has provinces.']¹⁵ According to Frederick, German is difficult to handle, has sounds that are not very pleasing to the ear and is poor in metaphors. The main causes of this state of affairs, he believes, lie in Germany's political situation, its permanent involvement in wars, its religious differences and its political fragmentation: all these factors deprive Germany of stability, and the general conditions in which the arts and sciences might develop therefore do not exist. The lack of a centre capable of spreading culture impedes the development of a standard language. Frederick then contrasts the dialectal fragmentation and failure to spread German with the supposed universality of French:

Et maintenant, cette langue est devenue un passe-partout qui vous introduit dans toutes les maisons et dans toutes les villes. Voyagez de Lisbonne à Petersbourg et de Stockholm à Naples en parlant le françois, vous vous faites entendre partout. Par ce seul idiome, vous vous épargnez quantité de langues qu'il vous faudroit savoir, qui surchargeroient votre mémoire de mots, à la place desquels vous pouvez la remplir de choses, ce qui est bien préférable.

[And now this language has become a master-key which lets you into all houses and towns. Travel from Lisbon to St Petersburg and from Stockholm to Naples speaking French and you will be understood everywhere. Having just this one language you make a saving in the number of languages you would need to know, which would overload your memory with words, in place of which you can fill your memory with [other] things, which is far preferable.]¹⁶

Frederick adds that German must be improved and perfected in order to endow it with the thing that makes French superior to it, that is to say, first and foremost, clarity: 'La clarté est la première règle que doivent se prescrire ceux qui parlent et qui écrivent parce qu'il s'agit de peindre sa pensée ou d'exprimer ses idées par des paroles.' ['Clarity is the first rule that those who speak and write must lay down for themselves, because it is through words

15 Frédéric II, *De la littérature allemande; des défauts qu'on peut lui reprocher; qu'elles en sont les causes; et par quels moyens on peut les corriger* (Berlin: Decker, 1780), 7.

16 *Ibid.*, 78, 79.

that one's thoughts are depicted or one's ideas expressed.')]17 Clarity, the myth of French as a universal language, is therefore elevated by Frederick into a fundamental principle of the spoken and written word.

The topos of the clarity of French is also the decisive argument in the work that Rivarol entered in 1783–4 for the competition of the Berlin Academy, which had set the question 'What has made French the universal language of Europe? What makes it deserving of this prerogative? May we assume that it will hold on to it?'18 His discourse *De l'universalité de la langue française* [*On the Universality of the French Language*] quickly brought fame to Rivarol, who also saw clarity inscribed in the syntactic structures of French and who went on to try to prove that this clarity was the main quality of its linguistic structure.

Ce qui distingue notre langue des langues anciennes et modernes, c'est l'ordre et la construction de la phrase. [...] Le français nomme d'abord le sujet du discours, ensuite le verbe qui est l'action et enfin l'objet de cette action: voilà la logique naturelle à tous les hommes.

[What distinguishes our language from the ancient languages and [other] modern languages is the order and construction of the phrase [in it]. [...] French first names the subject of the utterance, then the verb which is the action and lastly the object of this action: that is the natural logic to all men.]19

Rivarol adds that French syntax is incorruptible and he decides on this basis that French is superior to all other languages: 'Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français; ce qui n'est pas clair est encore anglais, italien, grec ou latin' ['What is not clear is not French; what is not clear is still English, Italian, Greek or Latin'].20 With this line of argument Rivarol not only lumped

17 *Ibid.*, 18, 19.

18 See Storost, *Langue française, langue universelle?*, 63.

19 Antoine de Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la Langue Française. Sujet proposé par l'Académie de Berlin, en 1783* (Paris: Cocheris, 1797), 162; Trabant, *Der Gallische Herkules*, 112. For a new study of the 'myth' of the universality of French, including discussion of Rivarol's essay, see Christopher Coski, *From Barbarism to Universality. Language and Identity in Early Modern France* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011).

20 Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la Langue Française*, 32.

together clarity, the genius of a language and French; he was also the person who added the element of superiority and therefore of universalism to the trinity of *clarté*, *génie de la langue* and *logique*.

Starting from the grammatical structure of French, Rivarol developed the argument about the myth of universalism which, in his (and Fumaroli's) opinion, no one could call into question. However, a significant number of educated bourgeois in Germany saw things rather differently. The scholars of the *Spätaufklärung* [Late Enlightenment] and the poets of the *Sturm und Drang* [Storm and Stress] were by no means prepared to recognize the hegemony of French culture and the superiority of the French language at the end of the eighteenth century. Just the opposite, in fact: from the 1770s they were outlining the contours of a truly German national culture.²¹ This change was taking place before Frederick's eyes but it found no reflection in his text, in which he did not even mention the best known representatives of the learned culture which was defining itself as explicitly German, such as Goethe, Herder, Schubart, Lessing, Klopstock, Mendelssohn and Wieland. The only work he mentioned (mischievously) was Goethe's 'Götz von Berlichingen'. Nonetheless, Frederick did have a vague idea of the change that was taking place in the intellectual and political situation, for he wrote:

Ce n'est que depuis peu que les gens de Lettres ont pris la hardiesse d'écrire dans leur langue maternelle, et qu'ils ne rougissent plus d'être allemand. [...] On commence à s'apercevoir qu'il se prépare un changement dans les esprits; la gloire nationale se fait entendre, on ambitionne de se mettre de niveau avec ses voisins [...]; ceux qui ont le tact fin le remarquent déjà.

[It is only recently that people of Letters have made so bold as to write in their mother tongue and that they no longer blush at being German. [...] We are beginning to see a change brewing in people's minds; national glory is making itself heard, people are aspiring to put themselves on the same level as their neighbours [...]; those who are astute notice it already.]²²

21 See Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*, 13 vols, new edn (Paris: Colin, 1966–79), vol. 8, 633–51, and Jens Häselser and Albert Meier, *Gallophobie im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Wissenschaftsverlag, 2005).

22 Frédéric II, *De la littérature allemande*, 76–7.

Frederick's work was greeted with a wave of praise, criticism and essays rebutting it, and it was reprinted in unauthorized translations.²³ In the critical responses, Frederick was rebuked mainly for his ignorance of the fact that his own country's language and culture were developing. Here are Wieland's laconic comments about Frederick in a letter of 9 April 1781 to Johannes Müller. The king, he wrote, 'vient d'ajouter à tant de belles actions celle de souhaiter un Auguste à la littérature allemande; souhait d'autant plus méritoire, puisque sa Majesté paroît s'intéresser pour une chose qui ne lui est pas plus connue que la constitution des habitants de la lune.' [[The King], 'in addition to so many fine actions, has just wished for an Augustus for German literature [i.e. a commanding emperor who would act as both a political and cultural leader for the whole of Germany; MB]; a wish all the more meritorious for the fact that His Majesty seems to have an interest in a thing which is no better known to him than the constitution of the inhabitants of the moon.']²⁴ Reactions to Frederick's work therefore show that the German *Aufklärung*, permeated with the bourgeois spirit, denied the most powerful German king the right to judge the German cultural situation. The brusque reaction of the educated public may be explained by the fact that Frederick had challenged the claim of the cultured German bourgeoisie to hegemony.

As far as the question of the Berlin prize is concerned, it would seem at first sight that the perfection of the French language and its claim to universalism, which reached its climax in Rivarol's discourse, were not a matter of dispute in the Berlin Academy, but in fact this was not the case. The prize was awarded jointly to two candidates, Rivarol (who only received it as a result of the intervention of Frederick's brother, Prince Henry) and Johann Christoph Schwab, who insisted that other European languages were going to free themselves from the hegemony of the French model.

23 On criticisms of Frederick's 'De la littérature allemande', see Christoph Gutknecht and Peter Kerner, eds, *De la littérature allemande. Französisch-Deutsch, mit der Mörserschen Gegenschrift. Kritische Ausgabe* (Hamburg: Buske, 1969), and Erich Kästner, *Friedrich der Grosse und die deutsche Literatur: die Er widerungen auf seine Schrift 'De la littérature allemande'* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972).

24 Doris Walser-Wilhelm et al., eds, *Bonstettiana. Briefkorrespondenzen Karl Viktor von Bonstettens und seines Kreises 1753–1832* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002), 108.

Frederick died shortly after this, in 1786. Thus the prize should be regarded as offering an opportunity to clutch at out-of-date ideologemes rather than to make a true statement about the strength of French. At the Academy too the reign of German was beginning, as we shall see.

The domains of francophonie in Prussia

Before providing an overview of four different domains in which francophonie left traces, I should also make a few remarks about the French-speaking Huguenot minority, for in certain domains they played a dominant role. They were major players in the development and establishment of French on Prussian territory, for Huguenots of all social strata spoke French and they brought the language not just to the upper and educated classes but to all Prussian social strata.

Almost 20,000 Huguenots settled in Prussia, in urban and rural colonies, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the promulgation of the Edict of Potsdam by Frederick-William in 1685. Around 1700, 8,622 refugees were registered in the Prussian province of the March of Brandenburg, of whom 5,282 (or about 65 per cent) were established in Berlin and 2,028 (about 24 per cent) in the region of Uckermark.²⁵ The legal rights granted to the French colony by the Edict of Potsdam would endure until 1809. The privileges the French were granted had religious, legal and social elements that were peculiar to the colony.²⁶

Enormous differences can be seen in the social, economic and linguistic structure of the various colonies. The Berlin colony, the largest French colony in Prussia, represented about 18 per cent of the total population of the city around 1700. The Berlin colony was of a very mixed character

25 See Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, *Juden und 'Franzosen' in der Wirtschaft des Raumes Berlin/Brandenburg zur Zeit des Merkantilismus* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1978), 70.

26 *Ibid.*, 3.

socially and professionally. All social classes were represented in it. The rural colonies differed from the urban ones in another respect too: as a rule, the social pressure to adapt culturally was much stronger in the countryside than in Berlin. Peasants, tobacco-planters, day-labourers and ploughmen were much more dependent on communication with the native population than their co-religionists in a large city like Berlin.²⁷

On the linguistic level, the refugees used their languages and regional varieties for speaking and French as their written language. As for French, there was a clear distinction between the use made of it in the colony and its function outside the Huguenot community. Outside the community, French served as a tool to better one's social position. In a city such as Berlin, the political, administrative and intellectual centre of Prussia, the German upper social stratum had a command of French from which the Huguenots were undoubtedly able to benefit. The Berlin refugees were conscious of actively contributing to a process of cultural transfer. Coming as they did from a nation which was a cultural beacon, and because they spoke and wrote French, the lingua franca of the Republic of Letters which was rooted in the age of Louis XIV, the refugees saw their standing raised by the social prestige of French culture. Therefore, the Huguenot institutions of the Berlin colony, making use of various levers of linguistic politics, defended the use of French in the domains of religion, administration and schooling.²⁸

French as the language of nobility

Huguenots could be found in all the spheres in which French was important in eighteenth-century Prussia. Let us first take the domain of the royal court. First of all, the Huguenots played an important role as educators, for since the generation of the Prince-Elector in the second half of the seventeenth century it was a tradition in the ruling house of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollerns, to entrust the posts of tutors to refugees, male or female, or

27 Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel*, 128–85.

28 *Ibid.*, 185–239.

to Swiss of the Reformed Church. Their reformed religion, their Calvinist ethic and the fact that they were native speakers of the lingua franca adopted by the court made these people intercultural and inter-linguistic mediators for generations of princes and princesses. The Huguenots Marthe de Montbail and Jacques Egide Du Han steeped Frederick II in the French language and in French and classical literature and Nicolas de Béguelin and Frédéric Ancillon were tutors to Frederick William II and Frederick William IV respectively, to cite but a few.²⁹

The leanings of the Prussian royal court towards francophonie became lasting from 1736, when Frederick began, at his court as crown prince of Rheinsberg, to surround himself with a completely francophone world which brought him knowledge, exchanges, contacts, networks and a whole linguistic infrastructure. It is interesting to look at the respective uses of French and German at Fredrick's court. For oral communication, he spoke French with his intellectual entourage and German only with his servants, cabinet advisers, state officials and soldiers. Administration demanded the use of German by the king as well. He carried out his daily work in German, namely reading the requests and files that his cabinet secretaries summarized for him in short notes written in German.³⁰ His philosophical and literary works, on the other hand, he wrote in French. His reading, including the Greek and Latin classics, was also in French.³¹ However, as he tended, when writing French, to use Germanisms, anachronisms and a syntax modelled on German, he had his texts corrected by people whose mother tongue was French, in order to 'whiten the dirty laundry', as Voltaire

29 Manuela Böhm, 'Huguenots précepteurs du Prince Frédéric – Frédéric II Praeceptor Germaniae', in Vladislav Rjéoutski and Alexandre Tchoudinov, eds, *Le précepteur francophone en Europe. XVIIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris: Harmattan, 2013), 241–58, and Monique Dannhauser, *De la France à l'Allemagne. Les Hugenots Français et l'un de leurs descendants, Jacques-Egide Duhan de Jandun, précepteur du roi de Prusse Frédéric II* (Frankfurt am Main: Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1999).

30 See Corinna Petersilka, 'Zur Zweisprachigkeit Friedrichs II', in Brunhilde Wehinger, ed., *Geist und Macht: Friedrich der Große im Kontext der europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 55.

31 Böhm and Gessinger, 'Kulturtransfer und Übersetzung', 27–48.

mischievously put it.³² From the sociolinguistic viewpoint, this distribution of the functions of the two languages corresponds to a separation between the man of letters and the ruler, which neatly expresses the topos of the 'roi philosophe' [philosopher king]. It is clear from certain statements by Frederick himself that he was perfectly aware that on the linguistic and cultural level he was 'a foreigner in his own country'.

Frederick's court was certainly the most philosophical, brilliant and splendid in Germany, but it was not the only one that was francophone. Owing to their geographical position and dynastic strategies, the small principalities in the south and south-west, such as the Palatinate, developed a particular predilection for French at a very early stage, towards the end of the sixteenth century. Command of French was therefore quite widespread among the aristocrats of southern and south-western Germany in the seventeenth century, whereas in the north and east the situation was at first different, though we may suppose that in the course of the eighteenth century each 'family of quality' came to handle French with more or less facility.³³

The Princess Palatine Elizabeth Charlotte, wife of the brother of Louis XIV, Louis Philippe of Orléans, for example, found herself in a francophone environment all her life, first as a daughter at the small cultured Protestant court at Heidelberg, then in the home of her aunt Sophie-Dorothea of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at the court of Hanover and finally, married and converted to Catholicism out of duty, at the court of Louis XIV at Versailles, where she lived for fifty-one years and corresponded with most of the courts of Europe. It has been estimated that her correspondence contained about 4,000 letters, of which half were in French. She spoke French fluently and wrote it with facility and apparently could be heard to have a southern German accent which was noticeable in her spelling, a visible trace of the

32 Carlo Denina, *La Prusse littéraire sous Frédéric II ou histoire abrégée de la plupart des auteurs, des académiciens et des artistes qui sont nés ou qui ont vécu dans les états prussiens*, 3 vols (Berlin: Rottmann, 1791), vol. 3, 4514; see also Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 568.

33 See Johannes Kramer, *Das Französische in Deutschland. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 62.

way she spoke. French was her first language: her German vocabulary reveals a large number of French borrowings and her style reveals the integration of idiomatic French expressions more or less transposed and numerous syntactic constructions modelled on French.³⁴ We are dealing here with interference, a typical phenomenon in bilinguals.³⁵

Everywhere in Germany the nobility was going through a stage of transformation at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Its privileges and its importance as a social force were beginning to diminish. The events of the French Revolution, equality before the law, the ending of privilege, fundamental liberties and the flow of émigrés fleeing from the political turmoil in France threatened the Prussian nobility too. Unlike the nobilities in other German states, the Prussian nobility had little importance as a force spreading culture. It was a distinct group sustained by the monarchy; it harboured great reservations about modernization, if it was not downright hostile to it, and it was often anti-liberal and protectionist.³⁶ As a rule, the Prussian nobility occupied the highest civilian and military positions or profited from its great landed properties. We find few artists or people of learning in this milieu and rarely come across any representatives of industry or commerce. Besides, the Junkers remained strongly attached to their land in the countryside or in villages. Although cultural life in Prussia therefore bears the imprint of people of learning and letters and artists from the bourgeois milieu, nonetheless we shall see a few noble representatives, who played a key role in intellectual circles in Berlin, especially in the late eighteenth century. Between 1786 and 1815,

34 See Michel Lefevre, *Die Sprache der Lieselotte von der Pfalz. Eine sprachliche Untersuchung der deutschen Briefe (1676–1714) der Herzogin von Orléans an ihre Tante, die Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1996), 90–193 and 333–4), and Klaus J. Mattheier and Paul Valentin, eds, *Pathos, Klatsch und Ehrlichkeit. Lieselotte von der Pfalz am Hofe des Sonnenkönigs* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1990).

35 Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel*, 417–28.

36 See Hartwin Spenkuch, 'Erste Kammern, Adelslandschaften und nationale Kontexte', in Gabriele B. Clemens, Malte König and Marco Meriggi, eds, *Hochkultur als Herrschaftselement: italienischer und deutscher Adel im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: de Gruyter 2011), 107.

urban culture in Berlin experienced remarkable prosperity, inspired by the 'Bürgerkultur', in which French culture and language were deeply rooted.³⁷ And yet, at the same time a German mentality was created in this milieu on the basis of the *Spätaufklärung*, early Romanticism and Idealism. In this bubbling and intellectually fertile atmosphere several nobles are to be found, especially in three domains which I shall now briefly describe, correspondence, salons and literature, and France was always part of the picture.

Berlin was 'die Stadt der Briefschreiber' [the city of letter-writers]:³⁸ the vast epistolary networks woven around this city demonstrate how deeply rooted French was as a language of the private and literary letter. Only a very small part of this enormous stock of correspondence has yet been brought to light. The correspondence of Rahel Varnhagen von Ense has been relatively well studied; almost 2,000 of her letters have been published. Rahel, *née* Levin, the daughter of a Jewish jewel merchant, was a point of reference, not only in a Berlin salon but also in the European epistolary genre. Married to the diplomat and man of letters Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, she converted to Protestantism and pursued her letter-writing activities during the short period around 1800 when cultured Jews who were inclined to assimilate – for instance, Moses Mendelssohn, Julius Eduard Hitzig, Henriette and Marcus Herz, Sara von Grotthus – were making a lasting impression on Berlin intellectual life. Rahel exchanged letters with about 300 people, including the writer and political adviser Friedrich von Gentz, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Dorothea Schlegel, Clemens and Bettina Brentano, Pauline Wiesel, the Swedish diplomat Karl Gustav von Brinckmann and Jean Paul and Heinrich Heine. With members of her family alone Rahel exchanged 600 letters. She mastered French, which she called 'Europaisch' [*sic*] [European] and was capable of translating Goethe's

37 On the cultural interactions of this in the urban setting of Berlin, see the works of the interdisciplinary research group 'Berliner Klassik' at <www.berliner-klassik.de> (accessed on 02.11.2013).

38 See Conrad Wiedemann, 'Deutsch-Französische Rederaison', in Ute Tintemann and Jürgen Trabant, eds, *Sprache und Sprachen in Berlin um 1800* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2004), 67.

poetry for her Parisian friends.³⁹ We find in her correspondence numerous letters in which she switches between French, German, Yiddish and other varieties: in fact, this is a marked feature of her epistolary practice. The following extracts from one of her letters illustrate her code-switching (she is reporting her impressions of life in the Jewish quarter of Breslau [now Wrocław] in the home of her uncle, where she stayed during a journey to Silesia with her mother and sister in 1794.

Mit welche Worte soll ich sagen was ich dir gern mit einem einzigen Schrey mitheilen möchte. Der erste süße Augenblick ist der brief von euch den ich jetz Morgens um 8 Uhr schon habe und gleich antworte denk dir Hans eine prolongirte Probesgaße aber die heuser nach dem Himmel zu spitzig und millonarden Böhmen, und welche?! wie man sie bey uns nie siht dans cette rue une maudite maison ou il falloit decendre, la tante etoit à notre rencontre dans un bel equipage qui me donnoit bonne opinion du reste [...] quoique la maison m'otoit le reste de ma bonne humeur aber nun rede ich mit marcus sie führe uns in ein Wohnzimmer hintenraus welches 3 tühren hat zu dem einen putzimer zum fluhr und zu einer schlafstube worin für mama und mich zwey gute eiserne beten standen, ou il sent l'huile, et la chambre à coucher, mais ou il etoit propre sans luire cependant, mais, qui donne sur une cour fatale et afreuse à tous egard elle est petite, et on enttend dans cette chambre chaque mot qui ce dit dans toute la maison [...] j'ecris les horreurs en franç: parceque je crains les curieux quoique je la metrai dans ma poche jusque feu la doit remettre au comis de la poste. [...] on nous presente une petite niece avec beaucoup de bonne Opinion et même de pretention [...] qui a [...] une tete garni des cheveux les plus bohèmiens, pale come la morte, et un air Bohemien come je le trouve rarement! je vous jure, chés nous, elle arrive sans gands (elle etoit sortit) nous fair à chaqun de nous tous, une grande Kniks, car revérence n'exprime pas ça, dit quelle est charmée de nous voir bienportants et de faire notre connoissance, et est rudement et à haute voix reprimandé lorsqu'elle oublie ce compliment pour Rose, mais sans se déconcerter l'approche e dit la même chose; es existirt ein Mittelding von Kamermädchen und Anverwandte mit roten kurzen haaren hinten cheveux vollants aus einer Kornete raus die man in Berl: vergeblich suchen würde die ich aber in Dessau und Peine in der Böhmen Gaße zu weißén kann weil ich sie dort gesehen habe, so fladusich, groß, und klatschich ist sie [...].

39 See Barbara Hahn, "Lernen Sie europäisch!" Die Sprachen der Akkulturation um 1800, *Athenäum. Jahrbuch für Romantik* 5 (1995), 320–40.

[[In German] With what words shall I say that which I would like to tell you with one single scream. The first sweet moment is the letter from you which I already have now at 8 in the morning and reply immediately imagine Hans the ProbesgaÙe but longer and with houses that are pointed at the top and billions of Bohemians, and such as one does not see where we are from [then in French] in this street a wretched house where we had to get off, our aunt had come to meet us in a nice carriage which gave me a good impression of the rest [...] although the house took away what was left of my good humour [then in German again] but now I'll talk to Marcus they lead us into a living room at the back which has three doors to the one dressing room to the hallway and to a bedroom where there were two good iron beds for Mama and me, [and back into French] where it smells of oil, and [it's] the bedroom, but it was clean without being sparkling but it looks out on to a ghastly yard that's frightful in all respects it's tiny and in the room you can hear every word that's said in the whole house [...] I'm telling you the horrors in French because I'm afraid of curious people although I'll put it in my pocket until Feu [a family servant] gives it to the postman. [...] we've been introduced to a little niece who has good judgement and is even quite ambitious [...] and whose head is bedecked with the most Bohemian hair, pale as death and with such a Bohemian air about her as I have rarely seen! I swear to you, she comes to our place without gloves (she had gone out) does a great curtsy to each of us, for 'bow' wouldn't describe it, says she is delighted to see us in good health and to make our acquaintance and is harshly and loudly reprimanded when she forgets to pay this compliment to Rose, but unperturbed, she goes up to her and says the same thing; [then back to German again] there's a sort of cross between a chambermaid and a relative with short red hair which emerges at the back, untied, out of a bonnet of a sort you'd look for in vain in Berlin but which I know to be in Dessau and Peine in Böhmen Lane because I've seen it there, that's how big, bulky and badly stuck on it is [...].]⁴⁰

There are several things of linguistic interest in this outburst that is provoked by cultural shock at the way of life of Breslau's Orthodox Jews: morphology and turns of phrase that are typical of Berlin, orthographic errors and idiosyncrasies (such as use of capitals and double consonants) and German syntax, all of which features attest to an asymmetrical bilingualism. Rahel's code-switching has two purposes: one is to do with the addressees of her letter and the other with the confidentiality of certain remarks that she

40 Letter from Rahel Varnhagen, 8 August 1794, quoted from Ursula Isselstein, *Studien zu Rahel Levin Varnhagen* (Turin: Tirrena Stampatori, 1993), 54–8.

makes in it. The main addressee of this letter was Rahel's brother Marcus, with whom she always corresponded in French, but at the same time the letter was addressed to the whole family and her friends, whom Rahel wanted to keep up-to-date. Phrases like 'denk dir Hans' ['imagine Hans'] (she is addressing her sister-in-law Hendel at this point) or 'nun rede ich mit marcus' ['now I'll talk to Marcus'] indicate different addressees. The fact that the letter is addressed to a number of people may partly explain the use of two languages. But Rahel herself also gives a second explanation in her text: she is writing in French to conceal her indignation from the people around her, because the Ostjuden [Eastern Jews], or 'Bohemians' or 'Böhmen', as she calls them in a mocking tone, do not understand French.

Rahel was a hostess to most of her correspondents in her capacity as a *salonnière*. Her salon was one of many where political figures, artists and writers, well-read people, scientists and representatives of the court would mix, but its cosmopolitan nature undoubtedly made it one of the most attractive and fascinating in Berlin. There were different types of salon in Berlin at the end of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, there was the rococo salon in the French style. This type of salon was dominated by the aristocracy and representatives of the court, and French was spoken in it.⁴¹ On the other hand, there was the salon dominated intellectually by the bourgeoisie. This type of salon, as a laboratory of emancipation, was full of vitality at this time. It was the meeting-place of the educated middle class and French was rarely heard there, especially during the patriotic movement against Napoleon. Rahel's salon lay somewhere between the two types, since poets, natural scientists, politicians and aristocrats all met there on the same level.

Henriette von Crayen's salon exemplifies the type of salon in the French style. Henriette, who incidentally did not have a good enough command of German to read German literature, married the banker August Wilhelm von Crayen, and in 1777 moved to Leipzig, where she carried on hosting a salon.⁴² After the death of her husband she returned to Berlin and started

41 Petra Wilhelmy-Dollinger, *Die Berliner Salons* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 66.

42 *Ibid.*, 67.

her salon up again. In both Berlin and Leipzig she mainly gathered round herself the international aristocracy, men of letters and political figures such as Count Ignacy Potocki, Count Alexandre de Lameth, Goethe, Jean Paul, Duke Karl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Count Augustus of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg and the envoy extraordinary in Berlin Charles-François, the Marquis de Bonnay.

There were other francophone salons too that catered for an aristocratic public, such as that of Princess Luise von Radziwill, who was married to the Lithuanian aristocrat Prince Anton von Radziwill. The Radziwills owned a famous house in the Wilhelmstraße where members of the high aristocracy of Eastern Europe, foreign diplomats and court society would come across one another. Luise von Radziwill had an exceptional talent for salon conversation, as we know from Germaine de Staël, whom the Radziwills received in 1804 and with whom Luise entered into correspondence.⁴³ The tradition of the francophone salon in the Wilhelmstraße continued right up until 1914, for Marie von Radziwill, daughter of Henri de Castellane and wife of Luise von Radziwill's grandson, hosted a salon there where members of the Polish, French or German aristocracy would meet and where French was spoken. We may conclude, then, that use of French in salons depended on a number of factors: social condition, political orientation and the international character of the public frequenting the salon.

As far as literature is concerned, there were German noble writers and authors in nineteenth-century Prussia who had an excellent command of French and for whom French was an important point of reference but who nonetheless wrote in German. Franz Baron von Gaudy, an author who is practically forgotten today, for example, grew up in a noble family in which only French was spoken as late as the nineteenth century. During his studies at the Collège François [French College] and as a boarder with Pastor Reclam he lived in an entirely francophone environment. Nonetheless, he used German for his poems, tales and short stories. One of the illustrious Prussian nobles who also frequented Rahel Varnhagen's salon was Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, a soldier, landscape painter, writer and great

43 *Ibid.*, 87.

traveller in Central Europe, North Africa, Egypt, Sudan, Asia Minor and Greece. A Prussian patriot, in spite of his Francophilia and francophonie, with a grandmother who came from a French family of the high nobility, he studied classical and modern French literature, kept a diary in French and corresponded in French with many people, for instance his mother Clémentine von Callenberg, the writer Sophie Gay, the composer Edmée Sophie Gail, Frédéric Ancillon, who was the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mehmed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt.⁴⁴ And yet, Pückler-Muskau wrote his travel accounts in German and they were translated by Jean Cohen and published in Paris by Henri Fournier. These works enjoyed enormous success in France (and also in England and the United States) in the 1830s, although they soon fell into oblivion.⁴⁵

Just how excellent Pückler-Muskau's French was, incidentally, can be seen from the following extract from a letter in his private correspondence with Sophie Gail, whom he met in a picture gallery in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 and to whom his excellent French made him stand out, gives an impression of his writing in French:

Lorsque vous m'avez annoncé ce matin, Madame, avec tant de solennité qu'enfin vous vouliez monter sur votre trépied pour dérouler à mes yeux le tableau de l'avenir – j'avoue que la peur ma pris et que j'ai été me cacher au Compesbad où j'ai resté deux heures dans l'eau pour calmer mon imagination. Notez que la manière de laquelle j'ai reçu votre billet était déjà de très-mauvaise augure. Vous savez que je demeure au rez-de-chaussée et qu'en regardant par la fenêtre je me trouve au milieu de la rue. C'était là que j'amusais à examiner les passants lorsque tout à coup une vieille sorcière se présente devant moi des ongles noirs et crochus, marmotte quelques mots inintelligibles, pose le billet sur la croisée et disparaît aussitôt. Surpris de l'aventure, je m'empresse l'ouvrir (le billet, s'entend), et à peine ai-je jeté les yeux sur le fameux 'tableau de l'avenir à dérouler', que le véritable et sinistre tableau du passé de Fualdez se détache et frisant ma tête, tombe avec fracas sur le pavé. Jugez, pour un homme superstitieux quel effet doit produire sur moi un si fatal événement [...].

44 See Christian Friedrich, Ulf Jacob and Marie-Ange Mailet, eds, *Fürst Pückler und Frankreich. Ein bedeutendes Kapitel des deutsch-französischen Kulturtransfers* (Berlin: Bebra-Verlag, 2012).

45 *Ibid.*, 23–39.

[When this morning you announced to me with such solemnity, Madam, that at last you wished to mount your tripod to unfurl before my eyes the picture of the future, I confess I took fright and hid in the Compesbad, where I remained in the water for two hours to calm my imagination. You should be aware that the way I received your note already did not augur well at all. You know that I am dwelling on the ground floor and when I look through the window I find myself in the middle of the road. That is where I was amusing myself by studying the passers-by, when all of a sudden an old witch with black finger-nails like talons turns up in front of me, mumbles a few unintelligible words, puts the note on the casement-window and immediately disappears. Taken aback by this chance event, I hasten to open it (the note, of course) and hardly have I cast my eyes on the famous 'picture of the future unfurling' than Fualdez's true and sinister picture of the past falls off, grazing my head, and crashes on to the pavement. Imagine what effect such a fateful event is bound to have on a superstitious man like myself [...].]⁴⁶

If we compare this letter with the letter by Rahel Varnhagen quoted above, we find that both writers were able to describe their experience with remarkable expressive vigour. Rahel, of course, was writing down her 'adventures' in rough outline, spontaneously, and her letter was strongly marked by orality, which shows itself, for example, in the linking of grammatical groups in the form of topicalization, by placing certain expressions at the beginning of the sentence to highlight the topic it dealt with. However, Pückler has a more sophisticated command of the written language, which is apparent in his spelling, his quite complex syntactic constructions, his rich and varied vocabulary, the elegance of his style and so forth.

Learned Prussia: Linguistic conflict in the Berlin Academy

I cannot deal here with the domain of learning and science and its connection with francophonie in an exhaustive way.⁴⁷ I have therefore chosen one important area as an example, namely the linguistic question in the Royal

46 Letter from Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau to Sophie Gail, in *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, 9 vols (Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2006), vol. 1, 3–4.

47 For further information on Franco-German cultural relations, see Michel Espagne, *Transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999); Michel Espagne and Michael

Berlin Academy, where language use was shaped first by the presence of Latin and then by the coexistence of German and French.

As a place of institutionalized sciences, the Academy had a discontinuous history.⁴⁸ The foundation of the 'Societät der Wissenschaften' [Society of Sciences] in 1700 rested on two ideas: the idea of the development of national culture and the idea of cosmopolitan exchange. The king appointed Wilhelm Gottfried Leibniz president and strategist, whose task it was to set up the Academy. Leibniz was the most important German philosopher of that time, a precursor of the German Enlightenment and probably one of the last universal German scholars. He represented in the best possible way the link between German linguistic patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In his 'Ermahnungen an die Teutschen, ihren Verstand und ihre Sprache besser zu üben' ['Exhortation to the Germans to Make Better Use of Their Reason and Language'], he recommended that German be developed as a language of science and education.⁴⁹ Whereas in England or Italy the vernaculars had been developed for the domains of science and education at a very early stage, in Germany Latin remained the dominant language of science until the end of the eighteenth century. Leibniz's intention to encourage a national German-language culture found expression in his idea that the Academy should be a society of sciences that was 'German in spirit'.⁵⁰ There were for him three ways of attaining the aim of developing a German language which combined all functions and was usable for science: preparation of a history of the language, a grammar and a dictionary. Not

Werner, eds, *Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand. XVIIIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1988); Pierre-André Bois, *Les lettres françaises dans les revues allemandes du 18e siècle* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997); Etienne François et al., eds, *Marianne–Germania. Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im europäischen Kontext. Les transferts culturels France–Allemagne et leur contexte européen, 1789–1914*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 1998).

48 See Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 4 vols (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1900).

49 See Peter von Polenz, *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 3 (17. und 18. Jahrhundert) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 125–7.

50 Harnack, *Geschichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie*, vol. 1.1, 84.

that the Academy ever brought this triple programme to fruition. In fact, Leibniz himself continued to use Latin or French for his own publications.

Until 1743, minutes of the proceedings of the Academy were written in Latin. This suddenly changed with the accession of Frederick II to the throne. He reorganized the Academy from top to bottom. From 1744 it was called the Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres [Royal Academy of Sciences and Humanities] and in 1746, thanks to Voltaire's mediation, Frederick managed to bring to Berlin, and retain, the Frenchman Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis as president of the Academy. French therefore became the official language of the Academy, which meant that all its written proceedings were produced in French. (Oral presentations in French were welcome too, although presentations in German and even Latin were also acceptable.) Translators were therefore needed whose task it would be to translate in both directions.

From the 1760s, Frederick intervened massively in the Academy's politics. The number of Huguenot, French and Swiss members compared to the number of German members increased considerably from his reign. In 1786 there were five Germans, five French-speaking Swiss, four Prussian Huguenots, three Frenchmen and an Italian among its eighteen members.⁵¹ Moreover, Frederick himself held the presidency for several years. It should be noted that the Academy, compared to the university, had become a modern space of communication. Whereas the university only moved away from the use of Latin very slowly in the eighteenth century and German was not always suitable as a scientific language, Frederick, in giving French first place, put his stake firmly on the lingua franca of the Republic of Letters. Pierre Pénisson had good grounds for claiming that the choice of French was much less a sign of Francophilia on Frederick's part than of certainty that French had a greater power of communicative influence.⁵² The subjects discussed and published by the Academy could therefore be commented on outside Germany as well. The impetus

51 *Ibid.*, 471.

52 Pierre Pénisson, 'Evolution de la question des langues à l'Académie de Berlin,' *Das 18. Jahrhundert* 25/1 (2001), 43–54.

that Frederick gave to the reorganization of the Academy was extremely important for the history of the Enlightenment in Prussia, but this new orientation, with its focus on French-speaking scholars, drew criticism from German-speaking cultural figures who expected their Prussian king to support German-language culture and science. This is why the linguistic question in the Academy became controversial, as I showed when dealing with the debate about the universalism of French.

All this sheds light on the context in which Friedrich Gedike, in a letter that appeared anonymously in 1784, expressed himself thus about Berlin and its Academy:

This local Academy, which is made up for the most part of Frenchmen, French-speaking Swiss and Italians, would, it was said, possess certain excellent members who from time to time would demonstrate their talents for the good of science. But as academicians they would produce nothing of importance [...] Lectures [...] are in French and yet it is claimed that the first idea of arranging them was dedicated mainly to the history and culture of the German language.⁵³

After Frederick's death in 1786, a 'German Deputation' was founded on the initiative of the Minister of State Hertzberg. This was a circle of German members of the Academy whose aim was to improve and develop the German language and who made explicit reference to Leibniz's position. The deputation planned also to have all the Academy's proceedings published in German.⁵⁴ The fact that in 1792 the question set in the Academy's competition directly concerned the German language was also due to the influence of the German Deputation. (The question was this: 'Is it possible and necessary for a language, especially German, to have perfect purity?') These initiatives to 'Germanize' the Academy did not have any lasting success, though, for Hertzberg died in 1795 and the French members were opposed to any changes. It was only with the anti-French atmosphere to which the Napoleonic occupation gave rise that French completely lost its place in the Berlin Academy. Under the influence of Humboldt the Academy

53 Friedrich Gedike, *Über Berlin. Briefe 'von einem Fremden' in der Berlinischen Monatsschrift* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1987), 92–3.

54 Storost, *Langue française, langue universelle?*, 403–8.

was reorganized from 1809 and its statutes recommended that the language of its lectures and documents should normally be German, although Latin was also permitted. French thus disappeared from the Academy.

French in higher education

The role of French in eighteenth-century Europe as a prestige language that cultured Germany was willingly adopting made mastery of French an essential part of the education of the highest German social stratum. A true market in French culture was thus created along with a whole range of modes of access to the French language.⁵⁵

As far as the public sector is concerned, at the end of the eighteenth century all the various higher education institutions offered pupils the opportunity to acquire French. This enabled teachers of French to obtain posts, for instance, in military education institutions like the Berlin Military School or the Nobles' Academy in Berlin, francophone and germanophone colleges and, later, towards the end of the eighteenth century, in *Realschulen* which imparted practical knowledge to the young bourgeois.

As for foreign languages, Prussian colleges, like all germanophone colleges providing academic education in the eighteenth century, bore the stamp of Latinity. The foreign languages that the pupils learned in these colleges were first and foremost the classical languages, Latin and Greek, rather than living foreign languages.⁵⁶ By the end of the century the process of differentiation of *gelehrte Bildung* [scholarly education] from *bürgerliche Bildung* [bourgeois education] was taking concrete form with

55 See Herbert Christ, 'L'enseignement du français en Allemagne entre 1648 et 1815', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 18 (1996), 63–83.

56 See Konrad Schröder, *Linguarum recentium annales. Der Unterricht in den modernen europäischen Sprachen im deutschsprachigen Raum. 1500–1800*, 4 vols (Augsburg: Augsburgische Schriften, 1980–5).

the creation of a new type of school, the *Realschule* which prepared pupils for bourgeois occupations in commerce, the arts and professions, that is to say for activities for which knowledge of Latin was unnecessary. The Heckersche Realschule, for example, made provision for French lessons in all classes from 1785.⁵⁷ The role of French in the timetable of German colleges was thus ambiguous: its presence was both a sign of the (slow) modernization of the curriculum and adoption of the language of the prevailing European culture.

Thus French was introduced in the Berlin colleges in the course of the eighteenth century (for example, in the Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium by 1725). By the end of the century it was standard in the colleges and remained so. It even happened that at certain times the people teaching it were the most outstanding linguists and pedagogues in Berlin, such as Anton Friedrich Büsching from 1767 at the Graues Kloster college and the above-mentioned Gedike at the Friedrichwerdersches Gymnasium and the Graues Kloster. The latter two even wrote their own teaching materials.⁵⁸

The hold that the Huguenots had on the colleges can be seen in various ways.⁵⁹ First and foremost, with the Collège François founded in 1689 the Huguenot colony had a higher education institution conceived and supervised entirely by themselves. Later, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the College became a thoroughgoing vehicle for transmission of French language and culture, since over 50 per cent of the pupils it admitted were of German origin. Between 1695 and 1749, 662 French pupils and 259 German pupils were enrolled, while between 1750 and 1800 there were

57 *Ibid.*, vol. 4 (1701–1800), 175.

58 Büsching was the author of *Premiers principes de la langue française* (1772) and *Recueil de passages propres à former l'esprit, le goût, et le coeur de la jeunesse, tirés des oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci* (1772). Gedike wrote the *Lesebuch für Anfänger* (Berlin, 1785).

59 See Manuela Böhm, 'Stratégies autour des choix linguistiques dans l'enseignement huguenot en Brandebourg-Prusse', in Geraldine Sheridan and Viviane Prest, eds, *Les Huguenots éducateurs dans l'espace européen à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 275–99.

775 French and 1,263 Germans.⁶⁰ The language of teaching was French, and although from 1802 Theodor Heinsius, the famous Berlin linguist at the Graues Kloster, also taught German language and literature in it, the French College was a carefully protected site of francophonie.

By reconstructing the ways in which French was acquired, the practical use made of textbooks and grammars and the teaching methods employed, we may show, first, the correlation between learning French and use of it and, second, the historical, social and linguistic circumstances which supported French and which varied from one region to another. This would be the task of an investigation into language acquisition in an historical perspective.

French in the city: The case of Berlin

In what I have said so far, my main aim has been to analyse the francophonie of the higher and educated social strata. The use of French by those strata is fairly well documented and research into it is therefore relatively easy. It is not so easy, though, to investigate the question of the spread and function of French in the everyday language of the lower and middling strata of the population.

Interest among linguists in the informal language of people from lower social classes far removed from the elites and in real social situations is quite a recent phenomenon.⁶¹ It is by taking a look at spoken language that we may better understand the everyday language, which is closely associated with the use of sub-standard varieties (dialects, regional languages and vernaculars). Traces of language contact and the influence of

60 See Christian Velder, *300 Jahre Französisches Gymnasium Berlin* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1989), 188–93.

61 See Stephan Elspaß, Nils Langer, Joachim Scharloth and Wim Vandebussche, eds, *Germanic Language Histories 'from below', 1700–2000* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

other languages are found in dialects as well as in standard languages, for instance in phenomena such as borrowing (when foreign lexemes are taken up in their vocabulary). In German as a whole, the process of borrowing from French greatly intensified from the seventeenth century.⁶² There are certain French words that were taken up in standard German and afterwards transformed by dialect.⁶³ A number of linguists believe that we may quite frequently come across Gallicisms shaped by Berlin urban vernacular (Berlinisch low variety).⁶⁴ However, this assumption is difficult to prove with reliable and precisely quantified examples, and no systematic research has yet been done on the Gallicisms to be found in Berlinisch or on those which have entered informal German through Berlinisch variety.

Here are a few examples which we may still find today, especially in Berlinisch as well as to some extent in the regional language of Brandenburg which surrounds Berlin. All these examples are marked as sub-standard.⁶⁵

- Bulette < boulette [meatball]
- Bredullje < bredouille [scrape, predicament]
- Buddel < bouteille [bottle]
- Budike < boutique [shop]
- Destille < distillation [pub, tavern]
- Effee < effet [effect]
- partu < partout [everywhere]

62 von Polenz, *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte*, 77–106.

63 See Klaus Mattheier, 'Französisch verdrängt Deutsch. Soziolinguistische Überlegungen zum 18. Jahrhundert', in Bernd Spillner, ed., *Französische Sprache in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), 27–38.

64 See Peter Eisenberg, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 63, and Hartmut Schmidt, 'Die sprachliche Entwicklung Berlins vom 13. bis zum frühen 19. Jahrhundert', in Joachim Schildt and Hartmut Schmidt, eds, *Berlinisch. Geschichtliche Einführung in die Sprache einer Stadt*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 153–61, and Rainer Schlösser, 'Französisches in Berlin', in Johannes Kramer and Otto Winkelmann, eds, *Das Galloromanische in Deutschland* (Wilhelmsfeld: Egert, 1990), 205–14.

65 These examples have been taken from Eisenberg, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen*, 64, and Schmidt, *Die sprachliche Entwicklung*, 154.

pleng < plein [full]
 proper < propre [clean]
 blümerant < bleu mourant [sick, faint]
 Botten < bottes [boots]
 Deetz < tête [head]
 etepetete < être peut-être [finicky, hoity-toity]
 fetz < fête [festivities]
 Kinkerlitzchen < quinquailleries [trivialities, trifling matters, geegaw]
 aus der Lamäng < la main [spontaneously, without preparation]
 Muckefuck < mocca faux [coffee substitute]
 Stampe < estaminet [small public house]
 Schislaweng < ainsi cela vient [doing something 'mit Schislaweng' =
 doing something easy-peasy, craftily, with energy]

Most of these 'French Berlinisms' are in modern orthographic dictionaries, where they are classified as 'informal language' or 'jargon'.⁶⁶

There is an historical fact that makes it quite plausible to assert that francophone influence really was exceptionally strong in the city of Berlin, namely the numerous and enduring presence of *Français de souche* [French men and women born and bred]. First, these were Huguenots; then, after 1789, they were aristocrats called 'émigrés' who were fleeing from the French revolutionary events; finally, there was the Napoleonic occupation of 1806–8, during which the municipality was under French surveillance and the administration of it operated in bilingual mode.⁶⁷

It has been shown that this linguistic contact, which lasted for over a hundred years, had decisive effects on German as well as French. Hartmut Schmidt supposes that the upper social stratum of Berlin, strongly influenced by French, abandoned its medial diglossia (written High German, spoken Low German) in favour of a 'new bilingualism' (French and

66 Eisenberg, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen*, 65.

67 See Daniel Schönplüg and Jürgen Voss, eds, *Révolutionnaires et Emigrés. Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland 1789–1806* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), and Frank Bauer, *Napoleon in Berlin. Preußens Hauptstadt unter Französischer Besatzung 1806–1808* (Berlin: Berlin Story Verlag, 2006).

Berlinisch).⁶⁸ The French of the Huguenots was also affected, and this linguistic contact led to long-term language change, which went through several phases. In the first phase, the refugees used regional languages and patois of the *langues d'oïl* and *langues d'oc* for speaking; French was reserved for the written language. Then, during a second phase, German, either in the form of Low German or the spoken German of Berlin, coupled with written High German, entered into contact with the francophone system of the first phase. Finally, after the language shift from French to German, germanophone varieties covered the whole range of usage.⁶⁹

Comparison of the rural and urban colonies of Huguenots from the point of view of linguistic acculturation shows that in Berlin the phase of Franco-German multilingualism was the longest and most stable. But the outcome must be qualified: among the Huguenots of Berlin the maintenance of francophonie up until the nineteenth century was characteristic only of the upper social class.

The urban vernacular of Berlin used by all social strata was also affected by French. This influence found expression both in the adoption and integration of French words into the lexis of Berlin and in the more or less common use of ready-made French formulae in conversation among non-French-speakers. More thorough research would enable us to discover to what extent the use of Berlinisms inspired by French later became a factor in the social differentiation of the German of Berlin – in Joshua Fishman's terms, a differentiation between 'high variety' and 'low variety'.⁷⁰

In fact, the German of Berlin did exist in both 'high variety' and 'low variety'.⁷¹ It remains to be established, though, whether the frequency of Berlinisms modelled on French and the way in which they were used became a marker or characteristic of low variety. If this hypothesis were to

68 Schmidt, 'Die sprachliche Entwicklung Berlins', 154.

69 See Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel*, 516–35.

70 See Joshua Fishman, 'Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism', in *Journal of Social Issues* 23/2 (1967), 29–38.

71 See Joachim Gessinger, 'Regionale Sprachgeschichtsforschung: Metropolenbildung und Sprachwechsel am Beispiel Berlin-Brandenburg', *Sociolinguistica* 13 (1999), 159–78.

be confirmed, then, all things considered, it would present a paradox: the use of a language, French, which was once a language of culture and prestige and a sign of belonging to a superior social class, would have turned into a sign of 'non-standard speech'.

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This outline of the position of French in eighteenth-century Prussia shows the extent to which the dominance of a francophone court, intellectual life, the trends of the Enlightenment, the activities of the Huguenots, the German *Aufklärung* and the modernization of public education were all linked to one another.

Most importantly, the ideology of the universality of French, which is still quite widespread today, should be reconsidered. However, the true meaning of the formula of universal French needs to be pondered. This has been the aim of linguists such as Jürgen Trabant, Jürgen Storost and Gilles Siouffi, who have challenged the ideology of the universalism and genius of the French language. Thus Siouffi, with regard to the universalism of French of which Fumaroli speaks, writes: 'The tendency to focus on certain very flashy and emblematic things – often because they involve powerful or strong intellectual personalities – overshadows realities which are not so easy to discern and are often disappointing as far as the actual presence of French is concerned.'⁷²

I believe that this judgement is fully justified in the case of Prussia too. It is clear that French was used in the upper strata, but it spread hardly at all, or very little, in the direction of the middling or lower strata. The only exception – although it was a very important one – was the Huguenot community, whose francophonie was not linked to membership of a social stratum. The Huguenots were the only speakers and writers of French on Prussian territory among whom French was used across all social strata and in all domains. The presence of a large number of Huguenots in Prussia has naturally left linguistic traces in German society. It can be seen above all in the many borrowings from French which still survive in the German

72 Siouffi, 'De "l'universalité" européenne du français', 15.

of Berlin, showing that small elements of this francophonie spread among the lower social strata and stayed there as lexical residues in the everyday language. We may therefore say with good reason that francophonie in Prussia was a superficial phenomenon rather than a fundamental one, inasmuch as it affected only a small proportion of language users.

From 1780, the hegemonic culture of French was no longer accepted without question by bourgeois elites. The historical parallel suggested by Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire may be bold, but it does express very well the ambivalence between a cultural attraction and a rejection based on the desire for self-determination:

The France of Louis XIV and Voltaire, like the United States of today, was both envied and feared. Europeans admired it and were inspired by it, seeking to distance themselves from it in order to exist by themselves in a Europe where national sentiment, a harbinger of modern times, was emerging.⁷³

The hegemony of French language and culture is to be seen against the background of the German nation in the process of constructing itself. This process of identity formation caused each language to be newly evaluated in terms of its status in society, and the social symbolic value of French was not long-lived. The discussions of the importance of French, the emancipation of German and the slow disappearance of Latin in the domains of scholarship that have been examined in this chapter lay at the heart of broader debate about German national identity.

73 Pierre Yves Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe française au XVIIIe siècle: Diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Autrement, 2007), Préface.

8 Aristocratic Francophone Literature in Bohemia*

During the Nazi occupation of Bohemia, Count Jiří Douglas Sternberg knew that the Gestapo were listening to his telephone conversations but he found a way to outwit them for a while.¹ When he or his family were calling their relatives in the chateau Jemniště, they used a secret language, which confused the Nazis for it was neither German nor Czech. It was French. They simply opted for the language that had been an intimate variety for the European aristocracy since the Age of Enlightenment, a variety with which Jiří's generation was still quite familiar. 'My father and mother talked to each other only in French,' says Sternberg about these aristocrats living in the twentieth century.² In the eighteenth century, when this fashion began, French, as the aristocratic sociolect, had fulfilled two contradictory roles. First, it was the 'language of proximity', that is to say a language used in the private sphere. Second, it was a literary language, a language used to address the literary public sphere. In what follows, I shall seek to explain this apparent contradiction, but first we need to consider the fact that aristocratic francophonie in Bohemia existed within a changing multilingual context.

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1 Jiřina Zemanová, 'Jiří Douglas Sternberg (1888–1965)' (MA dissertation for the University of Southern Bohemia, České Budějovice, 2008), 78 (information based on an interview with Count Jiří Douglas Sternberg).

2 *Ibid.*

Cultural multilingualism in the Bohemian Lands

By the twentieth century, the multilingual diversity of Bohemia had already been reduced to Czech-German bilingualism, which was complicated only by the relatively large disparity between written and colloquial forms in both of these languages.³ Back in the eighteenth century, though, franco-phonie existed within a much more intricate intellectual and linguistic situation. Not only was Bohemia part of a larger multinational monarchic state, but the linguistic situation within the Bohemian Lands themselves was more complex than it would be one hundred years later. It is worth emphasizing that the Bohemian Lands were not Czech Lands and did not constitute a Slav country. They should therefore not be treated, as they usually are, as part of some imagined larger eastern Europe. In the early modern age, they were part of the Habsburg Monarchy, which emerged in 1526 and 1527 as a result of the union of the Bohemian Lands, the 'Austrian Lands'⁴ and Hungary. The Bohemian Lands were made up of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. This entity was sometimes referred to as the Kingdom of Bohemia, but Habsburg rule strengthened the separatism of the Estates

- 3 Multilingualism has become the subject of protracted discussion in Czech literary historiography in the post-1989 era. However, for the most part it has attracted the attention of German and Austrian Slavists rather than native Czech historians. The principal focus of mainstream literary research is still the nineteenth century and Czech-German bilingualism. See especially Jiří Holý, 'Česká literární historiografie, její formování a její obrazy německojazyčné literatury v českých zemích', *Estetika* 37/2–4 (2002), 207–22; *idem*, 'Jak psát a nepsat dějiny české literatury', *Česká literatura* 6 (2009), 75–101; Vladimír Papoušek and Dalibor Tureček, *Hledání literárních dějin* (Prague and Litomyšel: Paseka, 2005); Michael Woegerbauer and Václav Petrbok, 'Litteratura duplex. Koncept české a německé literatury v Praze v poslední čtvrtině 18. století', in Hana Svatošová, ed., *Praha Mozartova. Kulturní a společenský život v Praze 1780–1800* (Prague: Scriptorium 2006), 60–82; Michael Woegerbauer, 'Vernakularizace – alternativa ke konceptu národního obrození?' *Česká Literatura* 56 (2008), 461–90.
- 4 I use the term 'Austrian Lands' only for the sake of brevity: the notion includes Lower and Upper Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia and Tirol.

of Silesia and Moravia, who ceased to consider their lands a part of this kingdom. Moreover, Silesia was conquered by Prussia in 1740 and most of that province would never again belong to Bohemia. In documents of early modern times the Bohemian Lands and Austria were referred to as *Erblände* [hereditary lands]. To speak of the Austrian Empire or Austria before 1804, when Francis I proclaimed himself Emperor, is therefore problematic and the Austro-Hungarian Empire appeared after the Ausgleich [Austro-Hungarian Compromise] of 1867.⁵

In the eighteenth century, the Habsburg rulers launched a policy of state reforms, with the aim of making the Habsburg Monarchy more competitive in international affairs. Defeats in wars against Prussia in the period 1740–8 and the financial exhaustion of the country were clear signs that the state needed a fundamental reconstruction. The reforms were initiated by Maria Theresia and her ministers in the 1740s, and efforts to change the state were even intensified by her successor Joseph II, who ruled the Habsburg lands from 1780 to 1790. They culminated during the short reign of Leopold II (1790–2), who was faced with the desire of the enlightened aristocracy to change the absolute monarchy into a constitutional state, in which the ruler would relinquish legislative power and be forced to respect fundamental laws. The first phase of the reforms, from 1748 to 1760, was directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz. The second phase, from 1760 on, was headed by the State Chancellor Wenzel Anton Kaunitz. The differences between the approaches of these two ministers to the administration of the state need not concern us here, but the result of the changes they introduced was further centralization and suppression of the Estates in individual provinces. The abolition of the Bohemian Court Chancery in 1749 is usually regarded as marking the end of Czech independence.⁶ However, the policy of linguistic Germanization

- 5 For the best short outline of the history of Bohemia in the period with which I am concerned, see Robert J. W. Evans, 'The Habsburg Monarchy and Bohemia, 1526–1848', in *idem, Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs. Central Europe c. 1683–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 75–98.
- 6 Ernest Denis, *Čechy po Bílé hoře* (Prague: Šolc a Šimáček, 1921), section 1, vol. 3 (*Osvícený despotism*), 661.

was not launched until Emperor Joseph II ascended the throne. In any case, Joseph's preference for German did not arise from any deep-rooted enmity towards Slav nations. According to one anecdote he originally intended to elevate Czech to the status of the language of administration for all the Habsburg domains.⁷ The anecdote is unsubstantiated but it is in keeping with Joseph's way of thinking: Czech seemed to be a practical language for administration because most of the population of the Habsburg Monarchy were Slavic peoples and Czech appeared to be universally understood by the Slavs. The enlightened emperor himself studied Czech in his youth, as did some other Habsburgs.⁸ Paradoxically, the Habsburgs themselves used French as their main language in private correspondence⁹ and French was also the language in which Joseph II drafted his youthful reform memoranda.¹⁰

The alleged decline of the Czech nation and the Czech language has often been exaggerated. In spite of the dramatic rhetoric applied later by the Czech Revival Movement, we may say that the Czech population was certainly not dying out. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this fact was confirmed by the Baroque author Antonín Frozín in his monumental work *Obroviště mariánského Atlanta* [*A Large Atlas of Places of Worship of Our Virgin Mary*] (1704). This was a detailed topography of places of worship in the Bohemian Lands and Frozín undertook extensive travels across the country to observe the current state of the nation. He concluded that the vast majority of the Czech population still spoke Czech, which remained the dominant language of the country. German was spoken mainly in border areas and in towns, but some towns were

7 Eduard Winter, *Romantismus, Restauration und Frühliberalismus im österreichischen Vormärz* (Vienna: Europa Verlag 1968), 35.

8 Tilman Berger, 'Tschechischunterricht in der Habsburgerfamilie ab 1526', *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 46 (2000), 61–71.

9 Alfred Arneht, ed., *Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz*, 2 vols (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867–8); *idem*, ed., *Maria Antoinette, Joseph II. und Leopold II. Ihr Briefwechsel* (Leipzig: Köhler, 1866).

10 Derek Beales, 'Joseph II's "rêveries"', *MÖStA* [Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs] 32 (1980), 142–60.

mixed or completely Czech. However, Czech was not used as the language of higher literary genres, sciences or philosophy. According to a classic study by Václav Černý, this period of decline was much shorter than nationalist historians claimed. The decline is apparent, Černý argued on the basis of his research into Czech literature, only within the short period from about 1725, when Baroque literature had exhausted its creative forces, to about 1760, when the Czech National Revival began to renew literary life on a different basis. Paradoxically, people still wrote new works on Czech grammar and Czech dictionaries during this period of decline, and yet Czech was not used for works of fiction, poetry or philosophy. The only types of written work in which Czech was still employed to convey complex ideas were religious and prayer books. In social terms, Czech was not a language of either the aristocracy or the urban classes.¹¹ There were Czech towns, but the administration of the state was conducted in German.

German was also the language of modern literature, fiction and poetry, which began to flourish from the 1760s under the influence of Austria and Saxony.¹² The advance of German as a literary language was not an intended consequence of a policy of Germanization; rather it was the result of emancipation from Latin scholarship and classical models. Unfortunately, the rise of German literature in the Bohemian Lands has been obscured owing to the prolonged focus of Czech literary historiography on the roots of Czech National Revival. This phenomenon was supported by Karl Heinrich Seibt, who taught modern French, English and German literature at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague.¹³ His tenure began in 1763, when he was appointed to the Chair of Fine Arts and

11 See Václav Černý, 'Generační periodizace českého baroka', *Literární archiv* 27 (1994), 5–60.

12 On the history of German literature in the hereditary lands see Herbert Zeman, ed., *Die österreichische Literatur. Ihr Profil an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert (1750–1830)*, 2 vols (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

13 See Cerman, 'Secular Moral Philosophy: Karl Heinrich Seibt', in Ivo Cerman, Rita Kruger and Susan Reynolds, eds, *The Enlightenment in Bohemia. Religion, Morality and Multiculturalism* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011), 147–68.

Moral Philosophy, and continued until 1801.¹⁴ From the 1770s onwards we may observe the gradual development of literature in the German language. Moral weeklies, which began to appear in the 1770s and at least one of which was published by Seibt, were the first important sign of this literary flowering.¹⁵ The abolition of censorship in the reign of Joseph II brought about a real explosion of literary activity. Contemporaries spoke of the Josephine *Broschürenflut* [flood of pamphlets]. However, it was not only pamphlets, but also a whole range of plays, novels, short stories and poetry. The example of German literary emancipation was a necessary preparatory stage for the emancipation of Czech literature. All the same, Czech literature remained long confined to religious books and the terrifying stories of popular fiction. Scholarly and philosophical works were written in Latin, which was gradually replaced by German but preserved its status as the language of theology, philosophy and natural sciences, until the early 1800s. Initially, theological or philosophical problems were discussed in Czech only in homiletics written by parish priests or country teachers, who were forced to use Czech in regions with a Czech majority.¹⁶ The Josephine priest, who was prepared for 'field work' among the people, was trained in moral theology and pastoral theology, for which vernacular languages were the vehicles; this meant that if he was sent to a region with a Czech majority he was obliged to speak Czech.¹⁷ The Czech language was also taught at the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt, but military officers needed this language skill only in order to be able to communicate with soldiers in the ranks. The revival of Czech scholarly culture began

14 See Cerman, 'The Enlightenment Universities', in Cerman *et al.*, eds, *The Enlightenment in Bohemia*, 55–68; see 63.

15 See Arnošt Kraus, *Pražské časopisy 1770–1774 a české probuzení* (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1909), 13 (on the journal *Meine Einsamkeiten*) and 25 (on the journal *Neue Litteratur*).

16 Cerman, 'Adelige Landschulen für arme Kinder in Böhmen', in Joachim Bahlcke and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds, *Schulstiftungen und Studienfinanzierung. Bildungsmäzenatentum in den böhmischen, österreichischen und ungarischen Ländern, 1500–1800* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag 2011), 371–83.

17 Alois Křišťan, *Počátky pastorální teologie v českých zemích* (Prague: Triton, 2004).

in Vienna.¹⁸ There was, in addition, a culturally and economically powerful Jewish minority, which spoke *Judendeutsch* (not *Jiddisch*), and whose learned men would write tracts in Hebrew.¹⁹

French in the Bohemian aristocratic world

If we want to understand the use of literary languages, that is to say languages employed in written texts within the realms of the arts and sciences, we should not confine ourselves to national differences, because language differences in intellectual culture were determined not merely by authors' or scholars' nationality but also by factors such as the communicative aim of a work, the conventions of the genre used, the addressee, the social origin of the author and so forth. The intellectual culture of the Bohemian Lands was divided into three distinct worlds: the world of learning, the world of the aristocracy and the world of Jewish scholars.²⁰ Members of these three worlds wrote their texts within different referential frameworks, used different styles of writing and did not communicate with the other worlds very much. Thus scholars from the world of university and ecclesiastical learning, who used Latin and German, would refer to authorities from the narrow central European context and to scholars from other universities and ecclesiastical institutions, who would also write in Latin or German. Their texts would be written in numbered sections, they would expound their

18 See Josef Vintř and Jana Pleskalová, eds, *Wiener Anteil an den Anfängen der tschechischen nationalen Erneuerung* (Prague: Academia, 2004); Stefan Newerkla, 'Tschechischlehrbücher auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Österreich seit der Thronbesteigung Maria Theresias (1740) bis zum Ende der Vormärzzeit (1848)' (MA dissertation at the University of Vienna, 1996).

19 See Ruth Kestenbergl-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den Böhmisches Ländern*, vol. 1 (*Das Zeitalter der Aufklärung 1780–1830*) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969).

20 This theory of three worlds is put forward in my 'Introduction: The Enlightenment in Bohemia', in Cerman *et al.*, eds, *The Enlightenment in Bohemia*, 1–37.

topics in heavy, dry language and many of them would apply the Wolffian derivative method of 'demonstration'. The aristocratic writers, for their part, would refer to authorities from France or to international figures, would argue in a light style, emulating Voltaire and other famous French *philosophes*, and would try to be entertaining. They would write in French. The Jewish scholars, whether they were rabbis or *maskilim* [representatives of the Jewish Enlightenment], would refer to Jewish religious authorities or to the *maskilim* from the Berlin Haskalah. Moses Mendelssohn and his circle would be their point of reference, as well as Yechezkel Landau and Polish or German rabbis. They would write in *Judendeutsch* or Hebrew.²¹

It was within this larger cultural context that the Bohemian and Austrian aristocracy adopted French.²² (We should add that outside the world of the aristocracy French was not used as a means of active written or oral communication.) This aristocratic fashion began in the age of Louis XIV, but at that time French was spoken mainly in families who came from francophone countries, such as Belgium or Lorraine. It was also used by the offspring of mixed marriages or those who were born in the Spanish Netherlands, such as Prince Ferdinand von Schwarzenberg.²³ Other aristocrats were confronted with French when they were involved in diplomatic service, which by the end of the seventeenth century it became customary for aristocrats to undertake during a phase of their careers.²⁴

21 See Shmuel Feiner, *The Origins of Jewish Secularization in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

22 On aristocratic francophonie in Bohemia, see Cerman, 'La noblesse de Bohême dans l'Europe française. L'Enigme du français nobiliaire', in Michel Figeac, Jaroslav Dumanowski and Olivier Chaline, eds, *Le rayonnement culturel de la France en Europe Centrale du 17e siècle à nos jours* (Bordeaux and Pessac: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 365–85, especially 366; *idem*, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století. Filozofové, mystici, politici* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2011), 187–94.

23 A critical edition of the francophone diary of Ferdinand von Schwarzenberg is being compiled by Rostislav Smíšek at the University of Southern Bohemia: see Smíšek, *Cisárský dvůr a 'dvorská' kariéra Ditrichštejnů a Schwarzenberků za vlády Leopolda I* (České Budějovice: University of Southern Bohemia, 2009).

24 See Klaus Müller, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen im Jahrhundert nach dem westfälischen Frieden, 1648–1740* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1976).

It was only in the early eighteenth century that the development of international diplomacy resulted in the wider acceptance of French within the Austro-Bohemian aristocratic milieu. Although we cannot precisely estimate how fast the new fashion spread or how many aristocrats followed it, we are able to say with confidence that French began between the 1740s and 1760s to have the status of the sociolect of the Bohemian aristocracy.²⁵

It would be wrong, though, to assert that French was simply *the* language of the Bohemian aristocracy. Even francophone aristocrats were still using German. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it even became fashionable to learn the rudiments of Czech. French was not *the* language of aristocracy, but a language which helped to delineate the boundary between the upper aristocracy and the rest of the society, which is why I describe it as a sociolect. It was proficiency in this language that was crucial for success in aristocratic circles; those who were unable to speak French fluently were clearly recognized as outsiders. In order to understand the different functions of French and German in aristocratic circles, the question we have to ask is not 'Which language, French or German, did they speak most frequently?' but 'Where or on which occasions did aristocrats speak French, and where or on which occasions did they speak German?'²⁶ This is because there was a kind of functional diglossia within the aristocracy. The same aristocrats who used French in their private correspondence and diaries refrained from using it in state administration. Diplomatic negotiations or court ceremonies were held in French, but sessions of the State Council or discussions within the highest government offices were conducted in German. Eventually, the use of French was confined to the private sphere, whereas state business within the administration was conducted in German. Consequently, French was used in communication with one's wife, children or family friends as private visitors. When the same nobleman met with friends at the Diet, or in the office, on the other hand, he preferred German. French was also used in family correspondence. This is an important point, for there was no exterior constraint that would have

25 Cerman, 'La noblesse de Bohême dans l'Europe française', 365–75.

26 *Ibid.*, 375–79.

forced a married couple to use a foreign language in their private letters or in communication with their children. Considering the almost complete exclusion of German from private communication, French may justly be called the ‘language of proximity’.²⁷

Although French was used in the private sphere as the preferred language, most aristocrats were not French native speakers but had to learn it as a second language. In some families this task was facilitated by the fact that the mother was a native speaker of French who could pass her linguistic skills on to her children. Many such women came from Belgium, for example Countess Marie Isabella Czernin *née* Merode de Westerloo, Countess Marie Leopoldine Windischgrätz *née* Duchess of Arenberg, Countess Adeleide Buquoy-Longueval *née* Marquise de Nieuport and Marie Christine Princess Clary-Aldringen *née* Princess de Ligne. Some such women began, at the high point of the Age of Enlightenment, to write their own educational tracts in French. The earliest known instructions of this sort belong to Archduchess Isabella, the wife of Joseph II,²⁸ but the first aristocratic mothers to produce such texts were Marie Christine Countess Dietrichstein and Marie Josephine Countess Windischgrätz in the 1770s.²⁹

Even in families in which the parents did not come from francophone countries, aristocratic mothers and fathers were often able to speak to their children in French. Aristocratic children were frequently brought up with the help of francophone tutors as well, although these educators tended to come from Belgium rather than France.³⁰ The school reform of 1774 might have made their job more difficult, for Maria Theresia ordered that they

27 *Ibid.*, 375; Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher, ‘Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte’, *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36 (1985), 15–43.

28 See Josef Hrazky, *Die Persönlichkeit der Infantin Isabella von Parma*, *MÖStA* 12 (1959), 174–239. Isabella’s surviving writings are published as a supplement to Hrazky’s article.

29 The contents of these instructions are analysed in Cerman, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung. Bildungsverhalten des Wiener Hofadels im 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 357–65 (Dietrichstein) and 401–10 (Windischgrätz).

30 On this question, see Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století.*, 253–73; *idem*, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung*, 205–19.

would have to take an examination at the Normal Schools, which prepared future teachers, to prove that they were able to teach in accordance with Felbiger's *Methodenbuch* [*Book of Method*]. The reform also required that tutors be registered and that lists of them be submitted to the authorities. Unfortunately, these lists have yet to be discovered and so we do not possess wide-ranging evidence which would enable us to identify the social origin of francophone tutors. Historical research has brought to light only a few individual cases, from which we may conclude that such tutors came from the same sort of backgrounds as local teachers, that is to say they were either priests or young students who had yet to obtain settled employment.³¹ What is perhaps even more important is the fact that francophone tutors – unlike such tutors in some other countries (Russia is a notable example) – usually taught only French. In other words, other subjects, such as geography, history, religion, mathematics and physics, were taught by different tutors and the lessons were conducted in German or Latin. It follows that most of the tutorial positions offered by aristocratic families were inaccessible to francophone foreigners.

Thus the use of French by Bohemian aristocrats was restricted to domains of proximity (family/friends) and German and Latin continued to be used in many domains.

'Performative literature' written in French by aristocratic women

Considering the fact that women were not employed as officials in the state administration, we have to concede that German-French bilingualism divided not only the private and public spheres but genders as well. I mentioned earlier that French was not used in the public sphere or at least in the administrative part of the public sphere. It follows that women

31 The cases are summed up in Černan, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 253–73.

used French rather than German as the language of written communication because it was the language in which they wrote private letters and in which they conducted social conversation in their salons. Women really were confined to the private sphere, even if their presence meant larger gatherings in the salons. This confinement might seem to imply that the status of women did not improve, but in fact it did. Female members of the Austrian aristocracy did not manage to break into the public literary sphere, it is true; but they did assume a leading role in the new domain of the salon or the aristocratic coterie. Furthermore, during the Age of Enlightenment people began to attach greater significance to the role of the mother in a child's early upbringing.³²

Moreover, the aristocracy adopted the French habit of gallant private correspondence and letters that pursued higher aesthetic goals. Women gained more influence as a result of this development, because the task of conducting entertaining correspondence with family friends and salon companions was often entrusted to the wife of the aristocratic landlord, who was kept busy by his work in the state office. Consequently, the aristocratic lady became a kind of unofficial secretary of her coterie, conducting the private correspondence of her husband and representing her 'private self'. These coteries acquired a significant role in the cultural life of the Viennese aristocracy. Members of such circles would gather regularly to read books or listen to musical performances. The coteries were often nothing more than extended circles of family friends, though attempts were also made to meet on a regular basis under the auspices of so-called academies. These academies would be formed by men, who would meet to discuss 'useful' books on law, history or philosophy.³³ Even domestic

32 See Cerman, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung*, 50–65, 357–65, 401–10; *idem*, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 245–53. See also Milena Lenderová, *Tragický bál. Život a smrt Pavlíny ze Schwarznebergu* (Prague-Litomyšl: Paseka, 2004).

33 On coteries, see Derek Beales, *Joseph II. In the Shadow of Maria Theresa 1741–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 322–37; Cerman, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung*, 187–90; *idem*, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 188–91; Alexandrine baronne du Montet, *Souvenirs de la baronne du Montet 1785–1866* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1904), 96–8, 125.

musical performances might constitute 'academies', as Mozart's correspondence proves.

Epistolary fashion also opened up new opportunities for aristocratic ladies, who became prolific writers of letters, diaries and other genres. Today these works are considered private pieces but at that time they would be read aloud in salon gatherings. In some cases, we know this for a fact, as I have shown elsewhere on the basis of letters written by Marie Sidonie Countess Chotek, Marie Josephine Windischgrätz, Leopoldine Liechtenstein and Marie Augusta Sternberg.³⁴ The surviving letters of these women were intended to be read either by their husbands or children or a family friend. The women did not write for purely practical purposes, but aimed to achieve an aesthetic effect. In accordance with the sentimental fashion of the late eighteenth century, which brought about the intensification of emotional ties between the members of the family nucleus, they intended above all to express feeling. As the letters were usually written during the absence of the husband or father, the feeling most often expressed in this correspondence was nostalgia. The following lines, written by Marie Sidonie to her husband during their temporary separation one summer, provide an apt example. Marie Sidonie has gone to the family's domains in the Bohemian countryside, while Count Chotek, a busy statesman, stays in Vienna. She begins by expressing the inner confusion caused by her solitude and then the distress that her separation from her husband has caused her:

[...] ces contrastes existaient réellement dans la tête et dans le coeur de votre Sidi; ils ont au moins servi à me soutenir courageusement tout le temps que j'ai passé chez Madame votre mère, j'ai repassé dans mon appartement en fermant les yeux de toutes mes forces dans la chambre à coucher. J'allais partir après contente de moi; [...] je me désole, je fonds en larmes, et j'y trouve une espèce de plaisir, je ne vous fais point d'excuse de vous entretenir de toutes les extravagances, il faut bien que vous ayez la patience de le lire, puisque c'est vous qui le causez.

34 Cerman, 'Empfindsame Briefe. Familienkorrespondenz der Adelligen im Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král, eds, *Společnost v zemích habsburské monarchie a její obraz v pramenech (1526–1740)* (České Budějovice: University of Southern Bohemia, 2006), 283–301; *idem*, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung, 175–90 and 401–10* (Windischgrätz).

[...] these contrasts really did exist in your Sidi's head and heart; they at least helped to keep me brave all the time that I was with your mother and I went back to my rooms and closed my eyes as tight as I could in my bedroom. I meant to leave afterwards and be pleased with myself; [...] I am upset, I dissolve into tears, and I take a kind of pleasure in it, I make no apology for speaking to you about all these wild ideas, you ought to have the patience to read them, because it is you who are the cause of them.]³⁵

At this point she turns her attention to the objects around her, which all become involved in the play of her imagination. They stir up painful memories of her beloved husband, from whom she has been separated for just two weeks! 'Ah! Vous savez bien que vous êtes tout pour moi dans le monde: ce matin vos Parents, nos Enfants, les fenêtres de votre appartement; votre cassette même, tout a été pour moi un sujet de larmes et de désolation.' ['Oh! You know very well that you are everything in the world to me: your parents, our children, the windows of your room, even your casket – it's all made me cry this morning and been a cause of grief.']³⁶

In another letter the countess offers a sentimental description of her daily life. This technique was employed to create the impression of complete emotional transparency and the illusion that their separation could be negated by a skilful and continuous description of the passing of time and by recording every thought and feeling that arose within the writer:

Il y aura quatre semaines dans deux jours que je suis ici, et plût-à-Dieu, que j'eusse encore un pareil temps à y rester, quoique le temps soit déjà très froid, et presque toujours mauvais; mais j'ai tant d'occupations, si fort à mon goût, je les trouve si réelles, en comparaison des riens que je fais en ville, que de grand coeur je consentirais à passer l'hiver ici, surtout si j'y avais mes Enfants: il me semble qu'il me faudrait aussi une visite par mois de quelqu'un de ma famille à tour de rôle. Ces occupations si importantes, sont les correspondances, les lectures en commun, et en particulier, un peu d'ouvrage, et pour récréation le billard, le trictrac, le tarot, la chasse.

35 Státní oblastní archiv [State Regional Archives] (hereafter SOA), Praha, Family archives Chotek, box no. 107, inventory no. 1455, Marie Sidonie to Johann Rudolph Chotek, no date [August 1775, Vienna], fol. 1 r.

36 *Ibid.*, Marie Sidonie to Johann Rudolph Chotek, 'mercredi à 7 heures' [August 1775], fol. 3 v.

[In two days I shall have been here for four weeks, and would to God that that I could stay here for the same amount of time again, although it's already getting very cold and the weather is bad nearly all the time; but I have so many things to do which are so much to my taste and which I find so real by comparison with the trivial things that I do in the city, that I would willingly spend the winter here, especially if I had my children with me: I think I should also need a visit a month from someone in my family, taking it in turns. The occupations that are most important to me are my correspondence, reading with other people and in particular a little work, and for recreation billiards, backgammon, tarot cards and hunting.]³⁷

These letters were really meant as a replacement for an interrupted conversation, as Norbert Elias once put it.³⁸ However, such aristocratic women also entertained higher aesthetic ambitions. Their private letters were accordingly characterized by an elaborate style imitating that of well-known epistolary novels in the sentimental vein. The women were addressing a larger audience than the individual reader and their letters were therefore in a way 'open letters'. At the same time, these literary products were intended for immediate consumption and were expected to be read out just once, at a single performance, after which they would be forgotten. Such texts belong to a kind of performative literature, which fulfilled an aesthetic function at the moment when the texts were read in salon society.³⁹

Nor did aristocratic women write only letters. Apart from these pieces of performative literature, and educational tracts for the upbringing of their children of the sort that I mentioned earlier, they also penned reflections on their travels. Unlike their letters, these works were not intended for immediate consumption, although they too were not meant to be published and circulated only within a narrow circle of family friends. Marie Josepha Countess Windischgraetz, for example, left some amusing reflections on

37 *Ibid.*, box 107, Marie Sidonie von Chotek to Johann Joseph von Wilczek, Nové Dvory 17 October 1778, no folio number.

38 Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976), vol. 2, 386–7.

39 Cerman, 'La noblesse de Bohême dans l'Europe française', 375–9. The set of extant examples to which I refer may constitute only a small fragment of the whole original literary output of aristocratic women.

her travels to Italy, as well as a series of educational plans, essays on education and numerous letters to her friends and father.

I believe that most of this feminine literature has not been discovered yet and that it was women who wrote the bulk of francophone aristocratic literature in the hereditary lands. Although francophone aristocratic women in Habsburg central Europe never produced an accomplished work in the form of a book or a poem or published anything in print, there are grounds for treating them as authentic writers. What entitles us to consider their family letters, reflections, educational tracts, travel diaries, essays and other unclassified pieces which originated from the everyday life of the Austrian aristocracy as part of a literature is that they addressed a wider public, pursued aesthetic aims and wrote in a distinctive style.

Two modes of literature?

The private writing of female aristocrats was not the only sort of francophone literary activity in the Bohemian aristocratic milieu. Between the 1760s and the 1830s, members of this class would also use French to write novels, poems and essays. Many such works were published, but even if they were not their authors still took pains to conceive them as accomplished literary writings, not merely as letters written for a single performance. They conformed to the genres of the time, such as the novel, the travel account, the oriental tale, the poem, the poetic *impromptu* and chivalric epic, and they certainly differed from the above-mentioned *écrits du for privé* [private writings].

By attempting to rehabilitate letters and various manuscript essays as branches of literature, we run the risk of obscuring the fact that aristocrats also wrote works of art. The narrow notion of literature, which embraces only accomplished works, might be felt to contradict the broader notion, which encompasses even the private letter. And yet, we may question whether the two notions really do contradict one other. Bearing in mind

the fact that a significant portion of artistic literary work was also written in French, we should ask a further question: if French was used for writing public literary works, does that fact undermine our claim that French was a ‘language of proximity’?

It may help to answer both these questions if we look more closely at aristocratic writers and their works and apply a flexible concept of literature to them. The most problematic feature of this body of French texts is that the two types – the text produced for performance in the salon and the conventional literary text – were public to differing degrees. Just as there were different reading publics in eighteenth-century aristocratic society, ranging from a circle of family friends to the general literate public, so too there were varying degrees of publicness, ranging from a note on a piece of paper to a printed book. The form in which a text exists, manuscript or printed, is not always the key that enables us to decide whether it addresses the public or not. In the archives of Lolo Clary (to whom I return in the last section of this chapter), for example, there are poems, in French, which were printed as leaflets and distributed only within a narrow circle of family friends. Clary’s novel *Mémorial de l’arche* [*Memoirs from the Ark*] (1831), on the other hand, was written only in manuscript and chapters were distributed to various aristocratic ladies as letters.⁴⁰ Franz Joseph Thun, an aristocrat with mystical inclinations, engaged in a quarrel with the Catholic priest Ignaz Spalt which was public, but both adversaries distributed their pamphlets as manuscripts.⁴¹ One could cite further examples of essays or novels which circulated for years as manuscripts before being printed. Moreover, the nature of literary texts was determined both by their addressees and by the ‘social milieu’ in which they originated. Bearing in mind all these characteristics, I propose the following table of co-ordinates

40 *Idem*, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 397–412; *idem*, “Instruire et plaire”. Lolo Clary-Aldringen et son oeuvre littéraire’, in Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stroeve and Catherine Viollet, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles. Perspectives littéraires, historiques et culturelles* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang 2012), 151–8.

41 *Idem*, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 369–76; *idem*, “‘Seeing in the Dark’: Franz Joseph Thun and His Encyclopedia”, *Central Europe* 10 (2012), 91–107.

in order to help us to determine the position of a work within the corpus of Bohemian texts written in French.⁴²

Social milieu in which the work originated	Form	Intended addressee	Communicative aim
Administrative public sphere (offices, army)	Print ↓ Manuscript	State or military officials	To be useful for the state
Salon		Aristocrats as private persons	To entertain
Solitude		Specialist public	To teach and inform the public, or to reflect or contemplate (in instances where the author writes the text as a soliloquy)

One of the reasons why I propose these co-ordinates is that I believe that the francophone authors and their works in French with which we are concerned here cannot be compartmentalized, because there are many borderline cases and because the extent to which a text was public is a complex matter. The four main categories that I use – the social origin of the text, its form, its intended addressee(s) and its communicative aim – may be combined in various ways. In terms of communicative aims, aristocratic literature may be divided into works which have utilitarian, entertaining or contemplative purpose. As far as the degree of publicity that a text enjoys is concerned, it is the product of its material form (handwritten or printed), its social origin and its intended public. Most importantly, the degree to which a text became public could be affected by the language chosen. The choice of Latin, French, German or Czech limited or changed the target audience.

42 I first proposed this table of co-ordinates in *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 282 and used it in my chapter “Instruire et plaire”: Lolo Clary-Aldringen et son œuvre littéraire, in Gretchanaia *et al.*, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles*, 152.

The co-ordinates applied here have their basis in real cases, some of them previously unknown, which I have found in archives and historical libraries. The general picture, which I have described in my monograph *Aristocratic Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, is inconsistent with the deep-rooted assumption that gallant literature for entertainment was the only sort of literature that aristocrats wrote.⁴³ Thus literature written in French represents just one part of the corpus of texts written by aristocrats, and the use of French is inextricably bound up with an author's selection of addressee(s) and communicative aim.

Both utilitarian works originating in state service and reflective works originating in solitude would be written in German. Reflective or scientific works intended for a narrow specialist public would sometimes be written in Latin. French was not the language of state administration, nor was it used by university and clerical scholars. As we shall see in the portraits of writers in the following section, French was used mainly in works whose aim was to entertain. The choice of French in works with other communicative aims was motivated by the intended addressee. Thus Joseph Nikolaus Windischgrätz wrote some of his philosophical tracts in French because he intended to address French and Scottish philosophers rather than local Bohemian scholars. The two esoteric writers Franz Joseph Thun and Leopold Buquoy, who wrote mystical essays on spirits and visions, are a more difficult case.⁴⁴ All of their work can be regarded as purely private, reflective literature, since they did not show it to anyone else. They used German when writing mystical literature, but Buquoy wrote his poems in French. The most important of them is a philosophical poem, 'Sur l'homme' ['On Man'] (around 1780).⁴⁵ As these poems were aimed only at Buquoy himself, it is difficult to claim that his language choice was determined by the intended addressee. The choice of French in this instance cannot be definitively explained, but the fact that Buquoy chose French here for private reflections is consistent with our claim that French was used in the private sphere.

43 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*.

44 *Ibid.*, 275–85, 365–87.

45 *Ibid.*, 366–8.

Some patriotic writers, such as the soldier Franz Joseph Kinsky, it should be added, railed against the use of French as a literary and social language. Kinsky made Gallophobic attacks on French tutors and complained that Bohemian aristocrats succumbed to fashion, recruiting tutors from France as freely as they purchased horses from England.⁴⁶ However, since the habit of writing francophone literature was limited, it did not give rise to widespread public Gallophobia in the eighteenth century. Before the Revolution, France was vilified in handbooks on apologetic theology, as the centre from which Voltaire and his ilk disseminated irreligious ideas. Anti-French feelings did run high during the wars against France after the outbreak of the French Revolution, especially when French armies threatened the Austrian monarchy. French people living in the hereditary lands were considered dangerous and Emperor Francis II even ordered that they should all be registered by the authorities in those lands. In neither case, though, was anti-French feeling provoked by the excessive use of French; nor did the theologians attack the whole French nation, only the *philosophes*.

Aristocratic francophone writers: Conventional literature and philosophy

If we seek to classify Bohemian Francophone authors on the basis of our co-ordinates, we see that almost all of them share the same communicative aim, entertainment. There are, however, a number of exceptions to this rule. I shall discuss them later, but their existence is important, for they make it impossible to argue that aristocratic literature was merely an extension of salon conversation and that it had no other aim than to combat ennui. Such exceptions show that even the francophone element in aristocratic literature cannot be compartmentalized in a constrictive

46 Franz Joseph Kinsky, *Erinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand von einem Böhme* (Prague: W. Gerle, 1773) § 157.

schema. Nevertheless, the most prolific aristocratic authors writing in French did write in order to entertain.

This is true of the two fathers of francophone literature in Bohemia, Count Maximilian Joseph Lamberg⁴⁷ and Prince de Ligne, both of whom began to publish in the 1770s. Lamberg began his public career with parodies of scholarly articles, which he published in a collection with a Baroque title *Vanité de quelques unes de nos connoissances* [*The Vanity of Some of Our Knowledge*] (1766).⁴⁸ His most famous work, the *Mémorial d'un mondain* [*A Dandy's Diary*] (1774),⁴⁹ is sometimes considered a travel account, but it is in fact a rearrangement of earlier essays which were loosely connected to one another by the narrative of the author's visit to Corsica and Italy. Later, Lamberg turned to experimental novels, if we may call them that. Although his *Tablette fantastique* [*A Fantastical Table*]⁵⁰ or *Le Canot* [*The Boat*]⁵¹ addressed a more sophisticated readership, they still endeavoured to entertain rather than to investigate philosophical or scientific problems. What is important as far as Lamberg's language choice is concerned is that his mother was a francophone lady from the Austrian Netherlands, the daughter of the Marquis de Prié, who was himself of Italian origin. Lamberg never wrote a line in German; everything he wrote was in French. The German translation of his *Dandy's Diary* – *Tagebuch eines Weltmanns* – was done by a Bavarian scholar without Lamberg's consent.⁵² As for the Belgian Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne, who settled in Bohemia in 1794, he was a high-ranking military officer in the service of the House of Austria and for that reason most of his published works had to do with military matters

47 On Lamberg, see Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 285–302.

48 Maximilien Joseph Count Lamberg, *Vanité de quelques unes de nos connoissances* (Paris, 1766, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, His.Lit.U. 157m).

49 *Idem*, *Mémorial d'un mondain* (Cap Corse [i.e. Frankfurt am Main], 1774).

50 *Idem*, *Tablettes fantastiques, ou Bibliothèque très particulière pour quelques pays et pour quelques hommes* (Dessau: Librairie des Savants, 1782).

51 [*Idem*], *Le canot. Ou Lettres de Mama Bergx. Par l'auteur du Memorial d'un mondain* (Vienna: Kurzböck, 1782).

52 *Idem*, *Tagebuch eines Weltmanns*, translated by Heinrich Leopold Wagner (Frankfurt am Main: bey den Eichenbergischen Erben, 1775).

and discussed questions pertinent to state service, but he also produced a great many entertaining gallant romances, short stories and plays aimed at aristocratic society which were written in French.⁵³

Franz Anton Count Hartig, who belonged to the next generation, made his career not in the army but in the diplomatic service.⁵⁴ Hartig was not a native speaker of French and he soon exchanged this foreign language for German, probably for patriotic reasons. He embarked on a literary career when poor health compelled him to abandon his diplomatic career; thus literature was a consolation of a sort for failure in state service. Hartig first addressed the public in a French essay of 1774 in which he urged women to devote themselves to study and literary activities. (The essay was anonymous, so we cannot actually say that Hartig made his name through it.) He then remained silent for several years, until he was persuaded to resume writing by the physician and writer Jean-Philippe Limbourg, whose acquaintance he made during a stay in Spa in 1782. In the years after that he published a series of poems in a francophone journal based in Liège, the *Esprit des journaux* [*A Reader's Digest*], and then two of his most celebrated works appeared, a travel account, *Lettres sur la France, l'Angleterre et Italie* [*Letters on France, England and Italy*] (1785), and *Kurze historische Betrachtungen über die Aufnahme und Verfall der Feldwirtschaft bey verschiedenen Völkern* [*Brief Historical Essays on the Rise and Fall of Agriculture in Various Nations*] (1786). The first, a series of letters addressed to an unknown friend – probably Limbourg – and published anonymously, was written in French, a language commonly chosen for this popular genre.

53 Charles Joseph de Ligne, *Mélanges militaires, littéraires et sentimentales*, 35 vols (Dresden: frères Walter, 1795–1811). De Ligne's manuscripts have been published in a critical edition by a Belgian team of philologists based in Brussels. The team describe their work at <www.chjdeligne-integral-34melanges.be> (accessed on 02.11.2013). Some of the manuscripts have also been published in collections of his works by various editors.

54 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 323–41. Hartig's work has been discussed from the point of view of the history of the book by Claire Madl, 'L'écrit, le livre et la publicité. Les engagements d'un aristocrate éclairé de Bohême: Franz Anton Hartig (1758–1797)' (doctoral thesis at EHESS, 2007).

(A German translation appeared in 1786.⁵⁵) The *Letters* include poems in French from the *Esprit des journaux* and a eulogy to Voltaire, who is deified as God of Enlightenment. Hartig's *Brief Historical Essays*, on the other hand, were written in German. (A French translation was done by a different scholar without Hartig's permission.⁵⁶) This book in fact marked the end of Hartig's career as a francophone writer: subsequently he only reassembled earlier short pieces that he had written in French and published them in Liège under the apt title *Mélange de vers et de prose* [*A Miscellany of Verse and Prose*] (1788).⁵⁷ In his later years, he used only German, in which he wrote scientific articles on such subjects as air quality, and – after his health had again let him down – a collection of Baroque poems on death, which were published posthumously. Contemporary testimonies inform us that Hartig was actually not fluent in French, and nobody understood why he was writing his works in that language. Nevertheless, he continues to be regarded in Czech historiography as a typical francophone aristocrat, for that is how he described himself in the short autobiography that he wrote upon his admission to the Bohemian Society of Sciences. He claimed that he had spoken only French in his early childhood and that he did not become familiar with German until he was an adult.⁵⁸

I shall now turn to francophone writers who did not write for entertainment. The last two representatives of the generation of contemporaries of Joseph II were marginal francophone authors who were both army officers and who wrote, paradoxical as it may seem, for mainly utilitarian purposes. Such patriotic authors, whose works arose out of their civilian

55 I have not been able to locate this German translation in the holdings of present-day libraries. It is discussed in Thomas Grosser, *Reiseziel Frankreich. Deutsche Reiseliteratur von Barock bis zur französischen Revolution* (Opladen: Westsd. Verlag, 1989), 86–7.

56 Franz Anton Graf von Hartig, *Observations historiques sur les progrès et la décadence de l'agriculture chez différents peuples*, translated by Fis-Cd Le Roy de Rozembrune (Vienna: Gräffer, 1789).

57 *Idem, Mélange de vers et de prose* (Paris [Liège]: Chez les libraires associés; Chez F. J. Desoer, 1788).

58 Madl, 'L'écrit, le livre et la publicité', 104–13; Archiv Akademie věd České republiky, files of the Royal Bohemian Association of Sciences (KČSN), box 79, inventory no. 375, 'Skizze der wichtigsten Ereignisse meines Lebens [...]'.

or military service, tended to reject French vigorously and to insist on writing in German. There was one exception among those who published their work, the obscure author of a booklet *Reflexions politiques et militaires* [*Political and Military Reflections*] (1785).⁵⁹ His choice of French can only be explained by a wish to address an international public. The author introduces himself as Count George Browne, a lieutenant in the service of Her Imperial Majesty. Though he certainly comes from an Irish military family, it is not clear which of the Brownes that could be. His work is a strange reflection on the future of the military profession, in which he predicted that strong armies and modern technology would deter monarchs from fighting one another and prevent Europe from entering again into large-scale continental warfare. The sort of rapid marches across a continent, major victories and bold conquests which made Alexander the Great renowned were impossible now. It was a cruel irony of fate that he made this prophecy immediately before the Napoleonic Wars, which proved him completely wrong. A much more prolific military writer – although he never published anything in print – was Prince Philip Joseph Liechtenstein, who attracted the attention of his contemporaries through his scholarly study of the French Revolution.⁶⁰ His work too is divided into a francophone and germanophone part. He used German for practical essays and projects pertaining to military service and for notices on history or law in various countries. French he used for excerpts from an *Almanach littéraire* [*Literary Almanac*], an important literary review published between 1777 and 1793 by Pierre-Louis d'Aquin, and for essays on Voltaire, Diderot and Simon Linguet. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, Liechtenstein left military service and set out on an information-gathering journey to France. The result of his inquiry was a long

59 [Johann Georg Browne], *Reflexions politiques et militaires* par monsieur le comte de Browne, lieutenant au service de l'empereur, I–II (A Prague, imprimé par Antoine Hladky, an Caroline, MDCCLXXXV). (Národní knihovna České republiky, Prague, shelf-number adl XLVII F 62): see Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 320–2.

60 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 583–602; Jakob Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses Liechtenstein*, 3 vols (Vienna: Braumüller 1882), vol. 3, 280–1. Falke does not discuss Liechtenstein's literary and philosophical works.

manuscript *Mémoire raisonné sur la Révolution française* [A *Philosophical Memorandum on the French Revolution*] written in June 1794.⁶¹ The choice of language in this case may be explained by the subject-matter and by the fact that Liechtenstein had lived for several years in France in order to gain personal experience of life in a country ravaged by war. The essay rejects conspiracy theories about the origins of the revolution. After explaining how the revolution began, Liechtenstein turns mainly to the international situation. Finally, he proffers advice to the Austrian command on the further conduct of the war. He advocates a separate peace with France and believes that the revolutionary regime will crumble as soon as the external threat to France disappears.

The last prolific francophone writer of the late eighteenth century was the above-mentioned Joseph Nikolaus Windischgrätz, who differed from the other writers I have examined by virtue of his systematic concern with philosophy.⁶² He never wrote a piece of poetry, a short story or any work in one of the genres of imaginative literature. In our system of co-ordinates his texts would belong to those following reflective aims and addressing a narrow or specialist public. However, in this case the author's choice of French clearly showed that he was addressing the international reading public rather than Bohemian scholars. Windischgrätz developed the habit of writing in French during his stay in Belgium, where he moved after the death of his first wife. His second wife came from the Belgian francophone family of the dukes of Arenberg, which might have made him opt for French. Nevertheless, he began his philosophical career in German,

61 Haus-Archiv Liechtenstein, Vienna, box 571, Manuscript no. 16.

62 See Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 341–4; *idem*, 'Moral Anthropology of Joseph Nikolaus Windischgrätz', in Cerman *et al.*, eds, *The Enlightenment in Bohemia*, 169–89; Martina Ondo-Grečenková, 'Les formules générales de tous les contrats imaginables. Un débat dans la république des lettres sur la réforme de la société', in Antony Strugnell and Jonathan Mallinson, eds, *The Influence of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003), 271–89; *idem*, 'Le réseau épistolaire scientifique européen de Joseph Nicolas von Windischgrätz', in *La plume et la toile. Pouvoirs et réseaux de correspondance dans l'Europe des Lumières*, ed. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2002), 289–305.

and one version of his philosophical programme was written in Latin. His larger tracts, which discuss questions of philosophical anthropology, were written around 1790.⁶³ Windischgraetz was exceptional too in his attempt to transmit the ideas of French sensualism to the Habsburg hereditary lands. He also ventured into the domain of political philosophy. During the Brabant Revolution of 1787–90, which sought to prevent Joseph II from carrying out his reforms in Belgium, Windischgraetz published a philosophical critique of Josephist despotism, which was, however, formulated in general terms and did not mention the enlightened monarch by name. During the French Revolution he also published pamphlets against the revolution and secret societies.

The next generation of aristocratic francophone authors in Bohemia, who were born at the end of the eighteenth century, already belongs to the Age of Romanticism. This generational change is evident in the formal features of their imaginative writing, in which the story is no longer used to link loosely rearranged autobiographical anecdotes and essays, as was the case with Lamberg, de Ligne and Hartig, who all proceeded from their own experiences. In Romantic aristocratic literature in Bohemia, the story becomes the central focus of the narrative and the characters of the story are fictional. In spite of this development, these writers did not publish their work; everything they wrote remained in manuscript form. French was still used by authors aiming at entertainment, but there were also some natural scientists who used French in private essays which remained in manuscript form. The botanist Count Franz Adam Waldstein, for example, while he published a voluminous work on the flora of Hungary in Latin, also penned a French refutation of the philosophy of Claude Adrien Helvétius.⁶⁴ His colleague Caspar Count Sternberg, a paleobotanist, wrote a French account of his journey to the Tirolean Alps, although he decided

63 [Josef Niklas] comte de Windisch-Graetz, *Solution provisoire d'un problème ou Histoire métaphysique de l'organisation animale* (Nuremberg: Georg Friedrich Six, 1789); *idem*, *De l'âme, de l'intelligence et de la liberté de la volonté* (Strasbourg: J. G. Treuttel, 1790).

64 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 417–23.

to publish the work in German (his original French notes were kept as a private manuscript in his archive).⁶⁵

Authors of the generation writing in the early 1800s who aimed to entertain are perhaps even more numerous than those in previous decades, but they wrote only a few occasional pieces for salon gatherings and their works remained in manuscript form. They included the circle that congregated around Giacomo Casanova and the ageing Prince de Ligne in Teplice spa. There was Karolina Ferdinandi, the mistress of Count Franz Adam Waldstein,⁶⁶ and Lolo Clary-Aldringen. Waldstein himself wrote entertaining literature, though only in German. In Moravia there was Prince Alois Kaunitz, the author of occasional poems. There was also Countess Alexandra Shuvalova, who is an exceptional case in the context of the Bohemian Lands.⁶⁷ She married Prince Johann Karl von Dietrichstein and followed him to Moravia but left him and lived as an independent writer in Italy. She wrote a number of plays in French for aristocratic coteries, a diary from the time of her youth in St Petersburg, entertaining essays and an epistolary novel, but what particularly attracted attention was a cycle of stories in which she tried to reveal national character through a love story relating to each European nation. Of these her 'Amour russe', 'Amour allemand' and 'Amour autrichien' ['Russian Love', 'German Love', 'Austrian Love'] have survived. In later years, after she had converted to Catholicism, she wrote a reflection on religion in French.

The supreme representative of francophone aristocratic literature in Bohemia, however, was Lolo Clary-Aldringen, the grandson of the Prince de Ligne and an admirer of Casanova.⁶⁸ Lolo Clary's mother, Marie Christine Clary, was the daughter of Prince de Ligne, and therefore French was Lolo's mother tongue. In his unpublished novels and short stories the story

65 *Ibid.*, 427–46; Rita Krueger, *Czech, German and Noble. Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

66 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 387–93.

67 *Ibid.*, 394–7; Martina Musilová, 'Contes, romans et journaux inédites de la princesse Alexandrine von Dietrichstein, née comtesse Chouvalova', in Gretchanania *et al.*, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles*, 159–72.

68 Cerman, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století*, 397–411.

becomes a self-sufficient element of the literary work; it no longer serves as a pretext for connecting anecdotes or essays, as it had in Lamberg. Nor does Clary pretend that he is relating his own adventures, as writers of travel accounts usually did. His characters are fully-fledged and fictional. What also makes him exceptional among francophone Bohemian writers is the subject-matter of his fiction, for he was inspired by the social life of the Austrian aristocracy of his time. He also penned a series of voluminous diaries, covering an immensely long period from about 1795 to 1829, in which he portrayed various personages he had encountered in salons in Vienna and Prague and in the course of his travels to France, Italy and Switzerland.

Clary began writing at the age of fifteen. His first literary pieces were plays for salon society and short sketches. These evolved into an epistolary novel called *Roman en lettres* [*Novel in Letters*], which offers an alternative version of the plot of Pierre Laclos's *Liaisons dangereuses* [*Dangerous Liaisons*].⁶⁹ Clary's story, though, is set in contemporary Vienna, in 1803. His characters bear fictional names, but their world is a realistic description of the aristocratic salon and the Viennese townscape. Lolo was actually building not on Laclos's French original but on another alternative version written by Prince de Ligne. However, unlike his grandfather, who let his main characters be improved by the power of the Christian religion, Lolo had his characters moved by love.⁷⁰ This contrast with the perspective of his grandfather underlines the differences between the Late Enlightenment and Romanticism. Lolo suspended his literary work in 1810, when he was sent by Emperor Francis I to Paris to announce the conclusion of Marie

69 SOA, Litoměřice, liaison Děčín, Family archives Clary-Aldringen, box 184, inventory no. 326, Karl Josef Clary-Aldringen, *Roman en lettres* (1803).

70 Charles-Joseph de Ligne, 'Lettres de Fédor à Alphonsine', in *Oeuvres romanesques*, ed. Valerie van Crugten-André, 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), vol. 2, 199–376. See Valerie van Crugten-André, 'Prolégomènes à l'édition critique des "Lettres de Fédor à Alphonsine"', *Nouvelles Annales Prince de Ligne* 14 (2001), 115–32. The epistolary novel had previously been published in 1921, when it was given its modern title: see Félicien Leuridant, ed., *Lettres de Fédor à Alphonsine* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1921).

Louise's marriage by proxy to Napoleon.⁷¹ He aspired to turn this mission into an extended educational journey across France and Switzerland, and described it in a long travel diary written in French and embellished with his own cartoons. Although this diary was clearly intended for publication, and manuscripts in the family archives prove that Clary reworked it several times, no publication actually came of it in his lifetime. For many years he wrote no more fiction and in any case was preoccupied with the administration of his family property after the death of his father in 1826, but he unexpectedly returned to literature shortly before his own death. In 1831 he wrote his longest work, the *Mémorial de l'arche*, a collection of fictitious manuscripts which had supposedly been recovered from Noah's ark and which purported to recount stories told by passengers on the ark, as if the vessel had been an aristocratic salon where everybody had to combat boredom.⁷²

Thus aristocratic literature written in French represents an interesting part of the literature of the time of the Czech Revival. The literary models, topics, language and forms preferred by aristocrats were unusual in the Czech context, but they conformed to trends in international literature in French. Bearing this in mind, we may claim that aristocratic literature is a kind of missing link in Czech literary history, which otherwise seems to be quite parochial at this period. Francophone writers of entertaining literature improved their art so that they progressed from autobiographical stories to pure fiction; from loosely connected anecdotes to full-fledged stories. On the other hand, literature in French failed to attract public interest. Whereas the first francophone writers managed to publish their primitive works in print in the 1770s and 1780s, their successors in the early 1800s

71 Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen, *Souvenirs du prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen. Trois mois à Paris lors du mariage de l'empereur Napoléon Ier et archiduchesse Marie Louise* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1914). The publication contains only passages relating to Clary's journey through France and has nothing on his travels in Switzerland.

72 SOA Litoměřice, liaison Děčín, Family Archives Clary-Aldringen, box 183, inventory no. 326, Karl Josef Clary-Aldringen, *Mémorial de l'arche*, 1831. My article "Instruire et plaire", which is cited in n. 40 above, provides a short overview of Clary-Aldringen's literary work.

did not succeed in finding publishers for their elaborate works. The whole corpus of works of the Romantic generation remained in manuscript form and the following generation ceased to use French write even for private literary pieces. French did continue, though, to be used as a language of private conversation.

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How should we answer the question posed at the beginning of this chapter? How are we to reconcile the function of French as a private language and its function as a literary language? In the Bohemian Lands French was in fact spoken only in the private sphere, and its use was strictly limited and barred in administration of the state. Its use at court ceremonies may be explained by the connection between the court and the Habsburg household. It was natural that it should be used in the administration of the francophone Austrian Netherlands and in diplomacy.

The use of French in literature, however, was also limited. The permissible options are clarified by the table of co-ordinates I have proposed, which help us to grasp the dynamic of literary texts that were not printed and the degree to which they were public. It was mainly the author's communicative aim that determined whether French was used. French was employed by those who intended to entertain. There were also exceptional cases, such as that of the philosopher Windischgraetz, who opted for French to address the international reading public, and the authors of a few private writings, such as Buquoy and Waldstein, which were not published in print. In Waldstein's case, the choice of French was determined by the intended addressee. However, it should be noted that even in these cases the purpose of using French was not to reach the public in the author's own land, that is to say in the Habsburg hereditary lands. As the language of performative and manuscript literature, French was still used to communicate within the private spheres of the aristocracy. As a literary language of printed public works, finally, French enabled the author to address other aristocrats abroad or an international readership.

9 Francophonies in Spain

In the eyes of our research group,¹ ‘francophonie’ seems a notion that is both foreign and too close to home. This may be because it takes us back to *Hispanidad* [Spanishness], an idea originally linked to a race, then to a religion, Catholicism, and finally to a political definition which made Spain a ‘unit of universal destiny’ during a dictatorship over the period 1939–76. The two notions, ‘francophonie’ and ‘Hispanidad’, were created in the midst of the decolonization period in order to safeguard commercial or diplomatic links and, as the cause required, cultural links as well among peoples who spoke a common language (Spanish or French) and in the face of the growing influence of anglophone cultures.²

Our mistrust of the conception of francophone countries as countries ‘sharing the use of French and respect for universal values’³ comes from our wariness of a specific vision of people as being associated with a history, a

- 1 LEETHI (*Littératures Espagnoles et Européennes du Texte à l’Hypermédia*; website at <<http://www.ucm.es/info/leethi>>) is a research group based in the Complutense University in Madrid. In accordance with their respective fields of expertise, the co-authors of this chapter have been responsible for coverage of material in the following way: Pablo for the period from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, Sanz for the eighteenth century, Regueiro for the nineteenth and Carrasco for the twentieth. Our contribution to the volume has been made possible by the support of the Ministry of Education and Innovation in Spain (Grant no. FFI2012–34666).
- 2 D. Murphy and C. Forsdick, eds, *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction* (London: Hodder Arnold Publication, 2003), 3.
- 3 According to the official formulation of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie [International Francophonie Organization], ‘Qui sommes-nous?’, in *La voix de la diversité*, at <<http://www.francophonie.org/Qui-sommes-nous.html>> (accessed on 26.12.2012).

culture and a language, in this instance French,⁴ for we know very well how dangerous this ideology can become. The identification of the Castilian language with a national conception, imperial and Catholic, gave rise some decades ago to firing squads and four centuries ago it launched genocides.

At the same time we could welcome new institutional strategies which seek, on the one hand, to promote the defence of French together with other languages, in the name of politically correct linguistic diversity, rather than in opposition to them and, on the other hand, to defend French as a second language and, for all that, a language that has become international in the course of its history. But the study of the French language (or rather, ‘French languages’) used in other places and in former times, which we broach here, ought rather to contribute to a denationalization and disempowerment of French, a delocalization of social groups who speak the language outside France and, finally, an interlinking of cultural differences which have existed and continue to exist at the heart of the French nation and beyond the territory of France.⁵

As far as the importation of French into Spain is concerned, we shall be interested first and foremost in the ways in which French was used and how it functioned as a second language ‘of culture’, each period requiring special treatment. We should take account, first of all, of political factors. We have in mind the consequences of the struggle for hegemony between Spain (which was dominant in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) and France (dominant in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and the presence of the Bourbon dynasty on the Spanish throne from 1700 to the present day. We shall also examine the profile of French immigrant communities in Spain up to the eve of the French Revolution of 1789. We shall study the spread of French culture, which far exceeds the use of the French language. Lastly, we shall analyse the ties that linked people who

4 These are the positions of Nowicki, Mayaux and Wolton in the preface and afterword in Joanna Nowicki and Catherine Mayaux, eds, *L’Autre Francophonie* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012).

5 We are taking up the arguments of Christian MacDonald and Susan Rubin Sulleiman, *French Global: A New Approach to Literary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011): see especially ix–xxi.

were for the most part intellectuals to a conception of French culture which seemed to them eminently European.

Political and human contacts between France and Spain

Geographical proximity had made for the presence of the French language and French culture in Spain from as far back as the Middle Ages. The road from France to Santiago de Compostela attracted pilgrims from across the border who became integrated into the population of Spain.⁶ French religious orders, the Clunians and Cistercians, also settled in Spain. With the former, who were placed under the protection of the kings of Navarre and León, Hispanic and Mozarabic Rite was replaced by Latin or Roman Rite and Visigothic Spanish script by Carolingian. With the latter, from the second half of the twelfth century, congregations were created, with royal support, that have lasted to the present day.

From the point of view of trade, the frontier regions also established the first regular contacts with France, such as the exchange of raw materials, wine and cloth between the Cantabrian coast and French Brittany from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and between Provence and Languedoc, on the one hand, and Catalonia and Valencia, on the other. This led to the foundation of French consulates in various Spanish cities: in Seville and Barcelona in 1578, Cádiz in 1581 and Valencia in 1593. During this time the Spaniards also established themselves at Nantes, which had privileged trading relations with Bilbao. (Historians disagree so much among themselves

6 As shown in the twelfth-century *Historia Turpini*, which relates the conquests of Charlemagne and Roland at Pamplona and even their arrival at Padrón in Galicia thanks to the assistance of St James. The *Historia* was incorrectly attributed to Turpin, an eighth-century monk and treasurer at St Denis and later Archbishop of Reims. Although the book was originally part of the *Codex Calixtinus*, it has been widely disseminated as a free-standing work.

that it is not possible precisely to quantify these contacts.⁷) In 1561, when the court moved permanently to Madrid, this city was transformed into another centre in which immigrants were received, like Seville and Cádiz, where a large number of French people – diplomats, ambassadors, shopkeepers and young unmarried men working as salesmen, tailors, bakers or pastry-cooks – began to settle because of the importance of the trade with America.

In the sixteenth century, after the accession of Charles V as King of the Spains, the Spanish monarchy was linked to the Netherlands, where the language of the Flemish organs of government (the Council of Malines and the Court with the Governor in Brussels) was French. Henceforth, in order to be able to speak this language in diplomatic missions, the Spanish kings surrounded themselves with francophone secretaries who could act as interpreters, and who generally came from Franche-Comté or Burgundy. In addition, marriage policy was used as a form of currency to underwrite peace treaties between nations. Thus the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) settled the marriage of Philip II and Elizabeth of Valois, the daughter of Henry II of France. In 1615, Louis XIII married Anne of Austria, while Philip IV married Anne's sister Elizabeth of Bourbon. In 1659, the Peace of the Pyrenees ended the war begun in 1635 and Louis XIV married the infant Maria-Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV.

In reality, though, it was mostly war that brought the two peoples into contact during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through the confrontation between the Austrian Empire and the Valois and Bourbon dynasties, all of whom had an interest in the same enclaves for political, economic and religious reasons which led them almost always to take the side of opposing factions. In times of peace, the areas close to Catalonia and Aragon received the greatest number of French people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁸ while some Spaniards sought refuge

7 Albert Girard, *Le commerce français à Séville et Cadix au temps des Habsbourg. Contribution à l'étude du commerce des étrangers en Espagne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Thèse principale présentée à la Faculté des lettres de Paris* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1932).

8 Asensio Gutiérrez, *La France et les Français dans la littérature espagnole: Un aspect de la xénophobie en Espagne (1598–1665)* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1977).

in France for religious reasons. However, exchange of the latter sort did not take place in the other direction, from France to Spain, because of the power of the Spanish Inquisition. Thus the Huguenots took refuge in Protestant and German principalities or in England, but they were never present in Spain. That would be one of the reasons why there was a dearth of teachers who were native speakers of French in Spain up to the end of the eighteenth century.

Hostilities between France and Spain ended with the accession of Philip V of Bourbon, the grandson of Louis XIV, to the Spanish throne after the War of Succession (1700–14). The controversial ‘alliance’ between French and Spanish Bourbons in the name of so-called ‘family’ pacts gave absolute primacy to France, with Spain playing a supporting role, despite diplomatic displays and princes’ visits. A whole courtly literature, written to order, put forward the official line about flattening the Pyrenees, the credit for this development going to the French monarchy. However, on the intellectual and cultural levels, there were incessant reminders of the two nations’ age-old antipathy towards each another.

In the eighteenth century, French immigration into Spain was concentrated in Andalusia (3,978 people, mostly tradesmen) and above all in Aragon (6,950 people, craftsmen for the most part, who in the main came first from the western Pyrenees and later from the Massif Central, according to data gathered between 1774 and 1791).⁹ Increasingly, we see a recurrence of conditions that obtained around 1600: that is to say, the influx of people, most of them of common origin, who emanated from the south of France (the Pyrenees, the Auvergne, Languedoc, Roussillon) and who used the Oc languages and patois. The censuses carried out in Spain as a prelude to the post-revolutionary reprisals there showed the French migrants were more likely to get married in Spain if they had left France when they were young and single. Recent research thus demolishes

9 [Collective work], *Les Français en Espagne à l'époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: CNRS, 1990), especially 158–9; J. Nadal and E. Giralt, *La population catalane de 1553 à 1717. L'immigration française et les autres facteurs de son développement* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1960).

the previously unchallenged view that migrants eventually went back to the hamlets where they had been born in order to enjoy the fruits of their labours in tranquillity.¹⁰ We are dealing, then, with a community which had become integrated in Spain and which in the process had lost its language.

Admittedly, the French colony in Spain was noticeably reduced and the flow of immigrants interrupted after the expulsions of French people from Spain in 1791 and 1793, which followed on from the frights caused by the events of the French Revolution. In Seville, the Inquisition ordered surveillance of 'blacksmiths, knife-grinders and other itinerant tradesmen', who were suspected of being liable to 'circulate the maxims of those detestable Frenchmen who are so fanatical about their licentious liberty'.¹¹ But it is the presence of French people in Cádiz that historians find most perplexing, so widely do figures and interpretations differ.¹² According to one point of view, these merchants, who were reputed to be poorly integrated and driven solely by the pursuit of wealth, would not have lived in a place which no longer offered them the advantageous conditions they enjoyed before 1778: once they had made their fortunes in local branches, it is supposed, they would return home to trade at the seat of the family firm or to acquire public offices.¹³ According to another

10 Abel Poitrineau, 'Le migrant, l'Espagne et le notaire', in *Les Français en Espagne à l'époque moderne*, 139–53.

11 Lucien Domergue, 'Les Français à Séville en 1791', in *Les Français en Espagne à l'époque moderne*, 229–40, and Jean Sarrailh, *L'Espagne éclairée dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), 301.

12 From Didier Ozanam 'La Colonie Française de Cadix au XVIIIe siècle, d'après un document inédit (1777)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 4/4 (1968), 311–47, to Arnaud Bartolomei, *La Bourse et la vie. Destin collectif et trajectoires individuelles des marchands français de Cadix, de l'instauration du 'comercio libre' à la disparition de l'empire espagnol (1778–1824)* (doctoral thesis at the University of Aix-Marseille 1, 2007).

13 This is the old argument put forward by Albert Girard, *Le commerce français à Séville et à Cadix au temps des Habsbourg*. The year 1778 was the date at which the situation is thought by Arnaud Bartolomei (cited in the preceding note) to have changed.

point of view, though, examples of individual behaviour entitle us to take a different view of their attachment to the city in which they had settled: they put down professional roots there and became integrated into the life of the city or completely assimilated through marriage.¹⁴ We may thus conclude that French merchants tended to prolong their stay. If they were not married, then they remained for commercial reasons, waiting (sometimes in vain) to be replaced by another generation. It is true that although they were firmly rooted in Cádiz French merchants were only very superficially integrated into the local population and remained closely connected to their compatriots. They preserved their customs, their clubs and meeting-places, their chapels, the areas reserved for them in graveyards, four or five French bookshops among the twenty or so bookshops in Cádiz and, between 1769 and 1779, their theatre, which was financially supported by the merchant elite in the colony. Plays from the French classical repertoire and also works by Voltaire were performed at this theatre – a fact which put French merchants in the forefront of the process of secularization in Cádiz society. In sum, cultural practices seem, in Cádiz, to have differentiated the business elites (French, Spanish and other foreign elites), on the one hand, from the common people of the city, who could only have limited access to costly leisures in the French language, on the other. The split was therefore social rather than national or linguistic.

The court, for its part, liked to surround itself with foreign artists.¹⁵ Pierre Beaumarchais would have no difficulty in becoming integrated in Madrid into the milieu of French tradespeople around his father as well as in the royal palace; but he did not fail to point out that ‘prejudice against the practices of foreigners is taken to excess by the people

14 This is the new argument put forward by Bartolomei, *La Bourse et la vie*, 489.

15 For example, the eighteenth-century painter Anton Mengs, who enjoyed great fame in Spain, the sculptor Robert Michel, who headed the San Fernando Academy, and the architects Carlier and Jacques Marquet, who designed the Monastery of Las Salesas and the Post Office in Madrid. The Chinese porcelain factory Buen Retiro and the porcelain factory in Alcora set about imitating Sèvres with the help of a number of French artists.

in this country' and that 'the mocking and trenchant tone of most of the French people who come here greatly contributes to keeping up this sort of hatred: it is the bitterness which pays back mockery'.¹⁶ In this context, the French colony would not manage to impose its language on the native population.

The Spanish elites, for their part, were far from respecting the rules of the art of conversation or writing. Even a person who was very highly placed, like the Marquess of Santa-Cruz, a great lady of the court whose portrait was signed by Francisco de Goya, wrote letters to her lover, William Beckford, in a French which, while fluent, contained grammatical and spelling mistakes that betrayed an imperfect knowledge of the spoken and written language:

je me suis promené ce matin solitairement avec mon Don Pedro au Sitio, sur toutes les colines qui entourent Aranjuez, je me suis assie a considérer les environs, pensent continuellement a vous, j'étais très fatigué de ma promenade, et bien triste des réflexions que je fesoit, j'ay vu hier M. le Renard au moment que je m'en allait de chés Portugal, je lui ai remis le pase port, lui disant qu'il pouvait se servir d'exemple, nous voirons ce qu'il me dira ce soire [...].

[I went for a walk alone this morning with my Don Pedro to the Sitio, over all the hills around Aranjuez, I sat down to look at the surroundings, thinking all the time about you, I was worn out by my walk, and my thoughts made me very sad, I saw Mr le Renard yesterday as I was leaving the home of Portugal, I gave him my passport telling him that it could be a model, we'll see what he says to me this evening [...].]¹⁷

The French presence was also in evidence in the economic domain in eighteenth-century Spain. Royal advisers such as François de Cabarrus and renowned French engineers laboured to improve industry and business practices. Spanish societies for the improvement of agriculture, industry and the arts, European in outlook and with international connections,

16 Beaumarchais, 'Lettre au duc de la Vallière (Madrid, 27 décembre 1764)', in Louis de Loménie, *Beaumarchais et son temps* (Paris: Michel Léry Frères, 1856), 502–7.

17 Quoted by Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2001), 315.

counted Frenchmen – jurists, diplomats, doctors, men of science, military men and engineers – among their members.¹⁸

From the nineteenth century on, though, this movement would be reversed. It was Spaniards who would seek first political and then economic asylum in France. These are the Spaniards, moreover, who would become francophone.

Henceforth, political and aesthetic currents would be marked by Gallophilia or Gallophobia. Thus after the war against Napoleon's army, when anti-French feeling in Spain was at its height, and then with the return of the absolutism of Ferdinand VII and the subsequent exile of liberal intellectuals, some authors tried to sow the Spanish cultural desert with translations from French. Besides, liberal Spanish intellectuals would not take up the ideology of Romanticism, because it was so closely linked to tradition and to the crown, even though some ideas from German Romanticism had entered Spain through the German writer Böhl de Faber, who lived there. Only after the death of Ferdinand would Romanticism triumph in Spain, and then it was thanks to the return of the exiles who brought back in their luggage all the writings of the French Romantics, the last fruits of the July Revolution of 1830. Add to this the references to French works in the press, studies like those of the naturalist novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán on French literature or the French tale,¹⁹ contacts between writers in the two countries (Prosper Mérimée with the Duke de Rivas and Alcalá Galiano, Honoré de Balzac with Martínez de la Rosa or Alexandre Dumas, Frédéric Soulié and Eugène Scribe with Eugenio de Ochoa), or the frequent travels of Spanish writers in France (Modesto Lafuente, Mor de Fuentes, Ochoa, Salas y Quiroga, Larra) and of French writers in Spain (Dumas, Victor Hugo, François-René de

18 Jorge Demerson, 'Los extranjeros en la Real Sociedad Económica Vascongada de los Amigos del País 1765–1792', in *Las Reales Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del país y su obra* (San Sebastián: G. Izarra, 1972), 43–52.

19 In *La España moderna* (Madrid, 1889–1914) she published an overview of French literature and in the weekly review *La caricatura* (Madrid, 1892–3) she has a section on 'French tales'.

Chateaubriand, Mérimée) – then we see that the presence of France in Spain was constant.²⁰

Nonetheless, we shall not find a Spanish literature in French, in the way that we find literatures in French in other European countries, such as Russia. The only exception is the novel *La Gaviota* [*The Seagull*] by Cecilia Böhl de Faber (Fernán Caballero), which was originally written in French because the author was not Spanish by birth and felt more at ease in that language. The novel was translated into Spanish and became what some critics regard as the first Spanish realist novel. But we shall not find any other texts written in French, such as the sort of ego-documents (diaries, travel accounts and albums) that are found in other countries, even though the Spanish upper classes did do written exercises in the language, as Pardo Bazán reminds us.²¹

The nineteenth century would end and the twentieth would begin with a new wave of exiles. In 1889, France hosted its eighth Universal Exhibition in Paris. The country displayed itself, proud of its way of life, values and culture, but on the other side of the Pyrenees the contrast was colossal: Spain had just lost its colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines) after a war against the United States. Intellectuals who questioned the monarchic regime were subjected to criticism, sanctions and even exile. These Spanish émigrés would find a temporary solution to their economic problems in Paris by translating French works into Spanish, contributing to Spanish, French and Latin-American reviews or newspapers or teaching Spanish or giving guitar lessons.²² A number of publishing houses (Garnier, Bouret,

20 It should be noted, though, that Romanticism in Spain was not shaped by French literature alone. In its first phase (1814–34), German influence was strong, until French influence superseded it in the period 1834–50. In a later phase (so-called Second Romanticism, 1850–85), German sources were again influential, and also English sources.

21 Ana María Freire López, ‘La primera redacción, autógrafo e inédita, de los “Apuntes autobiográficos” de Emilia Pardo Bazán’, in *Cuadernos para investigación de la literatura hispánica* 26 (2001), 327.

22 Denise Fischer Hubert, ‘Traducciones españolas de los clásicos franceses publicadas en París (1890–1930)’, in Francisco Lafarga and Antonio Domínguez, eds, *Los clásicos franceses en la España del siglo XX: estudios de traducción y recepción* (Barcelona: PPU, 2001), 14.

Michaud, Ollendorf) published these Spaniards' translated works, which were at the very least of variable quality since they were often entrusted to the first comer. At the same time, the Spaniards frequented French writers' circles in Paris, and this would have its effect on Spanish literature: literary currents such as Symbolism, Modernism and Surrealism entered Spain thanks to these francophone Spaniards, who eventually went back home, but the French language did not come with them.

France, owing to its geographical proximity to Spain, would welcome many Spanish intellectuals after the Spanish Civil War and General Franco's victory in 1939. The tomb of the poet and francophone intellectual Antonio Machado, who taught French in a lycée and contributed to the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* [Institution of Free Teaching] and who died in 1939 at Collioure in southern France, is a silent witness to the fate that befell so many francophone Spaniards.

Spanish francophone communities therefore needed to be reconstituted after the Spanish Civil War, and from two angles. On the one hand, the French Lycée in Madrid became a place of refuge. It was an oasis where people were still free to criticize and a cultural sanctuary where rich libraries gave access to authors or ideas which were completely censored outside it. (There has been a continuous increase in students and enrolments in French lycées in Spain since Franco's victory in 1939, with the number of Spanish students exceeding the number of French in some establishments. There are now 4,000 students in Madrid and a network of twenty-four establishments in Spain as a whole, the most extensive in Europe.²³) On the other hand, there is the return of the exiles. The reunion of the francophone communities of Spaniards dates from the restoration of democracy to Spain after 1977. The 'fathers' of the Constitution had all had a francophone education from one of these angles or the other.

If French people and French-speakers in Spain as a whole have experienced many political vicissitudes and their social consequences, we should

23 [French Embassy in Spain], *125ème anniversaire du Lycée Français de Madrid*, at <http://ambafrance-es.org/france_espagne/spip.php?article4935> (accessed on 12.01.2013).

also examine other opportunities for French to be integrated, at clearly defined moments, into Spanish culture.

Learning French and integrating it

Interest in learning French began at a very early date in Spain, in the sixteenth century, in diplomatic and intellectual circles in the first instance. Texts designed to help people to learn French did circulate there, even if they were not printed. 'If', Ferdinand Brunot writes,

we find no traces in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain of French grammars aimed at foreigners, such as the grammar by Charles Maupas, then it is because [...] teachers were in the habit of providing the young gentlemen who were their pupils with manuscript versions of their teaching materials. When they came back, the [Spanish] travellers brought [with them] several copies to distribute to their friends.²⁴

In fact, teaching was carried out by tutors. Philip II himself was given lessons by the Fleming Jean Lhermitte. The Spanish ambassador to England, the bibliophile Diego Sarmiento, Count of Gondomar, spoke French and had 15,000 volumes in his library, including a rich collection of French books. Other men of learning, such as Juan de Lastanosa, Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado and Ximénez de Urrea, also owned numerous books in French.

The appearance of grammars and dictionaries demonstrates this interest in French. The first grammar of the French language to be published in Spanish was that of Baltasar de Sotomayor in 1565.²⁵ However, this was only an abridged reprint, with a few paragraphs translated into Spanish, of

24 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*, 13 vols (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966–79), vol. 5, 138.

25 *Gramática con reglas muy provechosas y necesarias para aprender a leer y escribir la lengua francesa, conferida con la castellana, con un vocabulario copioso de las mismas lenguas* (Alcalá de Henares: Pedro de Robles and Francisco de Cormellas, 1565). The

conjugations in four languages which had been published in 1558.²⁶ It was accompanied by a bilingual vocabulary attributed to Jacques Ledel or Juan de Liaño, but this was not original either, as it was based on a multilingual vocabulary of 1562. No other French grammar was produced in Spain during the whole of the sixteenth century, except for a grammar written by Baltasar Pérez del Castillo in the period 1563–78, which remained in manuscript form.²⁷ Having no other sources, its author relied on the *Traicté de la grammaire françoise* [*Treatise on French Grammar*] published by Robert Estienne in 1557 and 1569. There would be no new works until the early seventeenth century, when the *Grammatica francesca en hespañol* [*French Grammar in Spanish*] by the friar Diego de la Encarnación (or Diego de Cisneros, to give him his lay name) was published in 1624, appearing first at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands and reprinted eleven years later in Madrid. The next works to appear, which came from Pierre Paul Billet²⁸ and Jean-Pierre Jaron,²⁹ were written by Frenchmen who had settled in the Iberian Peninsula, at the court. It is from these works that we discover the motivation for learning French in seventeenth-century

vocabulary bore the title *Vocabulario de los vocablos que más comúnmente se suelen usar en francés, y su declaración en español*.

- 26 *Coniugaisons, règles et instructions mout propres et nécessairement requises pour ceux qui désirent apprendre françoise, Italien, Espagnol et Flamen* (Antwerp: Ian van Waesberghe, 1558).
- 27 We have made this work known and transcribed its contents in Luis Pablo-Núñez, 'Una gramática manuscrita inédita del Siglo de Oro para la enseñanza del francés a españoles: La gramática de Pérez del Castillo', in José Manuel García Martín, ed., *Estudios de Historiografía Lingüística* (Cádiz: Universidad, 2009), 551–64, and 'La gramática francesa de Baltasar Pérez del Castillo (s. XVI): edición y estudio', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 91/304 (2011), 275–323. On Liaño's vocabulary and Spanish-French dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Pablo Núñez, *El Arte de las palabras: Diccionarios e imprenta en el Siglo de Oro* (Badajoz: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2010).
- 28 Pierre Paul Billet, *Gramática francesa, dividida en dos partes* (Zaragoza: [no publisher], 1673). This work went through several editions up to 1718.
- 29 *Arte nuevamente compuesto de la lengua francesa por la española según la nueva corrección de Richelet* (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Baldivia, 1688).

Spain: ambassadors and businessmen were compelled to use French, which after Latin was the most universal language.³⁰

It is also worth mentioning plurilingual grammars, in which French was set alongside Spanish or Italian. The latter language enjoyed a certain prestige among courtiers and, being closer to Spanish, served as a means of initiation into French. Even if these grammars were produced for an Italian public, we know from copies that have been preserved in Spain that they were used by Spaniards too.³¹

As for dictionaries, either bilingual or plurilingual, they were published for the most part outside the Iberian Peninsula, in France or the Netherlands, up until the dictionary of Francisco de la Torre y Ocón in the early eighteenth century.³² However, we do know from inventories and copies that have been preserved that Hornkens's dictionaries, like those of Pallet and César Oudin, were widely used in Spain, as well as dozens of plurilingual lexicons comprising Spanish and French that were printed from 1520 on in the Netherlands (for example, the vocabularies of Berlaimont and the word-lists called *Vocabulista*).³³ A notable early example is Nicholao Landuchio's manuscript of 1562; this is a Spanish-French vocabulary in which French terms are not transcribed in their correct spelling but roughly as they are pronounced (for instance, *en terre* [earthen/clay] > anterra [*sic*]; *maître* [master] > metre; *faire* [to do] > fer, and so forth). This would have

30 'Aprobación' by Esteban Cruzado y Ferrer, in Billet, *Gramática francesa*.

31 This is the case, for example, with the grammars by Franciosini-Longchamps, *La Novissima Grammatica delle trè lingue, italiana, francese, spagnuola* (Venice: I Giunti, 1655), and Antonio Fabro, *Grammatica per imparare le lingue italiana, francese e spagnuola o Grammaire pour apprendre les langues italienne, françoise et espagnole* (Rome: Francois Corbelletti, 1626).

32 *El maestro de las dos lenguas, diccionario español y francés en dos tomos* (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan de Ariztia, 1728–31).

33 Heinrich Hornkens, *Recopilación de diccionarios franceses, españoles y latinos* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1599); Jean Pallet, *Dictionnaire tresample de la langue françoise et espagnole* (Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1604, and Brussels, 1606); César Oudin, *Thresor des deux langues françoise et espagnole* (Paris: Marc Orry, 1607, 1616, 1621–2; Brussels, 1624–5; Paris, 1645 and 1660; Brussels, 1660; Lyon, 1675). On these plurilingual vocabularies, seer Pablo Núñez, *El arte de las palabras*, 91–255.

been a booklet used by someone who did not have a satisfactory knowledge of French but needed to be able to hold a conversation in it, perhaps for commercial purposes.³⁴

Learners' needs were also met by bilingual dictionaries in the eighteenth century. Professional people and translators, readers and students required not only idioms and ready-made phrases, as provided in Capmany's *Arte de traducir* [*Art of Translating*] (1776), but also neologisms, as in the same author's *Nuevo diccionario* [*New Dictionary*] (1805). Oddly enough, although these dictionaries published in France were commonly used in Spain they were aimed essentially at a francophone readership with an interest in the study of Spanish.

As Spanish increasingly lost its prestige in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, lexicographers felt forced to come to its defence. Spanish infantry regiments no longer paced backwards and forwards across Europe, Spanish caravels no longer discovered new oceans, Spanish science was no longer what it had been in the time of Francisco Sánchez in the sixteenth century and booksellers no longer had any Cervantes or Lope de Vega to have printed. Dictionaries published in Spain in the eighteenth century therefore either had nothing to say about the hegemony of French or they strove to put it into perspective. Usually, the authors of these dictionaries did not claim that French was universal, quite the contrary: while recognizing that French was useful for young people, they maintained that Spanish was superior as a perfectly weighed response in the context of the war against the French National Convention and the French defeat at the Battle of Trafalgar,³⁵ without any detailed exposition of the values of French and of French literature. They had no hesitation in pointing out that the fortunes of a language were a function both of the military strength of the people who spoke it and of their love of letters. French, they maintained, had

34 The manuscript includes two other vocabularies, one of them Spanish-Italian and the other Spanish-Basque: see Pablo-Núñez, 'Los vocabularios bilingües manuscritos de Nicholao Landuchio (1562)', *Fontes Linguae Vasconum: Studia et documenta* 110 (2009), 47–62.

35 For example, Antonio de Capmany, *Nuevo diccionario francés-español* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1805).

won its privileged position by one or other of these paths: the armies and military buildings of Louis XIV or his merchants had spread it in Europe just as much as the efforts of Louis's many men of culture.³⁶

From the early eighteenth century, that is to say the time when valets, lackeys, assistants, pages, hair-dressers, tailors, shopkeepers, pastry-cooks and so forth had to be French, it was considered to be in good taste to have a French tutor in one's house or to treat oneself to a stay in Paris. There was an enormous demand in the second half of the century for teachers who could teach French at the court and for teachers who could instruct the sons of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The number of works designed to aid the teaching of French increased. The aims of learning were twofold: on the one hand, knowledge of French was a mark of distinction that enabled one to shine in court salons; on the other, as in the previous century, it was a professional or practical skill focused on comprehension of texts written in French.³⁷

It is possible, however, to detect the beginning of a major change in the eighteenth century. There was a shift from the teaching of French on the basis of textbooks and grammars and under the supervision of individual tutors and teachers to teaching that was organized and institutionalized and, consequently, subject to ideologies and policies. This shift took place in 1725 with the creation of the Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid [The Nobles Royal Seminary of Madrid, or College of Jesuits], on the model of the Collège Louis Le Grand in Paris. This seminary was the first institution in Spain to incorporate the teaching of French into its curriculum. The distinguished clientele of the Jesuits, which was destined to become the social elite of the country, considered the teaching of French important on account of the general cultural value of the language. Military schools

36 See the 'aprobación' [commendation] written by Triviño for Francisco de la Torre y Ocón, *Nuevo método breve, útil, y necesario para aprender a escribir, entender y pronunciar las dos principales Lenguas, Española y Francesa* (Madrid: Juan de Aritzia, 1728).

37 See Fernández Fraile, María Eugenia and Javier Suso López, *La enseñanza del francés en España (1767–1936): Estudio histórico: objetivos, contenidos y procedimientos* (Granada: Método, 1999).

would also subsequently include French as a matter of course among the subjects taught in them. The librarians of these establishments had to keep up a correspondence with foreign academies and scientific journals. From now on the acquisition of French of the sort used in the sciences would be encouraged by the purchase of collections of French books in new centres for the education of the elites ranging from the Academia de Guardamarinas [Cadets' Academy], founded in Cádiz in 1717, to the Real Colegio de Artillería [Royal Artillery College], founded in Segovia in 1762.³⁸ At the end of the century other, less elitist schools introduced modern foreign languages, for example, seminaries (at Vergara in 1776 and Cádiz in 1794), nautical schools (at Málaga in 1785) and the Real Instituto Asturiano de Náutica y Mineralogía [The Royal Asturian Institute of Navigation and Mineralogy] (at Gijón in 1794).

Even the most innovatory establishments, which introduced some scientific disciplines and modern foreign languages into their curriculum, saw languages as a tool that would give access to a broad range of writing in the foreign language rather than as a means of introduction to the literature, more narrowly understood, that had been produced in it.³⁹ Textbooks which purported to be a tool with which to gain knowledge of works written in French included pieces of text to translate, but such extracts were not predominantly of a literary nature.⁴⁰ This instrumental type of teaching might sometimes take the spoken language into account and therefore present dialogues designed to illustrate it, in the best tradition

38 Juan García-Bascuñana, Brigitte Lépinette and Carmen Roig, eds, *L'universalité du français et sa présence dans la Péninsule Ibérique: Actes du colloque de la SIHFLES tenu à Tarragone* (Saint-Cloud: SIHFLES, 1996); Arancha Malvedí, *La Real Casa de Caballeros Pajes: su historia y su proyecto educativo en la España de la Ilustración* (Valladolid: Universidad-Fundación Foro Jovellanos, 2013).

39 *Documents pour l'histoire du Français Langue Etrangère ou seconde. Les auteurs classiques français dans l'enseignement du F.L.E. (18e et 19e siècles)* 24 (December 1999).

40 Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau, *Arte de hablar bien francés* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1781) and Paul-François Rousseau, *Rudimentos de la lengua Francesa, o Extractos de preceptos breves, y claros para su prompta inteligencia* (Valladolid: Alonso del Riego, 1754).

of colloquia, but for readers who needed French for commercial purposes other methods included models of letters.⁴¹

From the nineteenth century the Spanish educational system was strongly affected by political problems. The francophile or francophobe viewpoints adopted by each governmental cabinet brought about changes in curricula: the most conservative cabinets were wary of everything that came from France, whereas progressives were well-disposed to new ideas and so liberal governments defended the study of modern languages. Nor should we forget the percentages of people who attended school or the levels at which Spaniards studied at that time: around 1832, almost 80 per cent of the Spanish population had not studied at all, while only about 20 per cent had primary level education (and the percentages of people who had secondary or higher education are unquantifiable). At the end of the century, the percentage of people who had not studied at all and the percentage of people with primary-level education were close to one another (50–50 in 1882 and 55–45 in 1897).⁴²

As for French, its importance and its presence depended on curricula. In primary education, it was not considered an important subject. Sometimes it was included, but only at certain levels and not throughout schooling. It is in secondary curricula that we may best trace the vicissitudes of the subject, but in spite of the good intentions of the Constitution of 1812 universal education was soon confined to primary education, while secondary schooling was for a minority and a reality only for the well-to-do. It goes without saying that the educational work of Joseph Bonaparte would have a strong francophone component, but when Ferdinand VII came back to Spain in 1814 it was anticipated that there would be a return to the programme of the former conservative minister Caballero, in which classical teachings were predominant, with no reference to French. Private colleges did have the necessary authority, though, to teach French in the

41 For examples of these two types of work, see Antoine Galmace, *Llave nueva, y universal, para aprender con brevedad, y perfección la Lengua Francesa, sin auxilio de Maestro* (Madrid: Gabriel Ramires, 1748), and Pierre Contaut, *Gramática española y francesa* (Madrid: Imprenta del Diario, 1763) respectively.

42 In the case of girls, schooling did not become compulsory until 1857.

early nineteenth century, as was done in the San Mateo or San Felipe Neri colleges.⁴³ In 1824, after the 'Trienio Liberal' [Liberal Triennium] of 1820–3, the Calomarde Programme divided secondary education into Humanities colleges, where French was taught, and Latinity schools, where it was not. The Royal Ordinance of 1844 introduced it as an optional subject and the Pidal Programme of 1845 (which came under attack from some quarters precisely because it reflected French ideas) introduced French as part of the normal set of subjects. However, the outcome of the Royal Ordinance of 1846 was that the modern languages taught became supplementary and had to be paid for by pupils who wanted to study them. The Programme of Studies of 1852 went further and cut teaching posts in modern languages on the grounds that there were ways of studying them privately. The situation improved with the Moyano Law of 1857, which reintroduced the study of modern languages in the second phase of secondary education. During the First Republic (1873–4), in a curriculum that was never approved, French was included as a pre-requisite for proceeding to secondary education, but again no means of teaching it was provided. Study of the language would not become altogether practicable until the implementation of the Programme of 1894. It was then that teachers of French began to lend their subject a cultural dimension, bringing it closer to the study of Latin and other modern languages, with the result that oral skills and communicative fluency took second place to declamation and translation up until the beginning of the twentieth century. Thanks to a decree of 17 August 1901, the learning of modern languages was reintroduced in secondary education. This plan envisaged the possibility of learning three modern languages: French, English and German,⁴⁴ but since secondary education was not free, tuition in French would still be reserved for the privileged classes.

With the educational plan of 1934 during the Second Spanish Republic (1931–9), the so-called Pedagogical Republic, the virtual monopoly that

43 Antonio Viñao, *Política y educación en los orígenes de la España contemporánea. Examen especial de sus relaciones con la enseñanza secundaria* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1982), 54–256.

44 Two years later it would be two again, then four in 1926.

French had had before 1934 gave way to diversified provision of modern languages (French, English and German were all offered) and it became compulsory to study two of them. Nonetheless, French still had a privileged place, since all pupils in secondary education were required to study it for three and three-quarter hours a week for four years. The Spanish Republic, inspired by men from the Institution of Free Teaching, saw the exposure of Spain to European culture and science, through the learning of foreign languages in particular, as a solution to national problems and a means of national regeneration.

The first educational plan of Franco's dictatorship, on the other hand, was drafted in 1938 in the context of preparations for the Second World War. Four languages (English, German, French and Italian) were now on offer, but Italian and German were the two that were most favoured. (Franco-Spanish friendship was highly suspect during the Francoist autarky, although it was celebrated later on.⁴⁵) With the second plan, in 1953, the number of foreign languages on offer rose to five (German, English, French, Italian and Portuguese), but the number that it was compulsory to learn was reduced to just one, for two and three-quarter hours per week.⁴⁶ This official teaching assumed a twofold nature: French (with French literature) remained the language (often the only language) learned in secondary school up to 1970, at a time when the rest of Europe was turning towards English. At the same time, Spanish students continued to learn French through memorization of vocabulary, translation (often translation into the mother-tongue and prose composition) and commentary on texts, whilst the teaching of oral communication and phonetics was always poor. Judging by the textbooks

45 For example, in 1959, by Juan del Álamo, *La France: Sa langue. Cours Supérieur de Français* (Madrid: [no publisher], 1959), 237.

46 In any case, there was a prejudice against foreign languages: regarded as subjects which did not cause much psychological or physical stress, they were given the worst slots in the school timetable. The problem of the excessive number of subjects and the overloading of the school timetable was finally 'resolved' by getting rid of the second foreign language in the educational plans of 1953, 1957 and 1970: see the 'Orden de 31 de octubre de 1940' in Miguel de Castro, *Legislación de Enseñanza Media* (Madrid: Ed. Información Universitaria, 1949), 4.

that were used, pupils obviously acquired a remarkable amount of literary lexis, which enabled them to read complex texts between thirteen and fifteen years of age. The choice of authors studied by these young people would conform to moral criteria (in the case of André Gide, whose morals were criticized⁴⁷) or political criteria (when it came to Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, who were censured for their political engagement⁴⁸).

Paradoxically, it was with the coming of democracy that French began to lose its privileged position in the curriculum. Little by little, English would gain pupils in primary education while French would correspondingly lose them. The turning-point came between 1979–80 and 1981–2, when the number of students of French went from 1,067,426 to 980,801 and the number of students of English from 997,084 to 1,137,603.⁴⁹ This trend would continue until the 1990s.⁵⁰ Neither the educational reform of 1990 nor that of 2006 would alter the status of the second foreign language, which remains in our own day an option in the curriculum like Classical Culture: francophonie or antiquity!

And yet, the cultural defeat of French does not seem consistent with statistics of other sorts. In terms of number of residents in Spain the 123,284 French people living there represent the fifth nationality of the European

47 'Gide was the recognized master of a whole young generation that had gone astray emotionally [...] Most of his novels were dictated by the spirit of revolt. His usual position, which was extremely dangerous, was to suppress moral problems': see the textbook *La littérature par les textes. Français 5^o curso* (Zaragoza: Ed. Edelvives, 1963), 229–30.

48 'Finally, we should name the non-conformists, the existentialists who claimed to be in tune with the time [...] or to get ahead of it: Jean-Paul SARTRE [and] Simone de BEAUVOIR, [his] disciple [...] the realist language that they use is often criticized': see *Método Perrier. La littérature française par les textes* (Barcelona: Ed. Perrier, 1969), 171.

49 Table 1, in M. Cabezas, Manuel and J. C. Herreras: *La enseñanza del francés en España: realidad y perspectivas* (Valencia: NAU Llibres, 1989), 31.

50 For example, on the occasion of the second colloquium of the *Asociación de Profesores de Francés de la Universidad Española*, in 1994, some speakers clearly perceived the danger and warned of it: Illanes Ortega, 'La situación del francés en las enseñanzas medias y su incidencia en la universidad', in *Actas del II coloquio APFUE* (Murcia: Colección Estudios, 1994), 39.

Union in Spain⁵¹ (after the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and Portugal). France was also the second investor in Spain in 2009 (after the United Arab Emirates), with 19.8 per cent of total foreign investment, followed by the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands.⁵² The publicity put out for its French courses by the Institut Français in Madrid therefore seems somewhat surprising, to say the least: ‘Be original! Learn French!’⁵³

The uses of French in Spain: to translate, not to read

The French of Oc and the French of Oïl had long been heard in the Iberian Peninsula. From the mid-twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century the court of the kings of Castille and León became one of the high spots of Provençal poetry. Poetry in Occitan would frequently be influential in Catalonia during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As in other European countries, so in the peninsula, Carolingian epic and Breton chansons and legends were known. However, of the French *chansons de geste* [songs of heroic deeds, or French epic poetry] on Charlemagne, which must have spread in the Iberian peninsula during the twelfth century and part of the thirteenth, there remains only a fragment of a hundred lines in Castilian, which is similar to a version from the *Chanson de Roland* [*Song of Roland*], like the Provençal *Ronsasvals*.⁵⁴

51 *Instituto de Estadística de la Comunidad de Madrid* at <<http://www.madrid.org/iestadis/fijas/efemerides/censoel.htm>> (accessed on 13.01.2012).

52 *Invest in Spain* at <<http://www.investinspain.org/icex/cma/contentTypes/common/records/mostrarDocumento/?doc=4341454>>, 6 (accessed on 13.01.2013).

53 A slogan devised in 2008 for French-language courses at the Institut Français [French Institute] in Madrid: ‘¡Desmárcate! Aprende francés’, at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x135jD6H2JA>> (accessed on 14.01.2013).

54 Carlos Alvar, ‘Charlemagne dans la littérature médiévale castillane’, in Mercè Boixareu and Robin Lefere, eds, *L’histoire de la France dans la littérature espagnole: entre francophobie défensive et admiration francophile* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 77–116.

In the Middle Ages *La grande conquête d'Outremer* [*The Great Overseas Conquest*] was translated; this is a work of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in which the legend of the Knight of the Swan, a translation of *La chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*, has been interpolated. The *Historia troyana polimétrica* [*Polymetric Trojan History*] (dating from around 1270) consists of several parts, in prose, which are a translation of Benoît de Sainte Maure's *Roman de Troie* [*Romance of Troy*]. The *Libros del Tesoro* [*Books of Treasure*] are the Castilian version of *Li Livres dou Tresor*, an encyclopaedic compilation produced in France around 1260.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, printing and the ramifications of the book trade spread literature in French and in translation on a much larger scale. Copies were imported directly from the Netherlands or from the French towns where they had been printed, through exchange with printers' agents, or they were distributed in Spain when fairs were held, like the fair at Medina del Campo. As many as 1,130 foreign titles were received in Salamanca in the mid-sixteenth century, of which half were French.⁵⁵

Numerous works were translated by the authors of dictionaries or grammars, such as Diego de Cisneros, the royal secretary and interpreter César Oudin and Jacques Ledel, the author of the first Spanish-French vocabulary, which was printed in 1565, and the translator of the *Crónica y vida del rey Sant Loys de Francia* [*Chronicle and Life of St Louis of France*] (1567). The canon Baltasar Pérez del Castillo, who adapted a grammar of the French language which remained in manuscript form, translated the works of Pierre Boaistuau and Guillaume Du Choul.⁵⁶ In fact, his grammatical work was a product of the difficulties he had experienced while translating. Nonetheless, it is not easy to quantify the reception of French authors in Spain. Covarrubias, in his *Tesoro* [*Treasure*], under the heading 'France', eulogized 'Pierre de Ronsard, a gentleman of Vendôme, [who] wrote

55 According to the stock-list of the publisher and bookseller Jacques Boyer. The Boyers came from a family of booksellers in Lyon, some of whom left Lyon and founded new printing houses.

56 Pierre Boaistuau, *El Theatro del Mundo* (Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1564), and Guillaume Du Choul, *Los discursos de la religión [...] de los antiguos romanos y griegos* (Lyon: Guillaume Roville, 1567).

La Franciade in his vernacular, neither Virgil nor Homer eclipse him.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the *Index librorum prohibitorum* [*Index of Prohibited Books*] of Antwerp and Madrid condemned Rabelais, so that his works *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* did not reach Spain. It was the same with Montaigne's *Essais* [*Essays*], which were forbidden in the indexes of 1640, 1667 and 1676.⁵⁸

Only a small number of translations were made from French in the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Indeed, the constant political clashes between France and Spain and the rivalry between the two nations provoked such resentments towards the language of the enemy that it was said in works such as *Antipatía de los franceses y españoles* [*The Antipathy between the French and the Spanish*] that the French learned Spanish while the Spaniards had no such interest in the language of their neighbours.⁶⁰

From 1740, translation became a matter of the public domain, accounting for 19.17 per cent of the total number of publications at the end of the century,⁶¹ of which 65 per cent of the translated titles were from French.⁶² Among the 1,100 titles for the eighteenth century, that is to say 1,460 items in all, 32 per cent of the works were religious, 14.5 per cent belong in the category of belles-lettres, 12 per cent science, 4.6 per cent technology and

57 Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006).

58 This was probably why the Spanish translation of the work of 'Mr Montaigne and the Books of His Experiences and Various Discourses', done by Diego de Cisneros in 1637, was not published, although Cisneros secured civil and ecclesiastical approval for it.

59 Amelia Sanz, 'Les genres narratifs du XVIIe siècle français en Espagne: un refus de lecture', in Mercedes Boixareu and Roland Desné, *Recepción de autores franceses de la época clásica en los siglos XVIII y XIX en España y en el extranjero* (Madrid: UNED Ediciones, 2001), 227–36.

60 Carlos García, *Antipatía de los franceses y españoles* (Rouen: Jacques Caillove, 1638).

61 See Francisco Lafarga, 'El siglo XVIII, de la Ilustración al Romanticismo', in F. Lafarga and L. Pegenaute, eds, *Historia de la traducción en España* (Salamanca: Ambos Mundos, 2004), 209–320; José Francisco Ruiz Casanova, *Aproximación a una historia de la traducción en España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000), especially 301–82; Jean-Marc Buigues, 'Les traductions dans l'Espagne des Lumières: langues, rythmes et contenus', *Bulletin Hispanique* 111 (2002), 101–19.

62 Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción al Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Júcar, 1991), 199.

11 per cent history.⁶³ Works in French that reached Spain came mainly from Lyon and Geneva, but also from Brussels, Antwerp and, of course, Paris; these works were essentially scientific and philosophical rather than literary.⁶⁴

A drove of francophone people considered themselves capable of undertaking the task of translation. Father Feijóo even put a figure to them: 3,000 persons, he thought, would be perfectly able to practise translation. There were great names among them, but also cohorts of authors who wrote in many fields and whose works were the most widely read.⁶⁵ Moreover, and in keeping with the increase in the number of readers in eighteenth-century Spain, especially the number of women readers, we should stress the new role of female translators, as in Europe as a whole, although the figures in Spain are lower and belated, because of the weakness of industrialization and the social obstacles there. In the absence of a policy of literacy teaching, and also because of the lack of circles of the sort that had been created by *salonnières* in the society of other European countries, one would have to await the expansion of primary education and the pedagogical renewal that began in the eighteenth century.⁶⁶

But why translate from French with such a will? In the name of social utility, for the education of the youth and to render a service to the nation

- 63 Juan Fernández and Natividad Nieto, 'Tendencias de la traducción de obras francesas en el siglo XVIII', in M. L. Donaire et Francisco Lafarga, *Traducción y adaptación cultural, España-Francia* (Oviedo: Universidad, 1991), 579–91.
- 64 François López, 'Sobre la difusión de las obras francesas en España', in Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, *La república de las letras en la España del S. XVIII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1995), 88–100.
- 65 Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, 'Disuade a un amigo suyo el autor de la lengua griega y le persuade el de la francesa', in *Cartas eruditas y curiosas, en que, por la mayor parte, se continua el designio del Theatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1760), vol. 5, letter 23.
- 66 See Jacques Soubeyrou, 'L'alphabetisation dans l'Espagne moderne: bilan et perspectives de la recherche', *Bulletin Hispanique* 100/2 (1998), 231–54, and Mónica Bolufer, *Mujeres e Ilustración. La construcción de la feminidad en la España del siglo XVIII* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnanim, 1998). See also Mónica Bolufer and Juan Gomis, 'European Women Writers Translated into Spanish in the Eighteenth Century: A Global Approach', in Guyonne Leduc, ed., *Rôles transfrontaliers joués par les femmes dans la construction de l'Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 33–44.

through technical and scientific translations.⁶⁷ People who advocated translation claimed, first of all, that it brought texts which would otherwise be reserved 'for the small number of people who understand French' within the reach of everybody and, next, that the country would thus avoid spending immense sums on the purchase of books in France.⁶⁸

The same momentum was maintained up to 1830, when translations from French abounded in reviews, as well as on the stage, to such an extent that Mesonero Romanos had no hesitation in claiming: 'Our nation, which in the old days was so original, is nothing but a translated nation.'⁶⁹ Indeed, the presence of French works in translation affected all genres, but it is important to remember that, between 1830 and 1850, about 60 per cent of the works performed in the two main theatres of Madrid were foreign, that is to say French, although they were performed in Spanish, because this was theatre for everybody, for all social strata, even the illiterate.

The great French authors were read and translated by Spanish men and women of letters, even if the choice of texts to translate was always affected by the political factors in play at a particular time. Chateaubriand had a different presence in different literary periods.⁷⁰ Translations of Dumas, almost a hundred of whose titles had appeared by 1860, came out immediately after the French originals. Hugo also enjoyed enormous popularity. Balzac was read in French by the great Spanish authors, who revised his works even before the translation had appeared. A dozen of Eugène Sue's novels were translated between 1840 and 1843. Stendhal, Emile Zola and

67 Brigitte Lépinette, 'Las traducciones españolas de un texto europeo: el *Télémaque* (1699) de Fénelon y su recepción en España', *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis lingüístics* 1 (1995), 63–82.

68 Feijoo, 'Disuade a un amigo suyo el autor de la lengua griega', letter 23.

69 Roberto Dengler (1989): 'El drama romántico francés en Madrid (1830–1850)', in Francisco Lafarga, ed., *Imágenes de Francia en las letras hispánicas* (Barcelona: PPU, 1989), 307–16.

70 According to E. Allison Peers, *Historia del movimiento romántico español* (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), Chateaubriand's political work was particularly influential; his *Génie du Christianisme* [*Genius of Christianity*] was one of the works which did the most to change the religious profile of Spain's First Catholic Romanticism and Second Romanticism.

the Goncourt brothers, Edmond and Jules, were discovered and commented on by Pardo Bazán. Mme Cottin, Mme de Genlis, Scribe and Ducange aroused the general public, always in translation.

France's celebrities were presented either as heroes or as monsters. This was the paradoxical reality of a country condemned on the one hand to be dependent on France and to recognize its contribution to science but on the other to hate it and to do its best to stir no French words into its protests.

The influence of French on Spanish: From borrowing to Gallicism

From the lexical point of view, French is 'the language that has provided modern Spanish with the largest number of words after Latin'.⁷¹ The infiltration of French terms was considerable from the end of the seventeenth century, owing to political influence and the intellectual developments that took place in France during the eighteenth century. In fact, there were already domains in which there was French influence in the Middle Ages, such as the life of the court, as attested by incoming terms such as *deán* > Fr. *doyen* [dean], *duque* > *duc* [duke], *paje* > page, *dama* > dame [lady], *galán* > galant [gallant], *gabinete* > cabinet [cabinet] and *jardín* > jardin [garden]. Other terms, such as *banquete* > banquet [banquet], *parque* > parc [park] and *etiqueta* > étiquette, are eighteenth-century borrowings. Spanish words relating to clothes and fashion accessories, which were very much bound up with the life of the court, also often come from French, like *brazalete* > bracelet, *peluca* > perruque [wig] and, in the eighteenth century, *pantalón* > pantalon [trousers] and *corsé* > corset.

Other domains which yielded loanwords in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included military life, for instance: *flecha* > flèche [arrow], *mástil* > mât [mast], *bayoneta* > baïonnette [bayonet], *brecha* > brèche

71 Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), 69.

[breach], *convoy* > convoi [convoy], *fusil* > fusil [rifle], *trinchera* > tranchée [trench], *reclutar* > recruter [to recruit] and so on. The commercial activities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave yet other terms such as *explotar* > exploiter [to exploit], *financiero* > financier, *bolsa* > bourse [stock exchange], *cotizar* > cotiser [to subscribe], *letra de cambio* > lettre de change [bill of exchange], *garantía* > garantie [guarantee] and *aval* > aval [backing]. From political life come *parlamento* > parlement [parliament], *comité* > comité [committee], *debate* > débat [debate] and others, and from the field of administration such expressions as *burocracia* > bureaucratie [bureaucracy] and *personal* > personnel [staff] have been copied. The importance of French in the naming of foreign towns should be mentioned too (for example, *Amberes* > Anvers [Antwerp], as against Dutch *Antwerpen*, and *Lieja* > Liège [Dutch *Luik*]). French was also an intermediary language for the transmission of terms into Spanish, for example *baluarte* > balouart [bastion], from Dutch *bolwerk*, and *labor* > bâbord [port side of ship], from Dutch *bakboord*.

In its second edition, published in 2001, the *Spanish Academy Dictionary of Usage* (DRAE) contains a total of 1,484 words of French origin (leaving numerous technical words out of the reckoning). The extent to which this neighbouring language has penetrated Spanish is demonstrated by the fact that so many words that are common in contemporary Spanish are of French origin (for example, *jamón* > jambon [ham], *crema* > crème [cream], *servilleta* > serviette, *fresa* > fraise [strawberry], *paquete* > paquet [parcel], *billete* > billet [ticket] and *maleta*, a diminutive of *malle* [trunk]).

One of the main channels through which French words have entered Spanish since the eighteenth century has been translation. Some people have taken the view that translators' acceptance of French loanwords is tantamount to abandonment of the clarity that they associate with Spanish in favour of an irritating sort of French affectation.⁷² The debate raged on

72 'Carta sobre el abuso de las malas traducciones, y utilidad de reimprimir nuestros buenos autores', in *Memorial literario* 12 (November 1787), 517–33, in Garrosa and Lafarga, *El discurso sobre la traducción en la España del Siglo XVIII*, 216–23.

stage: some openly made use of a ‘mongrel language’⁷³ when translating a play, others advocated total adaptation in order to reach the general public in a specifically Spanish context.⁷⁴ Strange as it may seem, even an ‘afrancesado’⁷⁵ like the abbé Marchena rejected French loans but suggested translators resort to Latin, Greek or Arabic roots.⁷⁶ Like other Spaniards who went to France, Marchena had written for the newspapers of the Revolution while he was there but, once he had returned to Spain, he eschewed a literal style of translation and instead adopted a free style in his renderings of Molière, Voltaire, Montesquieu and (through a French translation) Ossian!

However, it was above all the task of constructing a scientific and technical vocabulary that necessitated the translation of French terms, especially in the botanical field where designations needed to be clarified. The abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet’s *Essai sur l’électricité des corps* [*Essay on the Electricity of an Object*] (1746) was translated into Spanish by Vázquez y Morales a year after its publication in France. In the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century the main treatises of the French chemists were translated into Spanish at the same time that the supporters of Antoine Lavoisier’s theories were beginning to come together, and the lexis of chemistry entered Spanish. There is, however, an exception in this influx of neologisms. It concerns revolutionary words designating new institutions, trades and functions, which lexicographers considered transient and perishable and therefore untranslatable. What interest could there be, after all, in translating a word like ‘guillotine’?⁷⁷

73 This is the word used in *La bella labradora*, a comedy in three acts translated from the French by doña María Rosa de Gálvez, *Memorial Literario* 2 (1801), 96–8.

74 Francisco Lafarga, ‘La lengua francesa en el teatro español del siglo XVIII’, in García-Bascuñana *et al.*, eds, *L’universalité du français*, 461–73.

75 An *afrancesado* is a ‘Frenchified person’, i.e. someone who has French tastes and has adopted French culture, especially a supporter of Napoleon during the war in Spain.

76 José Marchena, ‘Prólogo’ to Montesquieu, *Cartas persianas, Obra española en prosa (Historia, política literatura)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1990), 142.

77 These are Capmany’s words in the preface to the *Nuevo diccionario francés-español*.

The prefaces of these translations were as full of criticisms of amateurism as of vindications of the translator's craft.⁷⁸ Numerous complaints were made about the poor quality of translations and the great quantity of Gallicisms invading them, for translators had no hesitation in displaying an obsession with foreign words, which were liberally scattered about their translations.⁷⁹ In 1846, Francisco Cea published in his satirical review *El Fandango* (1844–6) a *Parodia dedicada a los traductores del teatro francés o corruptores del idioma* [*A Parody Dedicated to Translators of the French Theatre, or Corrupters of the Language*]. This was a 'pataleta' [a nervous convulsion] which became a sort of parodic journalistic genre practised by Menéndez Pelayo, Juan Eugenio de Hartzenbusch and Rafael María Baralt, the author of a *Diccionario de galicismos* [*Dictionary of Gallicisms*] that came out in 1855. Pardo Bazán broached the same subject in the *Apuntes autobiográficos* [*Autobiographical Notes*] which she published in the first edition of her great naturalist novel *Los pazos de Ulloa* [*The House of Ulloa*].⁸⁰ She thus expressed a wish at the century's end to free Spanish of all foreign influences, not just French but German too.⁸¹ More precisely, the absence of words and turns of phrase directly borrowed from French would be considered a proof of quality,⁸² whilst ironic attacks against these loans in a bad translation would provide an opportunity to assert the superiority of Castilian.⁸³

78 José Francisco de Isla, 'El traductor al que leyeré', in Jean-Baptiste Duchesne, *Compendio de la Historia de España escrito en francés por el R. P. Duchesne de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2 vols (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1762), vol. 1, 126–7.

79 *Idem*, *Historia del famoso predicador fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes*, 3 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1973), vol. 3, 161–2.

80 Published in Barcelona by Daniel Cortezo in 1886.

81 *Ibid.*, 331–2.

82 Emma Martinelli, 'Posturas adoptadas ante los galicismos en el siglo XVIII', *Revista de Filología de la Universidad de La Laguna* 3 (1984), 101–28.

83 Mesonero, Larra and Bretón de los Herreros, leading figures in Spanish Romanticism, mocked translators for being ill-prepared for their task and set out their own views about what was needed to produce a good translation: 'First, the translator needs to know what a comedy is; second, to be familiar with the French theatre and public; third, to be familiar with the Spanish theatre and public; fourth, to be able to read

The excessive presence of French in Spanish was deplored throughout the nineteenth century, with the result that, far from bringing about reconciliations, it provoked confrontations and purist reactions. Translation thus became, above all, a battleground where writers of prefaces and translators continually made linguistic comparisons and claims about the possibilities offered by the Spanish language.⁸⁴

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The attempts that have been made to define communities of francophone culture in Spain have enabled us to question whether francophonie is synonymous with Francophilia. The truth is that the French 'nation' in Spain has never been a cultural whole united around a single language. Sometimes the francophone community has been split by language, such as the languages of Oc and Oil used by immigrants in the seventeenth century. Sometimes the split has been social: alongside seasonal labourers in Aragon, we have discovered shopkeepers who were well settled in Cádiz and craftsmen and artists under contract to the court in the eighteenth century. Sometimes it has been ideological, as for the different francophone communities who were exiled from Spain from the nineteenth century to the time of Franco's dictatorship. If, in the milieu of tradespeople, assimilation and denationalization were common currency, the French elites, on the other hand, feared that they would become mongrelized and were determined to protect their way of life. For them, the French language served as a vehicle not only for an identity but above all for a class ideology. Divisions among the French in Spain therefore show through that are as much diastatic as geographical: these francophone people speak French languages! An 'ilustrado' [enlightened man] of the late eighteenth century like Moratín requires of the translator a plural competence in dialects and

French; fifth, to be able to write Castilian'. See Mariano José de Larra, 'De las traducciones' (1830), in *Obras*, 4 vols (Madrid: Atlas, 1960), vol. 2, 180.

84 Antonio de Capmany, *Comentario con glosas críticas y jocosas sobre la nueva traducción castellana de las Aventuras de Telémaco* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1798), and Jean-Baptiste Duchesne, *Compendio de la Historia de España*, tr. José Francisco de Isla (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1745).

mores, in forensic styles and demotic expressions.⁸⁵ Since there is no single French language that imposes itself, it is high time, we think, to move on from the one-dimensional view of the influence of the French language that is regularly entertained by those who look back nostalgically on a European kingdom of taste and mores in which Paris would have been the undisputed capital.⁸⁶

It is not a process of acculturation that we have presented here but one of transculturation.⁸⁷ French never established itself in Spain as a court language or a language of intimacy, as it did in other European countries in the eighteenth century. The French model of aristocratic culture and society was well received in Spain but it was contested, adapted and at times rejected, and that is what has been of interest to us. Now the prestige attached to French, between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, ensured that knowledge of the language came above all to intelligentsia circles, through reading and translations, to public institutions where it was taught and, through private tutors, to the bosom of well-to-do families. However, the actual use of French did not coincide with the presence and reach of French culture, which far exceeded the area covered by francophone circles.

Indeed, French struggled to remain a constant presence in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century school curriculum, and its fluctuating fortunes as a compulsory subject were bound up with political pressures from social groups. Only the upper bourgeoisie and the aristocracy had the means to buy themselves private tuition, while those who underwent public education found themselves at the mercy of the instability of curricula and managed only to acquire limited knowledge of the language and a cultural veneer. When all is said and done, schools did not succeed in becoming the main place from which French language and culture could be diffused in

85 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, 'Carta a Manuel Godoy de 12 de abril de 1797', *Epistolario* (Madrid: Castalia, 1973), 222.

86 As argued by Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe française au XVIIIe siècle. Diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Autrement, 2007), *pace* Marc Fumaroli.

87 Miriam Llamas and Amelia Sanz, 'Translitteraturas', in Amelia Sanz, ed., *Teoría de la literatura española con voz propia* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2009), 103–29.

Spain; that role was assumed by intellectuals who truly mastered French, who were often Spaniards living in exile. Nor was French the language of spoken communication among the upper classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; rather it was a valuable tool for reading and for use in travels, which were so frequent in periods that produced so many exiles, liberals for the most part.

In drawing a map of the 'francosphere' in Spain,⁸⁸ we have wanted to contribute to a history of the 'francophone idea'⁸⁹ in modern times, as well as to the history of the transmission of a good part of the French literary and cultural tradition outside France. And yet, it has to be said in the last analysis that the francophone 'other' in Spain has been regarded both as an intruder and as a legitimating authority for those who, all too often, have been purged, banished or exiled.

88 A category proposed by Dominique Wolton in Nowicki and Mayaux, *L'Autre Francophonie*, 327–8.

89 Jean-Marc Moura, *Littératures francophones et théorie postcoloniales* (Paris: PUF, 1999), 33–9.

10 French in Sweden in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

It is well known that the use of French was widespread in Sweden, as elsewhere in Europe, and that famous figures such as Queen Christina (who reigned from 1644 until her abdication in 1654), Gustav III (reigned 1771–92) and, in the nineteenth century, the playwright, novelist, poet and essayist August Strindberg authored works in French. The growing predilection for French can also be seen from the sale of English literature in eighteenth-century Sweden: 40 per cent of the English works featuring in advertisements of book sales between 1765 and 1799 were in French translation as opposed to just 14 per cent in the period 1700–64.¹ But how may we explain Swedish francophonie? What forms did it take? Which strata of the Swedish population used French the most and for what purposes?

In this chapter I shall approach the subject of Swedish francophonie from various viewpoints. I shall begin with a few remarks on historical context in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the heyday of francophonie in Sweden, in order to provide some points of reference. Next, I shall examine the teaching of French and analyse the francophone population of Sweden from a sociological point of view. I shall then introduce the principal genres and domains in which we find writings in French produced by

* The editors of this volume are grateful to the publishers of *Filologiskt arkiv* 47 and *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Romanica Stockholmiensia* 29 for kind permission to reuse some material first published there (see notes 7 and 13 below).

1 Hans Östman, *English Fiction, Poetry and Drama in Eighteenth-Century Sweden, 1765–1799. A Preliminary Study* (Stockholm: Kungl. biblioteket, 1983), 20, 22; *idem, English Fiction, Poetry and Drama in Eighteenth-Century Sweden, 1700–1764. A Preliminary Study* (Stockholm: Kungl. biblioteket, 1985), 7, 49.

Swedes and offer a few remarks on the linguistic quality of Swedes' French. I shall end with a glance at Swedish reactions to French influence, of which the use of the French language by the country's inhabitants was emblematic.

Sweden as a European power

During the 1520s, the Swedes revolted against the Danish occupants of their country and freed themselves from Danish rule. To govern the country they elected Gustav I Vasa (reigned 1523–60), who also ensured the triumph of Lutheranism in his kingdom. By the first half of the seventeenth century the country was already harbouring hopes of becoming a great power. Sweden's ambitions were reflected in the country's eventual entry, under Gustav II Adolf (reigned 1611–32), into the Thirty Years War (1618–48), in which it intervened on the side of German Protestants against the Catholic forces supporting the Counter-Reformation. It was Gustav II Adolf who created a Swedish empire, annexing Ingria through the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 and thus establishing a continuous band of Swedish territory around the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea as far as the province of Estonia. Finland, which was culturally and linguistically distinct from Sweden, was fully incorporated into the kingdom through Gustav's administrative reforms. Sweden's pretensions to the status of a major power were effectively affirmed in the cultural sphere by Gustav's daughter, Christina, a lavish patron of the arts and sciences who invited to her court numerous distinguished foreign artists and men of letters, including René Descartes. The country's ambitions were again manifest in the campaigns conducted by Charles XII (reigned 1697–1718) during the Great Northern War waged against Denmark-Norway, Russia and Saxony-Poland from 1700 to 1721. However, this war ended in defeat for Sweden and marked the emergence of Russia as a major European power – a power, moreover, that was capable of challenging Sweden's hegemony in the Baltic region. With defeat by Russia, a period began in which Sweden lost much of the territory it had acquired in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the first instance its Baltic

provinces and part of Karelia, which were relinquished in the Peace of Nystadt (1721).

Sweden also underwent considerable political change after the death of Charles XII. Hereditary monarchy, which had been introduced under Gustav I, was replaced by elective monarchy. Power came effectively to be exercised by the Diet, the Riksdag. During the *frihetstiden* [Era of Liberty], which lasted from the death of Charles to 1772, political life was dominated by one of two opposing parties, the so-called Caps and Hats. The former, who had the upper hand until 1738 and who received support from Great Britain and Russia, were inclined to accept the outcome of the Great Northern War and pursued a cautious foreign policy in order to maintain peace and aid economic recovery. The latter, who prevailed from 1738 to 1765 and allied themselves with and received financial support from France, favoured a more assertive foreign policy intended to restore Sweden's international power, but their policies resulted in another war with Russia, in 1741–3, and further loss of territory through the ensuing Treaty of Åbo (now Turku).

However, with the accession of Gustav III the absolutist tradition was revived, though now in an 'enlightened' eighteenth-century form. In 1772 Gustav carried out a bloodless coup d'état, seizing control of the government from the Riksdag, which was forced to recognize the personal executive power of the king. The Swedish court, like the courts of Prussia and Russia at roughly the same time, became the centre and inspiration of a cultural awakening that had its principal source in France. A lover of theatre and opera and himself a man of letters, Gustav promoted the arts and sciences, attracting writers to his court and affirming their status by founding the Swedish Academy in 1786. Although German cultural influence was also felt, it was French neo-classical literary models that were commended by one of the dominant literary figures of the Swedish Enlightenment, Johan Henric Kellgren.

The institution of absolute monarchy survived after Gustav III was assassinated, but only until 1809, when Sweden ceded Finland to Russia at the Peace of Frederikshavn, following another brief war with Russia. Gustav's heir, Gustav IV Adolf, was deposed shortly after this further loss of territory and was succeeded by his uncle, Charles XIII. Almost immediately the Diet was persuaded by francophile Swedish statesmen to elect one of Napoleon's commanders, the French marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, as

the crown prince, and he duly became King of Sweden, ruling as Charles XIV John from 1818 to 1844. Bernadotte, with whom a new royal line thus began, was unable to express himself in Swedish. The mother tongue of his son and successor, Oscar I (reigned 1844–59) was also French.

It will be clear from the political history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden that I have very briefly sketched that the balance of power between monarchs and the aristocracy varied from one time to another and that there existed different conceptions of the nobility's status and role. On the one hand, the nobility could be a national corporate body with rights and privileges, including the right to hold high offices of state. As early as the sixteenth century the estate enjoyed legal protection in a written constitution and in the seventeenth century charters adopted by Gustav II Adolf confirmed its rights. On the other hand, authoritarian Swedish rulers, like their counterparts elsewhere, expected nobles to serve their realm and used ennoblement as a means of rewarding service. Thus in the later seventeenth century, from being a caste of hereditary landowners the Swedish nobility became a more open estate. Charles XI (reigned 1672–97²), who insisted on the sole right of the king to legislate, removed the nobility's immunity from taxation and strengthened the link between nobility and service, including service in an expanding professionalized bureaucracy. We should also bear in mind that the Swedish nobility – like the nobilities of other European countries with which this volume deals – was not a coherent group that was clearly distinct in its entirety from other social estates. The low nobility, for example, often joined with commoners to oppose any attempt by the high nobility to limit the king's powers. Nor was the nobility impermeable: the marriage of nobles to commoners (predominantly the marriage of noble women to non-noble men) was a widespread phenomenon.³ We should therefore not expect to find a neat correlation between knowledge or ignorance of French and social class.

2 It was in 1672 that Charles XI reached the age of majority.

3 For information on the Swedish nobility, see A. F. Upton, 'The Swedish Nobility, 1600–1772', in H. M. Scott, ed., *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 11–40.

Consciousness of Sweden as a major European power; the openness of the Swedish court to the mainstream of European cultural and intellectual life; the existence of a nobility with a long-standing sense of itself as a corporation; acceptance of the Enlightenment at a relatively early stage and the dissemination of its fruits beyond the court and nobility to commoners who were penetrating the noble estate and playing a part in literary life – all these factors help to explain why the elite culture prevalent in mainland Europe from the mid-seventeenth to the late eighteenth century was readily accepted in Sweden and why the principal linguistic vehicle for that culture, the French language, gained a hold there.

Learning French

Officials felt a need to learn French if they hoped to climb in the civil administration as well as on the social ladder. French was necessary for (future) military officers too, for there were no manuals on warfare in Swedish. It was obligatory for anyone who wanted to enrol in a military school.⁴ Nor was it of interest only to the ruling classes and to those who wanted a civilian or military career;⁵ it was also essential if one wanted to earn a living as a governess or tutor, one of whose tasks would be to prepare pupils for a social life in which they would have to be able to converse with foreigners who did not understand Swedish.

Children started learning French in the family home at an early age, with the help of a relative, governess or tutor,⁶ who might be either foreign

4 See the articles by Lars Ericson, Anna Hörsell, Ulf Söderberg and Erik Norberg, in Erik Norberg, ed., *Karlberg: slott och skola*, 3 vols (Stockholm: Krigsskolan Karlbergs Historikommitté, 1992), vol. 1, 17–18, 23, 26, 31, 67–8, 168, 441.

5 Elisabet Hammar, *L'enseignement du français en Suède jusqu'en 1807. Méthodes et manuels* (Stockholm: Akademitratur, 1980 [doctoral thesis]), 3–5.

6 See Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, 4 vols (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1975–81), vol. 2, 42; the articles by Elisabet Hammar, Magnus von Platen and Marianne Jersdal

or Swedish. The rolls of Uppsala University provide several examples. There were also a number of Swedish writers who made a living in this way. The future pastor and writer Jacob Wallenberg, who was from a poor family, hoped to travel as tutor to the sons of one of the directors of the Swedish East Indies Company. His more famous compatriot Strindberg also had this type of employment in his youth.⁷ The poet Carl Gustaf af Leopold, who as a young man was employed as a tutor by a count, had to improve his knowledge of French in that post because Swedish was not to be used in the count's household, even when speaking to the servants.⁸ Often we find French verse, of variable quality, among the documents of young Swedish nobles. (We may suspect that a tutor sometimes collaborated in the composition of these poems.) For instance, we have poems signed by Joakim Beck, aged eleven, his brother Corfitz Ludvig, aged ten, and Erik Gustaf Siöblad, aged nine.⁹ Moreover, young people might be sent away to board, in order to improve, among other things, their language skills, as was Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, who went to live with a language teacher at the age of nine,¹⁰ and the young Arvid and Axel Ulrich, who boarded with a provincial pastor in the 1830s.¹¹

French was also learned, of course, in the royal palace. It was necessary, after all, for letter-writing. This was a skill that was useful for a

in E. Hammar, Stig G. Nordström and Birgit Rodhe, eds, *Utbildningshistoria 1994, Årsböcker i svensk undervisnings-historia 74/176* (1994); Ragnhild Brolinson, *Minnen från privatläroverk och om lärd undervisning i hemmen m.m.* (Lund: Fören. för svensk undervisningshistoria 1938); Magnus von Platen, *Privatinformation i skolan. En undervisningshistorisk studie* (Umeå: Umeå universitetsbibliotek, 1981).

7 Margareta and Hans Östman, *Au Champ d'Apollon. Ecrits d'expression française produits en Suède (1550–2006)*, *Filologiskt arkiv* 47 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien, 2008), 266–7; E. N. Tigerstedt, ed., *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, 4 vols (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur 1967), vol. 4, 415.

8 Tigerstedt, ed., *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, vol. 2, 449.

9 *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 144, 151, 225; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, vol. 2, 43.

10 Tigerstedt, ed., *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, vol. 2, 323.

11 Lotten Ulrich, 'Journal', e.g. Sunday 26 June 1831, Friday 23 June 1837 and Thursday 26 October 1837. The manuscript of Lotten's journal and that of her sister Edla are preserved in the private archive of the Ulrich family at Ekeby säteri (between Katrineholm and Norrköping).

monarch, although one of the governors of the future Gustav III, Carl Fredrik Scheffer, evidently had trouble persuading his pupil to put his mind to it. Scheffer complained of his difficulty in a letter from Uricsdal dated 7 April 1757:

Monseigneur,
Lorsque j' ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Altesse Royale de s'exercer à écrire des lettres, Elle me fait toujours de grandes difficultés, et Elle préfère à cet exercice plusieurs autres qui sont réellement beaucoup plus difficiles. Cependant je sais qu' Elle se détermine volontiers, comme cela est fort naturel, pour les choses qui Lui coûtent le moins. Je dois donc penser, Monseigneur, que la composition d'une lettre doit vous paraître très pénible; c'est une erreur, qui ne vient sans doute que de l'idée peu juste que vous vous êtes formée du style épistolaire. [...] lisez les lettres de Made. de Sévigné [...] on les a louées, admirées [...] parce qu'elles étaient simples et naturelles [...].

[My Lord,
Whenever I have the honour to suggest that Your Royal Highness practise letter-writing, Your Highness always raises objections and expresses a preference for a number of exercises that are in fact much more difficult than this one. However, I know that Your Highness is apt to decide, as is quite natural, to do the things that He finds easiest. I am therefore bound to think, My Lord, that writing a letter must seem very hard to you; that is a mistake, which no doubt can only have come from the rather incorrect notion you have formed of epistolary style. [...] read the letters of Madame de Sévigné [...] they have been praised and admired [...] because they were simple and natural [...].]¹²

There were other, informal means of perfecting one's French. The mother of Lotten and Edla Ulrich (to whom I return in the section of this chapter on who spoke and wrote French in Sweden) made them both keep a diary in foreign languages.¹³ Lotten found this hard but she did

12 Gunnar von Proschwitz, ed., *Gustave III par ses lettres* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1986), 15–16.

13 See Margareta Östman, *Glanures servant de suite à Au Champ d'Apollon. Ecrits d'expression française produits en Suède (1550–2006): Etude sociologique (med förord och sammanfattning på svenska), bibliographique et biographique, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Romanica Stockholmiensia 29* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 2012), 100, 282, 284. The unabridged text is available online at <<http://www.sub.su.se>>

make considerable progress in French. Keeping a diary was thus part of the education of these two sisters and it was probably for the same reason that the Ulrich brothers and sisters, as well as their friends, sent letters and notes to one another in French.¹⁴ And the mother was right: when their father died, the two sisters had to earn a living and become governesses. Equally, reading plays and novels in French, attendance at performances given at the theatre by a French troupe and the opportunity to take part in plays performed in French were means of improving one's knowledge of the language. The young generation of the Ulrich family did all that, as did the cadets and officers of the military school at Karlberg.¹⁵

Young people could also learn languages by studying abroad or in a Swedish university, where there were often language teachers (from as early as 1637, at Uppsala), as well as at military schools and academies founded in the eighteenth century (see Figures 1 and 2).¹⁶

Table 1: Modern languages, compulsory subjects for cadets in 1801¹⁷

	First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
Swedish grammar		x		
French	x	x	x	x
German	x	x	x	x
English			x	x
Russian				x

or at <<http://libris.kb.se/>>. See also Hans Östman, *Engelskan i Sverige i äldre och nyare tid* (Stockholm: Kungl. biblioteket, 2012), 141–2, 145–6.

14 This information emerges from the diaries of Lotten and Edla Ulrich; I have not seen the letters mentioned here.

15 e.g. Lotten Ulrich, 'Journal', 12 January 1833 and 25 August 1838; Edla Ulrich, 'Journal', 5 and 14 September and 24 October 1838.

16 See the article by Lars Ericson in Norberg, ed., *Karlberg*, vol. 1, 15, 17 ff.; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, vol. 2, 42–4, 56 ff.; *idem*, *A History of Uppsala University 1477–1977* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1976), 86–8, 144.

17 The figure is taken from the article by Lars Ericson in Norberg, ed., *Karlberg*, vol. 1, 32.

Table 2: Number of hours of foreign-language teaching per year for a cadet in 1806¹⁸

	at Haapanimi	at Karlberg
French	176	578
German	242	365
English	70	252
Russian	70	64

However, young men from good families, accompanied by a tutor, would do the Grand Tour, which would take them to Denmark, Germany, Holland, France and Italy, and sometimes also to England.¹⁹ If the tutor was zealous, he would make his disciple keep a travel journal written in the language of the country they happened to be in. That was the case, at the end of the 1690s, with the sons of the diplomat and court chancellor Gyldenstolpe under the supervision of Mr von Höpken. ‘Nous allames a Wersailles’ [We went to Versailles], wrote the young Carl Adolf Gyldenstolpe,

Mon frere & Mons: Höpken & moy. Le Roy devoit toucher des malades ce jour la [...] Le Roy étoit habillé en Robe, quant-il entroit son medecin alloit devant Luy & tenoit la tête au pauvre qu’il touchoit, disant: Dieu te benisse Le Roy te touche. Le Roy avoit assez de patience pour passer cette gallerie comme cela quatre fois.

[My brother and Mr Höpken and I. The King was to touch sick people that day [...] The King was dressed in his robes, when he entered his doctor went ahead of him and held the head of the poor man he was touching, saying ‘God bless you, the King touches you.’ The King had enough patience to go through the gallery like that four times.]²⁰

The regulations of 1807 stipulated that modern languages, especially French and German, were to be taught at Swedish secondary grammar schools. The

18 *Ibid.*, 38. See also the articles by Anna Hörsell, Björn Gäfvert, Ulf Söderberg, Göran Göransson and Erik Norberg in this same volume.

19 See Lindroth, *A History of Uppsala University*, 16 and 17; Charlotta Wolff, *Vänskap och makt: den svenska politiska eliten och upplysningstidens Frankrike* (Helsinki and Stockholm: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland [doctoral thesis], 2005).

20 See *Au Champ d’Apollon*, 136; Hans Östman, *Engelskan i Sverige*, 25–6.

regulations of 1856 favoured French, but those of 1859 and later stipulated that German should be the first foreign language to be taught. These regulations were the result of long debates. There were those who thought that French would continue to be the lingua franca, but a majority considered Germany to be closer to Sweden than France from the linguistic, cultural, political, religious and other points of view, and most scientific literature and handbooks at the universities were in German by the mid-eighteenth century.²¹

Who spoke and wrote French in Sweden?

This question prompted my husband, Hans Östman, and myself to start to compile an inventory of literary texts written in French by Swedes. We presented the outcome in our work *Au Champ d'Apollon* [*In the Field of Apollo*].²² I have supplemented this work with a sociological study of some 450 authors whom we have identified.²³ In Figure 3 these authors are divided up according to their date of birth in one of the following periods: before the abdication

21 Hammar, *L'enseignement du français*, 2, 9; *idem*, 'L'essor et le déclin du français, de l'allemand et de l'anglais en Suède 1807–1946', in M.-C. Kok Escalle and F. Melka, eds, *Changements politiques et statut des langues: histoire et épistémologie 1780–1945* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 22–3. There is an overview of the role of French, German and English in Swedish society between 1872 and 1914 in N. Ahnlund and F. Lindberg, eds, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, 5 vols in 10 parts (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1951–61), vol. 3, part 4, 129–35; the growing importance of German, on the one hand, and the presence of French as the main language in 80 per cent of girls' schools in 1888, on the other, is noted here.

22 *Au Champ d'Apollon* begins with a survey of Swedes' attitudes to foreign influences, followed by an anthology containing about 500 texts, often extracts, together with some biographical information about each author.

23 See *Glanures*. See also Margareta Östman, 'Vers et prose d'expression française produits en Suède', in Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stroev and Catherine Viollet, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles. Perspectives littéraires, historiques et culturelles* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang, 2012).

of Queen Christina in 1654; between Christina’s abdication and the death of Charles XII in 1718; during the ‘Era of Liberty’ from 1718 to 1772; and after 1772, that is to say during the ‘Gustavian Age’ (1772–1809) or later.

Table 3: Swedish authors who wrote in French, by date of birth

Authors born...				
before 1655	1655–1718	1719–71	1772–1809	from 1810 on
43 (9.5% of total)	152 (33.7%)	172 (38.1%)	54 (12%)	30 (6.7%)

It is not surprising that the majority of these authors were born in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor is it unexpected that there are many nobles among francophone authors, since francophonie was strongly associated with European nobilities. What is surprising, though, is the fact that half of the writers surveyed were not nobles, as Figure 4 reveals (see the band at the top of each column).

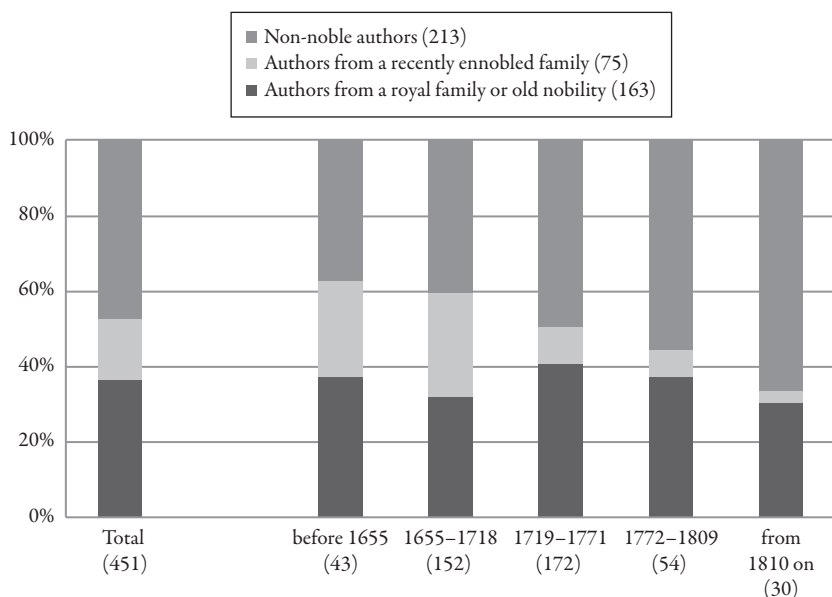


Figure 1: Noble and non-noble authors

The practice of ennoblement,²⁴ which was particularly common in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is reflected in the middle band of the columns in the diagram. Ennoblement was an inexpensive way, in a country that was poor, of rewarding those who had taken part in wars or financed them, but it was also, and above all, an instrument in the monarch's struggle to reduce the power of the old nobility, whose exclusive right to high military rank and civilian office was not abolished once and for all until 1809.²⁵

The lineage of the authors whom I have examined varies. Using the titles their fathers held when they died, we can divide them into five groups of equal size (see Figure 5). The first sector (hereafter S₁) to which Figure 5 refers includes people in all the offices of central government, the royal chancellery and the court (monarch's adviser, minister, chancellor, diplomat, princes' governor, posts in the royal theatres and so forth), and also some people whose office is more junior. The second sector (S₂) comprises people in other public offices whose headquarters were in Stockholm (war counsellor, various posts in the general management of Customs and Commerce or at the Office of Public Debt and so on). Together these two sectors contain one fifth of the authors' fathers. A further fifth consists of officials in local government (S₃) (provincial governors, judges, burgomasters, secretaries, doctors and others). The remaining groups include officers (S₄), teachers (S₅) and clergymen. I have combined the last two groups in the same row in the table because a single man often held both an ecclesiastical office and a teaching post at a lycée or in a university, both positions being quite poorly paid.²⁶ In the group 'Others', finally, we find those who held no public office. Here we have large property-owners and rich merchants, on the one hand, and

24 In this chapter, 'ennobled' means that either the author's father or the author was ennobled.

25 Sten Carlsson, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700–1865. Studier rörande det svenska ståndssamhällets upplösning*, 2nd edn (Lund: Gleerup, 1973), 50–1, 59, 145; Jan von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia* (Karlskrona: Abrahamson, 2005), 246; Lars Magnusson, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, 3rd edn (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 145, 270. See also *Glanures*, chapter 7.

26 For an explanation of why clergymen are treated as a group apart, see *Glanures*, 19–20, and Margareta Östman, 'Vers et prose', 68.

very poor people, on the other. It is in this group that we may see remarkable social mobility, which was rendered possible, indeed encouraged, by royal bursaries for study. Martinus Caroli Brytzenius is a case in point. The son of a small-scale farmer, he studied at the University of Uppsala, was ordained and became a far from exemplary parish priest. It may have been a sonnet of his, incidentally, that led a teacher of languages at Uppsala formally to complain, on 13 May 1699, of the poor quality of this genre of poem. It was in this connection that the University's rector is reported to have expressed the opinion that poems offering congratulations in French often demeaned the image of the University and ought for this reason to be prohibited.²⁷

Table 4: Authors' social origin and career

Group	Authors' fathers	Authors
	based on their final title	
Official at the centre or near supreme power (Sectors 1 and 2)	1 in 5	1 in 3
Official in local government (Sector 3)	1 in 5	1 in 10
Officer (Sector 4)	1 in 5	1 in 10
Teacher (Sector 5) / Clergyman	1 in 5	1 in 10
Without public office ('Others')	1 in 5	1 in 4

The distribution of the authors in our survey across the various social sectors is not nearly so even as that of their fathers. As can be seen from Figures 5 and 6, the office they held at the end of their careers placed almost one-third of them (compared to one-fifth of the fathers) at the centre or near to the supreme power of the kingdom (S1 and S2). It is in the first sector that we find the greatest difference between authors and their fathers. A quarter of the authors ended up in the group 'Others', while in each of the other three groups in which we find about one-fifth of the fathers (local government (S3), the army (S4) and public teaching (S5) together with the Church) only a little over one-tenth of the authors are to be found.

27 Claes Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets historia*, 9 vols (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1877–1931), vol. 2, 309, n. 1; *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 119–20.

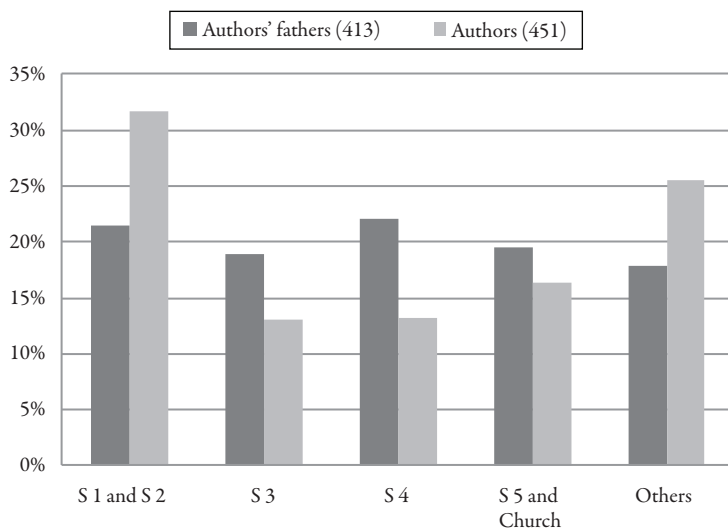


Figure 2: Authors' careers and their fathers' careers based on their final title

Compared to Swedish authors surveyed in other studies, the proportion of clergymen and teachers mentioned above is relatively small, and, furthermore, we may note that most of them were not yet ordained when they wrote their texts in French. A probable explanation of this is that the Lutheran Church was hostile to Catholicism and feared its power to entice Swedes to convert (like Queen Christina, for example). Consequently, it also distrusted the languages spoken in Catholic countries. Hans Östman's study of texts written in English by 445 Swedish authors, more than 40 per cent of whom were clergymen and teachers, supports this explanation. The English Church and English culture and language were apparently considered less dangerous in Sweden than those of the Catholic countries.²⁸ There are, however, some exceptions, such as pastors of the French Reformed Church of

28 Hans Östman, *Engelskan i Sverige*, 198, 202. See also Bo Bennich-Björkman, *Författaren i ämbetet. Studier i funktion och organisation av författarämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550–1850* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1970 [doctoral thesis]). This is a study of writers using their mother tongue (with a résumé in English); about 35 per cent of the writers surveyed were teachers or clergymen. See *Glanures*, chapters 3, 10 and 11.2.2.

Sweden (founded by some fifty French immigrants in 1715) or the Swedish parish in Paris (which had existed since 1626) who, on the occasion of a royal birth, marriage or funeral, felt at liberty to write in French.

Three-quarters of the *male* authors were enrolled at one or several universities, in most cases the University of Uppsala, which was the oldest, but also at other Swedish universities of the time (Lund, Åbo, Dorpat and Greifswald), as well as foreign universities (see Figure 7).²⁹

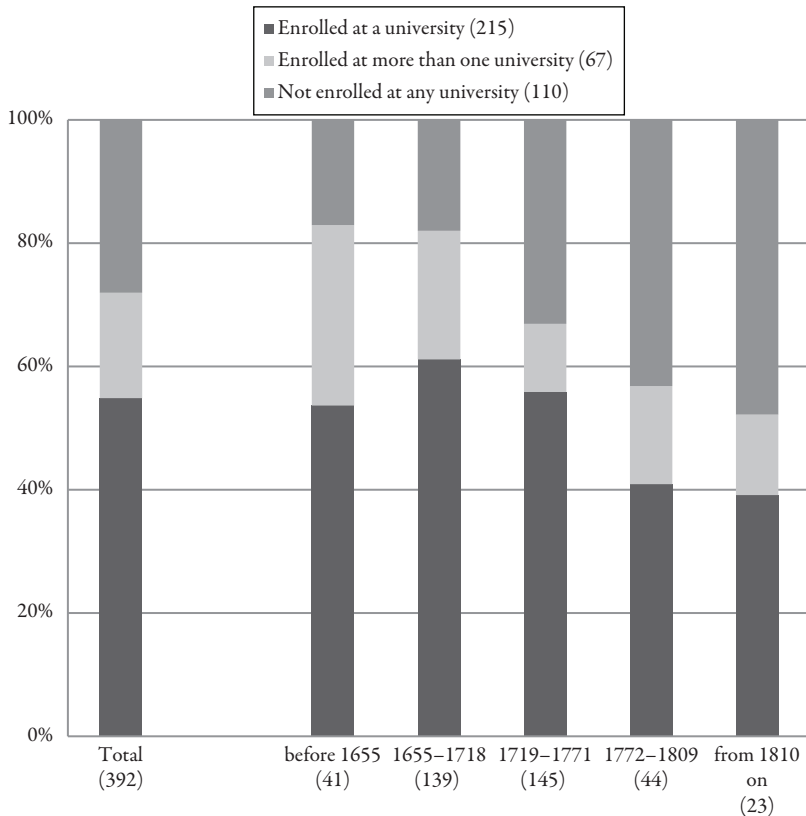


Figure 3: University study pursued by male authors

29 Since women did not have access to higher education until the mid-nineteenth century, they are not included in Figure 7. See also *Glanures*, chapters 4 and 11.2.3.

As for the fifty-nine female francophone authors of whom we have found traces, they represent a growing proportion of the number surveyed, from less than 5 per cent of the authors born before 1655 to nearly a quarter of those born from 1810 on. This increase reflects, of course, the advance of female education.³⁰ It was usually at court that women had a position reserved for them. In fact, they constituted more than one-tenth of the first sector. They also made up almost one-third of the 'Others'. The majority of them (thirty-two out of forty-three) have been placed in this group because they did not have a title in their own right, to the best of my knowledge. Eight of these forty-three may be described as poet, writer or woman of letters. These women used French to write poems in homage to the queen, valedictory poems to friends, dedications, biographical notices, plays for the theatre, aphorisms, love poems and so forth.³¹ We may also cite the two sisters I have already mentioned, Lotten and Edla Ulrich, who were daughters of the private secretary to King Charles XIV John but who were neither nobles nor wealthy. There are several brief passages in rather bad German or English in their personal diaries, but the core of each diary is written either in Swedish or in French.

French in Sweden: Domains and genres

We cannot help but notice the great variety of domains in which French was used during its heyday in Sweden and the diversity of genres in which texts were written in that language. Swedes used French to write novels, short stories, plays, collections of poems, accounts of wars, travel journals, (auto)biographies and historical works.

30 *Ibid.*, chapters 5 and 10. See also Bo Svensén, *De Aderton. Svenska Akademiens ledamöter under 225 år* (Stockholm: Svenska Akademien and Norstedt, 2011), 13, on women elected to the Swedish Academy.

31 See *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 95, 213, 241–2, 363, 381–2, 399–401, 403–4; *Glanures*, chapters 14.1.4 and 14.1.6.

More than half of the writings in French that I have seen may be described as occasional poems and of those one-third are tributes published in a master's dissertation or doctoral thesis. Most often, the student is congratulated in a poem on the following lines: first, there is an allusion to the subject of the dissertation; then it is stated that the respondent has thoroughly deserved Apollo's laurels – or God's rewards – through his application and knowledge; and lastly, we find an assurance of loyal friendship, and the whole poem is signed 'your humble servant'.³² Another popular genre is the poem written on the occasion of a birthday, marriage, funeral or some other such event. Poems of this sort are very numerous. Yet other poems are addressed to great nobles or members of the royal family and in these the authors usually express humble or servile, not to say cringing, admiration. Among authors of poems of the latter type we might mention Gustave Backman, a captain of cavalry and son of a businessman and consul at Gothenburg, who more than once eulogized Charles XIV John, as in the following sycophantic lines:

Le berceau d'Henri-quatre, est donc aussi le Tien!
Apprécient en Toi les qualités brillantes
Si rares sur la terre et que Tu nous présentes,
Héros, Législateur, Roi librement élu,
Léguant journellement quelque grande vertu
A Ton Fils adoré, l'espoir de la patrie,
Notre sort est, grand Roi! le seul digne d'envie,
Et le Nord, T'admirant d'un regard satisfait,
Dit: 'la Nature, en Toi, créa le Roi parfait'.³³

[The cradle of Henry IV is thus Yours too!
Prizing in You the brilliant qualities,
So rare on Earth, that You offer us,
Hero, Lawgiver, freely chosen King,
Each day bequeathing some great virtue

32 See *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 64–6, 71, 119–20.

33 Gustave Backman, *Recueil de poésies françaises* (Stockholm: [no name of publisher], 1845), 22–3; *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 366.

To Your adored Son, the country's hope,
 Our fate alone, great King! is worthy of envy,
 And the *North*, admiring You with a look of satisfaction,
 Says: 'Nature created in You the perfect King!']

To these occasional works we should add numerous contributions to albums, puzzles, charades, songs and so forth, which were written, or copied, as amusements to be enjoyed in company of an evening or on a rainy day.

However, Swedish writing in French consists of more than just these trifling things. There are at least twenty authors whose output may be thought of as making up a Swedish literature written in French, even if most of these works were published abroad. There were Queen Christina's collections of aphorisms, a tale entitled *La Faunillane ou L'infante jaune* [*The Girl from Fånö or the Yellow Infanta*] by Carl Gustaf Tessin (who became governor of the future Gustav III³⁴) and the works of Strindberg, to whom I shall return below. Oxenstierna wrote a diary in French. The French diary of Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta runs to thirty-six volumes. The *New Illustrated History of Swedish Literature*, though, has very little to say about this literature. In particular, it almost passes over Tessin's diary in silence. This work, in a luxurious binding – a little briefcase that can be locked – is composed now in Swedish, now in French. At the beginning of the first of its thirty-one volumes there are some notes in Swedish on the weather and some quotations from the Bible. Then it tackles a more delicate subject and the language shifts:

C'est ainsi que je passe mon tems, a la honte de mes ennemis, qui gratuitement me suposent occupé a des intrigues contre la Cour.³⁵ Il est vrai que je ne puis pas m'en louer; mais tout le mal que je Lui veux (J'en prens Dieu a temoin) c'est de Le prier de plier le coeur du Roi et de la Reine a la bonté, et de leur accorder sa grace de gouverner le Royaume, avec la meme clemence et la meme douceur qu'Il gouverne son

34 Tessin was a great Francophile and had served as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, representing the Hats party.

35 For an explanation, see Carl Fredrik Scheffer, *Lettres particulières à Carl Gustaf Tessin 1744–1752. Edition critique*, ed. Jan Heidner (Stockholm, 1982 [doctoral thesis]), 11.

Eglise militante. Je ne cherche pas un accès intime a la Cour. J'ai tant vu le Soleil ! ainsi j'atens paisiblement que la verité perce le nuage qui la cache.
La Vertu s'avilit a se justifier.³⁶

[This is how I spend my time, to the shame of my enemies, who gratuitously suppose that I am engaged in intrigues against the Court. It is true that I cannot congratulate myself on that; but all the ill that I wish the Court (God is my witness) is to beg Him to bend the heart of the King and Queen towards goodness and to grant them the grace of governing the Realm with the same leniency and gentleness with which He governs his militant Church. I do not seek close access to the Court. I have seen the Sun so much! So I wait peacefully for truth to pierce the cloud which conceals it. Virtue demeans itself in justifying itself.]

As for Gustav III, literary historians have looked first and foremost into his education and his attempts to create operas and plays of high quality in Swedish, in collaboration with great Swedish poets such as Gustav Philip Creutz, Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg, Oxenstierna, Leopold and Kellgren. However, his own plans for these operas and plays in Swedish were usually written in French,³⁷ and from his childhood on he wrote further plays and other works in French.³⁸

There is also much private correspondence written in French. The epistolary output of Gustav III was copious: he wrote in French to his subjects, ministers and ambassadors, but also to young officers going to France

36 Carl Gustaf Tessin, 'Åkerödagboken', 31 vols, in the National Library of Sweden, manuscript no. L 82:1–31, 30 August 1756, vol. 82:1:1, 7.

37 For example, Gustav III, 'Gustaf Adolph och Ebba Brahe', a plan for a play in which about ten pages are in French, in the National Library of Sweden, manuscript no. Vp 121.

38 For example, Anon. [Gustav III], 'Le tournoi. Ou combat à plaisance[.] Ballet analogue a la pièce de Birger Jarl', 1774, and 'Birger Jarl représenté pour la premiere fois au theatre de la cour le 8 juillet 1774 [...]', both in the National Library of Sweden, manuscript no. Vp 49; *idem*, a comedy with no title in Uppsala University Library, manuscript no. F 412:12; *idem*, *Articles du tournoi et des joutes* ([no place or publisher], 1777); *idem*, *Joutes et tournoi tenus par le roi et son altesse royale monseigneur le duc de Sudermannie [...]* (Stockholm: L'Imprimerie royale, 1777); *idem*, *Réflexions* (Stockholm: L'Imprimerie royale, 1778); *idem*, *Sujet du divertissement du aout 1779* (Stockholm: L'Imprimerie royale, 1779).

on their first campaign, including those in the Royal Swedes, a regiment in the French Army. Nobles such as the young Creutz³⁹ and Tessin wrote letters in a French which was natural and idiomatic. The correspondence written in French by certain famous people has been published, including the coin collector Carl Reinhold Berch, the Swedish minister in Paris Scheffer and Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta.⁴⁰ We also find the French correspondence of certain writers, for example Anna Maria Lenngren, in their complete works.⁴¹

Like Creutz and Tessin, the poet and academician Leopold was affected by the partiality of the court for French. This is how he begins a letter dated 3 February 1777 to his compatriot, J. A. Lindblom: ‘PARDON de Vous écrire en françois. C’est la langue dont on se sert le plus ici, et c’est celle qui Vous convient le plus; car elle est ainsi que Vous, tendre, facile, et noble.’ [‘I beg your pardon for writing to You in French. It is the language of which we make most use here, and the language which suits you most; for it is like Yourself, tender, easy to get along with and noble.’]⁴² Leopold wrote to other compatriots too in French as well as Swedish. If

39 See Gustaf Philip Creutz, *Le Comte de Creutz: Lettres inédites de Paris: 1766–1770*, ed. Marianne Molander (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1987 [doctoral thesis]); *idem, Lettres inédites à Gustave III: 1779–1780*, ed. Georges Mary (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1987 [doctoral thesis]).

40 Carl Reinhold Berch, *Lettres parisiennes adressées à ses amis 1740–1746*, ed. with notes by Jan Heidner (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1997); Scheffer, *Lettres particulières*; Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, *Une correspondance inédite d’Hedwige Charlotte reine de Suède*, ed. Comtesse Tomassucci, née Klinckowström [Helene Hedwig], whose presumed pseudonym is Edvige Fersi (no place, publisher or date of publication).

41 Theodor Hjelmqvist and Karl Warburg, eds, *Samlade skrifter af Anna Maria Lenngren*, 3 vols (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1917–26), *Svenska författare utgifna af Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet*, no. 6, vol. 1, 92 ff. The volumes in *Svenska författare utgifna af Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet* are also available online at <<http://litteraturbanken.se>>, where the unabridged text of many other works of Swedish authors can also be found.

42 Knut Fredlund *et al.*, eds, *Samlade skrifter af Carl Gustaf af Leopold*, 15 vols to date (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1911–), vol. 2, part 1, 30. Leopold also sent letters to the same addressee in Swedish. See also *Au Champ d’Apollon*, 300.

one was looking for epistolary models then it was most likely that one would find them in a foreign language, as Tessin shows. On 28 November 1757 he made the following note: 'Pourquoi est ce que je n'écris pas toutes mes drogues⁴³ en suédois? C'est que j'ai plus de modèles en François. Je suis trop paresseux pour frayer mon chemin: Il me faudroit façonner des phrases, et peut-être créer des mots.' ['Why do I not write all my trifles in Swedish? Because I have more models in French. I am too lazy to clear a path for myself: I would have to fashion my phrases and maybe create new words.']⁴⁴

Arvid David Hummel, the son of a Gothenburg burgomaster, and Lorenzo Hammarsköld, a literary critic and the royal librarian, corresponded in French for a different reason. In 1807, in order to escape his creditors, Hummel went to Russia, where he managed to find various posts in St Petersburg, first in the service of Sweden and then in the service of Russia. For one thing, he was eager to remain in contact with his literary correspondents in Sweden. For another, he wanted to play the role of an intermediary between Swedish and Russian culture: he had Swedish books delivered to St Petersburg and sent Russian works to various addressees in Sweden, and it was so that his contacts in Russia could understand the correspondence that he conducted it in French.⁴⁵

It is probable that there were some among the francophone Swedish writers I have mentioned who hoped to have readers outside Sweden, for several of them lived abroad, temporarily or permanently. Johan Turesson Oxenstierna af Croneborg, for example, who was enrolled at the University of Uppsala at the age of six, had had enough of his tutor and his studies

43 'Things of poor quality': *Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé*, at <<http://atilf.atilf.fr/>> (accessed on 10.06.2013).

44 Quoted after Scheffer, *Lettres particulières*, 39.

45 Arvid David Hummel, letters of 19/31 March 1814, 26 May/7 June 1814, 20 August/1 September 1814, 15/27 June 1815, 21 August/2 September 1815 and 20 November/2 December 1815 to Lorenzo Hammarsköld, in the National Library of Sweden, manuscript Ep. H. 2, vol. 4, part 1–2, nos 28, 58, 99, 217, 241, 269; letters of 10/22 May 1816 and 18/30 July 1816, in *ibid.*, vol. 5, nos 65, 83. See Margareta Östman, 'Lettres du Duc de P***. En raritet i Kungliga bibliotekets samlingar', *Biblis* 52 (Winter 2010–11), 49–52.

by 1683, and set off on travels in Europe which would last for forty years.⁴⁶ Johan Otter, a merchant's son, led a more orderly life. In 1728 he converted to Catholicism and was appointed Professor of Arabic in Paris, where he was elected to the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions and Humanities. There he published the two volumes of his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* [*Journey to Turkey and Persia*] (1748).⁴⁷ Strindberg also hoped to make a name for himself abroad and at the same time wanted to distance himself from the Swedish public.⁴⁸ Swedish prevailed in Strindberg's literary output, of course, but his works in French are of a quantity and extent that are by no means insignificant. The versions of his French works that were published during his lifetime were revised and corrected by a Frenchman, but the 'national' edition of his complete works is based on his original manuscripts (those in French date from the 1880s and 1890s). Among those published to date, we find *Le Plaidoyer d'un Fou. Roman* [*A Madman's Defence. A Novel*], 'La France en Suède' ['France in Sweden']; 'Relations de la Suède avec l'Espagne et le Portugal jusqu'à la fin du dix-septième siècle' ['Sweden's Relations with Spain and Portugal up to the End of the Seventeenth Century']; 'Les relations de la France avec la Suède jusqu'à nos jours' ['France's Relations with Sweden up to the Present Day']; *Vivisections II* and other texts written in French in the 1890s, *Légendes* [*Legends*] and *Inferno; Père* [*The Father*] would appear later.⁴⁹ The literary works of courtiers too, like their letters and diaries, were often written in French, as in the case of Johanna Eleonora De La Gardie, Thure Gabriel Bielke, Tessin and Oxenstierna.⁵⁰

46 See *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 106–8.

47 *Ibid.*, 188–9.

48 See, e.g., August Strindberg, *Samlade verk, Nationalupplagan av August Strindbergs samlade verk*, 68 vols to date (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1981–), vol. 25, 523, and vol. 34, 292–3. This edition of Strindberg's works is also available online at <<http://litteraturbanken.se>> (accessed on 02.11.2013). See also the essays in Gunnel Engwall, ed., *Strindberg et la France. Douze essais édités par Gunnel Engwall* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1994).

49 Strindberg, *Samlade verk*, vol. 25, 263–517; vol. 30, 7–32, 73–95, 113–232; vol. 34, 149–279; vol. 37, 159–272 and vol. 38, 7–317 (parallel versions in French and in Swedish translation).

50 *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 95–6, 148–50, 157–60, 281–4.

Other works in French were addressed to a public abroad in order to inform it of the 'truth' about important events or figures in Sweden's history. That is why, for example, Gustav IV Adolf commissioned a translation into French of his father's political, literary and dramatic works, the original versions of which were in Swedish.⁵¹ Queen Christina was the subject of a work in French by Johan Arckenholtz,⁵² while the academician Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand wrote a work in French on Swedish military and political history.⁵³

At the same time, the influence of French left few traces in the Swedish press. Only three eighteenth-century periodicals seem to have been published in that language: the *Stockholm Gazette* (1742–58) and, in the reign of Gustav III, *Mercure de Suede* [*The Swedish Mercury*] (1772) and *Gazette française de Stockholm* [*The Stockholm French Gazette*] (1781).⁵⁴ One of the reasons for the appearance of this francophone press in Gustav's reign was precisely the king's wish to display to Europe what was happening in Sweden in the fields of politics and learning.⁵⁵

The first of these papers, *The Stockholm Gazette* was edited by Peter Momma, a renowned printer and publisher. Almost entirely exempt from censorship, since Momma was the royal publisher, this periodical had

- 51 Gustaf III, *Oeuvres politiques, littéraires et dramatiques de Gustave III, roi de Suède, suivies de sa correspondance*, 5 vols (Stockholm: Charles Delén, and Paris: Levrault, Schoell and Company, 1804–5), vol. 1.
- 52 Johan Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine reine de Suede, pour servir d'eclaircissement a l'histoire de son regne et principalement de sa vie privée, et aux evenemens de l'histoire de son tems civile et littéraire [...]*, 4 vols (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Pierre Mortier, Jean Schreuder, Pierre Mortier le jeune, 1751–60); *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 160–1.
- 53 Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand, *Histoire militaire et politique des Rois de Suède de la Maison Palatine de Deux-Ponts* (Stockholm: Charles Delén, 1807); *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 307–9.
- 54 See Otto Sylwan, *Svenska pressens historia till statshöfvingen 1772* (Lund: Gleerup, 1896), 113–17, 471–2; Harald Lindgren, *Gjörwells Mercure de Suede* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Söner, 1914), 1–2; Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, eds, *Den svenska pressens historia*, 5 vols (Stockholm: Ekerlid, 2000–3), vol. 1, 119, 124, 138, 162.
- 55 Lindgren, *Gjörwells Mercure de Suede*, 1.

quasi-official status. However, the amount of space it devoted to Swedish events was very limited, being confined to such matters as important appointments, publicity about performances and goods for sale, news of the royal family and random pieces of information, as in the following report:⁵⁶ ‘Vendredi passé Son Altesse Royale prit le divertissement de la chasse aux Elans, dont Elle tua deux. L’Année passée il est entré dans ce Port 733 Vaisseaux des Pais-Etrangers, & il en est sorti 735.’ [‘Last Friday His Royal Highness hunted elk for recreation and killed two of them. Last year 733 vessels from foreign countries entered this port and 735 left it.’]⁵⁷

The Swedish Mercury was produced by Carl Christoffer Gjørwell, who is best known as a publicist and publisher of some sixty reviews, at the express request of Gustav III.⁵⁸ This periodical was not a success, though. Only six numbers of it appeared because the king (and others) thought Gjørwell’s French was so wretched that he was forced to withdraw his support.⁵⁹ The *Stockholm French Gazette* was the undertaking of Pehr Rudin, the son of a craftsman and a rather unsuccessful writer and translator who had worked for a number of periodicals, using the foreign press to compile articles for them. The *Gazette* was aimed at people who wanted to keep abreast of political news, on the one hand, and those who wanted to keep up their French, on the other. However, the items in the *Gazette* were unlikely to have come from Rudin’s pen; rather they were copied from the gazettes in France, England, Holland and Germany that he considered the most reliable and best written and little attention was paid to news coming from Sweden.⁶⁰ Like *The Stockholm Gazette*, *The Stockholm French*

56 B. Boëthius, B. Hildebrand and G. Nilzén, eds, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (Stockholm: Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, 1918–), vol. 25, 667–9; also available online at <<http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/>> (accessed on 02.11.2013).

57 *Stockholm Gazette* 2/13 January 1744, 4.

58 Lindegren, *Gjørwells Mercure de Suede*, 1; *Au Champ d’Apollon*, 240; Hans Östman, ‘Några axplock ur Carl Christoffer Gjørwells korrespondens’, *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 1 (2001); Boëthius *et al.*, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 17, 144 ff.

59 Lindegren, *Gjørwells Mercure de Suede*, 2.

60 See J. Viktor Johansson, ‘Journalisten Pehr Rudin’, in *Studier tillägnade Otto Sylwan pa sextioårsdagen den 22 augusti 1924* (Gothenburg: Elanders boktryckeri AB, 1924), 261–87.

Gazette struggled to survive, for these periodicals managed to attract only about a hundred subscribers each, most of whom were foreign diplomats stationed in Sweden.

Linguistic quality and originality

We often come across manuscripts written in French which are well nigh illegible and incomprehensible. Some of these texts need to be read out loud if we are to understand them: their authors may have some knowledge of French vocabulary and pronunciation but they have little familiarity with the way the language looks when it is written. Other texts are difficult to read because there is not enough space between certain words or because of the almost complete lack of punctuation. Even the writings of Queen Louisa Ulrika and the future Gustav III (who may have been dyslexic) can prove problematic, despite their authors' mastery of French. Henrik Schück and Gunnar von Proschwitz, who have edited Louisa Ulrika's and Gustav's correspondence, agree that the visual appearance of many passages of handwriting in their letters makes them difficult to understand.⁶¹ Schück gives some examples of their disconcerting spelling: *sest*, *sait* [*c'est*]; *quand* [*qu'en*]; *j'est* [*j'ai*]; *auter* [*ôter*]; *asteur* [*à cette heure*].⁶² The following example of Gustav's writing, in which I have used italics to highlight the places where mistakes occur, illustrates the point:

Madame

[...] Je n'*est* jamais doute de la mauvaise volonte des Etats [...]. Leur mesquinerie leur fait beaucoup d'ennemis ici et generalement on n'est pas content *deux* [...] *l'affaire* d'Olivencrona leur a fait principalement beaucoup de *tord* dans cette province [...] Si on eut envoye la belle Heda en Ambassade j'*au*rois *peu* croire que *seut* ete pour plaire au

61 Henrik Schück, ed., *Gustav III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas brevväxling* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Söners Förlag, 1919), 10–11; *Gustave III par ses lettres*, 16–17, 20.

62 *Gustav III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas brevväxling*, x.

Comte de Horn mais le gros cochon ne plaira a personne[;] du moins ici la nouvelle de cette Ambassade a fait fair de Haus *eclat* de rire[.] nous l'avons *seu* par Tillas qui *la* escrit a Sinclaire. qui *semet* avec Sverine Bielke & sa femme au pied de Votre Majeste. [...]

Madame de Votre Majesté le Tres humble & tres obïssent fils & sujet Gustaf⁶³
ce 28 [septembre 1766] a 1e heur [?] du soire.

[Madame

[...] I have never doubted the ill will of the estates of the realm [...]. Their pettiness makes them many enemies here and generally people are not happy with them[.] The Olivencrona affair in particular has greatly damaged their standing in this province [...]. If the beautiful Hedda had been sent as ambassador I might have been able to believe that this was to please Count Horn but the fat pig won't please anyone[;] at least here the news of this embassy made von Haus[wolff] roar with laughter[.] we have this through Tillas, who wrote it to Sinclaire, who puts himself with Sverine Bielke and his wife at Your Majesty's feet.

Madame, [I remain] the Very humble and very obedient son and subject of Your Majesty, Gustaf

The 28th [of September 1766] at one o'clock in the morning]⁶⁴

Sometimes authors indicate that they have not found the word they are looking for. This is the case with Edla Ulrich on 28 May 1854. She is giving an account of a visit to the natural history museum in Lund, where the family in which she is a governess has taken her:

On avait aussi trouvé dans cette mer un *spjutfisk*, grand poisson aussi long que le plancher d'une chambre ordinaire, de la bouche duquel sort une dent énorme ressemblant à une lance et qui souvent fait un grand dégât aux vaisseaux. L'espadaon, *svärdfisk*, est du même genre, mais plus petit, et je crois moins dangereux.

[They had also found a *spjutfisk* [marlin] in that sea. It's a large fish as long as the floor of an average room and from its mouth an enormous tooth sticks out, which

63 Gustav would later sign his name 'Gustaf' when the text was in Swedish and 'Gustave' when it was in French. In the text of this chapter I have used Gustav, which is how his name is spelt in Swedish encyclopaedias.

64 *Gustav III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas brevväxling*, xiii–xvi. See also Carl Fredrik von Saltza's travel account, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld's aphorism, Charlotta Maria Taube's poem and the memoirs of Magdalena Charlotta Rudenschöld, *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 208–9, 90, 154–5 and 327–8 respectively. See also Margareta Östman, 'Vers et prose', 73, 77.

looks like a spear and which often does a lot of damage to vessels. The swordfish, *svärdfisken*, is of the same genus but it's smaller and I think less dangerous.]

In cases like these, Edla, like her sister, inserts the word in question in Swedish, often underlining it (italicized here). In most instances we are dealing with specific terms which the sisters do not know or want to make clear, or else with something typically Swedish, such as the dry bread called *knäckebröd*, which might still pose problems for professional translators today. Sometimes languages alternate: passages in French and Swedish follow one another in diaries without it always being possible to see the reason.⁶⁵

However, these flaws are not the hallmark of Swedes' writings in French. With the proviso that we do not know whether a text has been corrected, or indeed composed, by someone else, we often find texts of astonishing quality, as in Tessin's *Faunillane*:

[Le Prince et la Princesse] furent interrompus par les sifflemens de mille serpens qui traînoient un Char composé de coeurs hachés, & traversés de dards: Une femme qui avoit un air de colique, étoit dans cet horrible équipage, sa robe étoit noire, parsemée de flammes de brillans, les serpens qu'elle portoit en guise de cheveux étoient renoués d'un ruban feuille morte, & derrière elle, on voyoit une Furie qui boucloit son tignon couleuvré avec un fer chaud qui fit siffler ce peuple rampant d'une manière aussi terrible que singulière.

Je suis, s'écria-t-elle du plus loin qu'on pouvoit l'entendre, je suis la Fée Envieuse, Reine du Pais des Desirs: Que souhaitez-vous, Prince [...]?

[[The Prince and Princess] were interrupted by the hissing of a thousand snakes dragging a waggon consisting of hearts that had been chopped up and pierced with darts. A woman who looked as if she suffered from colic sat in this horrible carriage; her dress was black and shot with flashes of brilliants; the snakes she wore by way of hair were tied up with a band of fallen leaves and behind her a Fury could be seen fastening her head-dress of grass-snakes with a hot iron, which made this crawling mass hiss in a manner as terrible as it was peculiar.

'I', she cried from as far away as it was possible for her to be heard, 'I am the Envious Fairy, Queen of the Land of Desires. What is it you wish for, O Prince [...]?'⁶⁶

65 See Carl Gustaf Tessin, 'Åkerödaboken', 30 August 1756, vol. 1, 7.

66 *Idem, Faunillane ou L'infante jaune, conte* (Malmö: Allhems förlag, 1955; facsimile of original printed in 1741), 12–13. See also the digital library of the National Library of France at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/>>.

Is Tessin's French not virtually impeccable in this extract? It is worth noting that this work, even if Tessin showed it to friends in Paris, was intended to amuse members of his own family, some of whom figured in it as fictitious characters; he had only three or four copies of it printed.⁶⁷

The influence of French on Swedish and society's reaction to it

One natural consequence of the widespread use of French was the entry into Swedish, from the seventeenth century, of French loanwords. (It is mainly eighteenth-century borrowings that have survived to the present day.) We find, for example, Swedish terms derived from French in the following domains.

- Titles, professions, words indicating kinship: *baron, ingenjör, kusin, mamma* and *pappa* [baron, engineer, cousin, mama, papa].
- Building, interiors: *alkov, balkong, betong, byffé, fåtölj, garderob, salong, terrass, trottoar* [alcove, balcony, concrete, sideboard, armchair, wardrobe, sitting-room, terrace, pavement].
- Business: *balans, kapital, chef, kredit, fabrik(ör), direktör, finansiera, garanti, industri, ruin* [balance, capital, head, credit, factory/manufacturer, director, finances, guarantee, industry, ruin].
- Fashion: *blus, kostym, gas, manschett, mustasch, paraply, parfym, puder, uniform, väst, toalett, tyll* [blouse, costume, gauze, cuff, moustache, umbrella, perfume, powder, uniform, waistcoat, tulle].
- Food and drink: *assiett, karamell, butelj, karaff, champagne, champinjon, charkuteri, choklad, dessert, gelé, glass, omelett, puré, sås, supé, tomat* [plate, caramel, bottle, carafe, champagne, mushroom, charcuterie, chocolate, dessert, jelly, ice-cream, omelette, purée, sauce, supper, tomato].

67 At 'BADINOPOLIS, Chez les Freres PONTTHOMMES, à l'Enseigne du Roi d'Egypte'.

- Politics and diplomacy: *allians, ambassad, departement, diplomati, liberalism, radikal, social(ism)* [alliance, embassy, department/ministry, diplomacy, liberalism, radical, social(ism)].
- Theatre and music: *applådera, balett, debut(era), ensemble, foajé, opera, pjäs, repertoar, ridå, roll, scen, teater, klarinett, konsert, (o)uvertyr* [to applaud, ballet, debut/to make one's debut, ensemble, hall, opera, play, repertoire, curtain, role, stage, theatre, clarinet, concert, overture].
- Art: *byst, fresk, gravyr, porträtt, staty* [bust, fresco, engraving, portrait, statue].
- Literature and the press: *affisch, annons, biografi, broschyr, följeton, journalist, kritik(er), poem, poesi, redaktör* [poster, advertisement, biography, pamphlet, feuilleton, journalist, critic, poem, poetry, editor].
- Military life: *bivack, kasern, defensiv, offensiv, manöver, order* [bivouac, barracks, defensive, offensive, manoeuvre, order].
- Miscellaneous: *adjö, bagatell, biljett, blond, bohem, bordell, brutal, kafé, charlatan, charm(era), cigar(r)ett, dementera, detalj, favorit, generös, guvernant, guide/gäjd, maskin, migrän, miljö, modern, paket, passagerare, populär, portmonnä, portion, revolt, skandal, talang, visit* [adieu, trifling thing, ticket, blond, Bohemian, brothel, brutal, café, charlatan, charm/to charm, cigarette, to deny, detail, favour, generous, governess, guide, machine, migraine, milieu, modern, parcel/packet, passenger, popular, purse, portion, revolt, scandal, talent, visit].⁶⁸

With today's pronunciation and spelling, these borrowings are well integrated into the Swedish language and scarcely seem like foreign words. However, at the time when they were borrowed, some Swedes' excessive use of them provoked much criticism. We find a satirical example of the mixing of French and Swedish words in Johan Stagnell's comedy *Baron Sjelfklok Och Fröken Granlaga* [*Baron Self-Important and Miss Scrupulous*]

68 Gösta Bergman, *Kortfattad svensk språkhistoria* (Stockholm: Norstedts Akademiska Förlag, 2006), 134. See Ingvar Holm and Magnus von Platen, *La littérature suédoise*, tr. M. Cazaux, J. Gengoux, P. Naërt and P. Volboudt (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1957), 130–1, 150–2, 179–80.

(1753). The characters express themselves in the following way during the critical phase of a marriage proposal (I have italicized the French words in the original and the translation):

fröken

Ja, det är sant, at Min Far har *positivement* så beslutit, och at det måste ske, om man ej finner något *moien*, at göra dess *dessein* til intet, hwar om jag ärnar *deliberera* med min Mor, til dess Baron Alfvarsam kommer rättnu hit, at göra *visite* hos min Far.

Baron Sjelfklok

Jag måste då gå bort. Men *considerera*, Min Nådiga Fröken, at *toute mon espérance* är stäld emellan lifwet och döden, som endast *dependerar* af lyckligt utslag i denna saken; ty går det olyckligt, så är jag *pour jamais perdu*, och mitt förtreteliga lif skall, *la peste me creve!* icke en timma mer röra denne kroppen, utan [...] ⁶⁹

[Mademoiselle

Yes, it's true that my father has *positivement* [positively] made that decision and that's how things will have to be, unless a *moyen* [means] can be found of thwarting his *dessein* [plan], on which I'll *délibérer* [deliberate] with my mother, until Baron ['baron' was the standard Swedish word at this time] Alfvarsam [Serious] comes here shortly to make a *visite* [visit] to my father.

Baron Self-Important

I'll have to go away then. But, Mademoiselle, would you *considérer* [bear in mind] that *toute mon espérance* [all my hope] is between life and death, and *dépend* [depends] on nothing but a happy outcome to this affair; for if it turns out badly, I am *pour jamais perdu* [for ever lost], and in my wretched life, *la peste me creve* [may the plague take me]! My body will not move one hour more, but [...].]

The impact of French was the subject of virulent criticism by followers of the Gothicism which developed in Sweden in the reign of Gustav II Adolf. The supporters of this intellectual and literary movement believed that the

69 Johan Stagnell, *Baron Sjelfklok Och Fröken Granlaga* (Stockholm: Nyström, 1753), 42–3; *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 29–30.

ancient Goths were models of virtue and mentality far superior to those that reigned in southern Europe. The peoples of all nations, and all languages too, they claimed, had emanated from Scandinavia.⁷⁰ Consequently, there was no reason to admire and imitate foreigners, particularly the French, or to use other languages instead of the mother tongue. On the contrary, according to the Gallophobes, the use of French was a threat to good manners and morals. The fall of Adam was proof of it, according to a character by the name of Simplex who, in a work by Anders Kempe, affirmed it as self-evident that God spoke Swedish, Adam Danish and the serpent French.⁷¹ A century later, Pehr Adrian Gadd, a professor at Åbo, would speak of 'renegades of the fatherland' who, by learning French and other foreign languages, were opening their hearts to foreigners' mores; the rest of the people were contaminated by them and corruption spread everywhere.⁷²

The powerful Lutheran Church sided with those who feared any influence coming from a Catholic country. The Queen of Sweden, Christina, herself provided an excellent illustration of the danger in the seventeenth century: not only was she surrounded by foreign savants like Descartes and dubious religious advisers; she also lived in a luxury liable to irritate the Swedish people who, according to Johan Arckenholtz, were hard-working, serious and poor.⁷³ To cap it all, the queen converted to Catholicism, abdicated and settled in Rome.

In the eighteenth-century political domain, members of the Caps party – pacifist, anti-aristocratic and Anglophile – were also distrustful of French influence, which was closely associated, in their eyes, with Queen

70 For examples, see *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 13 ff. See also the abridged version headed 'Admiration et aversion. L'attitude des Suédois à l'égard des Français aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in *Etudes Germaniques. Revue trimestrielle de la Société des Etudes Germaniques* 61/4 (2006), 629–46.

71 Anders Kempe, *Die Sprachen des Paradises [...]* ([no place of publication or name of publisher], 1688), 27–31.

72 Pehr Adrian Gadd, *Undersökning om de fölgder, hvarmed inbemskt språks förakt verkar på folkets seder* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1770), 27; *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 31–2.

73 Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede*, vol. 1, 19–20.

Louisa Ulrika, her son Gustav III and the revanchist and aristocratic Hats party. This mistrust was the source of numerous caricatures of the French, on the one hand, and of Swedes who were doing their best to imitate them, on the other. Carl Envallsson's comic opera *Koppar-Slagaren* [*The Coppersmith*] (1781) is a good example of such caricatures. A character named Polisson [Rascal], having learned French in Paris in the space of three weeks, sings an arietta in French and then says to a maidservant: 'Ah Mon Ange! La blancheur de vôtre gorge & le vermillon de vôtre visage font rougir la neige & pâlier les roses' ['Oh, my angel! The whiteness of your breast and the vermilion of your face would make snow blush and roses blanch']. When the maid asks him to speak Swedish so that she may understand what he is saying he continues: 'Au Diantre le vilain suédois! – Fi donc! – Vous ne comprenez pas la noble langue des Français, Mademoiselle?' ['To hell with scurvy Swedish! Fie! So you don't understand the noble language of the French, young lady?'].⁷⁴ These caricatures underline the extent to which Francophilia or Gallomania had spread since the seventeenth century and how frequent the use of French had become.

According to the Swedish Language Corporation, a short-lived society founded about 1740 by some members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Swedish was felt to be of little use because Swedes were not in the habit of using it much, and if they had applied themselves to writing in Swedish with the same zeal with which they wrote in French then Swedish would soon have been fitting for various genres.⁷⁵ It was not until the 1730s that the heavy prose of the Baroque began to be replaced by a freer and more natural Swedish style, which was introduced by Olof von Dalin's periodical *Then Swänska Argus* [*The Swedish Argus*] (1732–4), a work considered so important that it marks a new age in the history of

74 Carl Envallsson, *Koppar-Slagaren, opera-comique i en act* (Stockholm: [no name of publisher or date]), 38–40, *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 37–8.

75 Anon. 'Anmärkning, om Svenska språkets egenskaper [...]', in the archives of the Swedish Academy, manuscript Autografsaml. 5 ('Svenska Tungomåls-gillet's paper, N. 26'), not paginated. See also H. Hernlund, 'Svenska Tungomåls-gillet och dess förhållande till Vetenskaps-akademien', *Samlaren* 6 (1885), especially 27–8, 30 ff.; *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 26–7.

Swedish.⁷⁶ With the Academy of Sciences, founded in 1739, an official institution was charged with the promotion of the Swedish language. One of the articles in its regulations ran as follows: '§. 5. The defence and improvement of the Swedish language will thus be one of the Academy's points of reference and Swedish is the only language which should be used in its documents and printed forms and at all official meetings.'⁷⁷ The linguistic mission of the Academy of Sciences was subsequently taken up by the Swedish Academy.

From the eighteenth century on, Sweden's cultural heritage was increasingly enriched by works in Swedish which were of such quality that they have become classics. We even speak of a first golden age of Swedish literature, which runs parallel to the zenith of French influence.

*

Thus it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the influence of French reached its peak in Sweden. This influence was not confined to the court and the nobility, but embraced broad layers of the educated population. For commoners too, French represented significant cultural capital, since it enabled them to find work, especially in the education sector, where demand was great and there was a call for local teachers. Nor were women excluded from these developments, for new models of women's education required a good command of French.

French was used in many literary genres (novels, short stories, historical works and occasional poetry) and often also in private correspondence and for keeping a personal diary. It was useful too for making Sweden known in Europe. However, excessive use of French, the numerous French words which entered the language of educated Swedes and French cultural influence in many domains – all these things provoked a strong reaction in Swedish society. Known as Gothicism, this intellectual and literary movement dates from at least as far back as the early seventeenth century.

76 Bergman, *Kortfattad svensk språkhistoria*, 47–9; Holm and von Platen, *La littérature suédoise*, 47–9; Boëthius *et al.*, eds, *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*, vol. 10, 50–65; also available online at <<http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/>>.

77 See *Au Champ d'Apollon*, 26.

Referring to legends about the qualities of Swedes' ancestors and viewing the Swedish language as part of their national heritage, exponents of Gothicism pointed, from as early as the seventeenth century, to the supposed deficiencies of the French nation and language, which were labelled as thoughtless, superficial, mannered and even immoral. Reflection on Swedish national culture and the Swedish language encouraged the creation of institutions such as the Swedish Academy, whose mission it became to develop the vernacular. Nevertheless, many Swedes continued to think that French had its uses and considered the purists to be exaggerating the dangers of foreign influence. The use of the French language in Sweden, then, played an important role over a long period in the debate about Sweden's national identity.

II The Presence of Francophonie in Poland from the Sixteenth Century to the Eighteenth

We aim in this chapter to examine the presence of the French language in the Nobles' Republic of Poland against the background of the broader influence of French culture and civilization there and the reception of models emanating from the Valois and Bourbon monarchies. We shall therefore begin with a brief discussion of what was politically, socially and culturally distinctive about early modern Poland, before moving on to the history of its relations with France in the period in question. We shall give prominence to the wide-ranging activity of the courts of two French queens who were wives of kings of Poland in the seventeenth century. Against this background, we shall consider the presence of French in the Republic from various points of view, examining the way in which it was learned, the extent of knowledge of it and its cultural role. This latter dimension will require us to look at various domains, from literature to the theatre, the life of society and mores. Finally, we shall make a few remarks about the French press in Poland in the eighteenth century.

The Nobles' Republic of Poland

Poland in the early modern age has sometimes been described as a nobles' republic over which a king presided. It was situated between countries and states which were important but very different from one another. On one side, there was Russia, Muscovy; on another, Turkey; to the west, the German Empire; to the south, Habsburg possessions; and, across the Baltic

Sea, Sweden. These were countries with different religions and diverse traditions and civilizations. Poland's history was strongly affected by this geographical position. The Nobles' Republic also had a quite distinctive set of institutions, which reflected the exceptional importance of the nobility. In fact, the nobility was extremely numerous by comparison with other European nobilities, amounting to between 8 and 10 per cent of the population. (Only in Spain and England were there comparable numbers of nobles at this time.) However, it was chiefly thanks to its massive participation in political life that the Polish nobility had such importance. Thus from the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the following three centuries, almost 10 per cent of the population had authority to play a personal part in political decision-making. Free election of the king was the most important principle in the hierarchy of Poland's fundamental laws. This principle was designed to prevent the possibility of an increase in monarchic power and the establishment in Poland of an *absolutum dominium* [absolute monarchy], which would have removed the 'golden liberty' of noble democracy.¹

The political ideology and the whole noble culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of this time have been called 'Sarmatism', a concept based on the notion that the Polish nobility had their origins among the ancient Sarmatians.² Sarmatism influenced political and religious thought and noble culture and fashion. It was characterized, among other things, by xenophobia, religious devotion, glorification of the Poles' own political system and orientalizing of artistic taste. In the second half of

- 1 Maciej Serwański, 'Les projets de l'élection "vivent regem" en Pologne au XVIIe siècle', in [Collective work], *L'État dans les doctrines économiques et politiques de la Renaissance à nos jours* (Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines, 1990), 35; *idem*, 'Le costume "sarmate", trait distinctif de la noblesse polonaise au XVIe-XVIIe siècle', in Denise Turrel, Martin Aurell, Christine Manigand, Jérôme Grévy, Laurent Hablot and Catalina Girbea, eds, *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques du Moyen-Âge à nos jours* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 393-408.
- 2 The Sarmatians were an Iranian people who flourished in the steppes of what is now Ukraine and southern Russia from around the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD.

the seventeenth century, this ideology already entailed great intolerance towards other cultural, political and religious systems.³

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a multi-national and multi-confessional state situated at a crossroads at which different cultures and civilizations met. It had good relations in the sixteenth century with the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the Poles maintained relations on the political and cultural levels with many western countries, and it is to their relations with France in particular that we now turn.

Relations between Poland and France in early modern times

A tradition of contacts between Poland and France goes back to the Middle Ages.⁴ People travelled in both directions and relations existed in the spheres of education and the Church. Political relations between the two countries were established at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Because of the rivalry between the great European Houses of Valois and Habsburg, which had begun at the end of the fifteenth century, the stance of the powerful Polish Jagiellon monarchy was important from the point of view of the French royal house, as it was for the Habsburgs too. However, attempts made in the first half of the sixteenth century to bring the Valois and Jagiellon monarchies together brought no lasting results.⁵

3 Serwański 'Quelques aspects de la conscience nationale dans l'ancienne République de Pologne. La noblesse polonaise envers la civilisation française au XVIIe siècle', in Janusz Pajewski and Maciej Serwański, eds, *Développement de la conscience nationale en Europe Centrale du XVIe au XXe siècle* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1982), 27–8.

4 Serwański, 'La Pologne nobiliaire et la France: liens de cœur ou de raison?', in *Annales*, vol. 13 (Warsaw and Paris: Académie Polonaise des Sciences, Centre Scientifique, 2011), 14–49.

5 *Idem*, 'Les influences politiques françaises en Pologne dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle', in [Collective work], *Les influences étrangères en Pologne du Moyen-Âge à nos jours* (Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines, [1996]), 56–63.

After the last Jagiellon king, Sigismund II Augustus, had died without issue in 1572, the Polish throne, *de facto*, became elective and the House of Valois claimed the crown of Cracow for Prince Henry of Anjou (Henry of Valois), the brother of King Charles IX. Henry was elected King of Poland in May 1573.⁶ However, Henry's reign ended in a way that was calamitous for the Poles. In June 1574, after the death of Charles IX, he fled in stealth to take up with France again. There is an unpleasant recollection of this episode in French literature, that is to say a very unflattering assessment of Poland at that time which is expressed in the poem *Adieu à la Pologne* [*Farewell to Poland*] by one of Henry's courtiers, Philippe Desportes.⁷ The censure, not to say hatred, in Desportes's poem fostered the bitterness that Poles felt after the flight of the king. Jan Kochanowski, who was connected to the circle of Pierre Ronsard's Pleiad and who had supported Henry's election, reacted with a poem of his own, *Gallo crocitanti*. This title was rendered in Polish as 'To a Frenchman Croaking like a Toad'; the translation makes use of a play on words, since Gallus in Latin means not just a 'Gaul' but also a 'cockereel'.

Relations with France changed in the seventeenth century after the death in 1644 of Archduchess Cecilia Renata of Austria, the wife of the Polish king Władysław IV. Władysław immediately turned to Paris in search of a new wife, more precisely to a French princess, Marie-Louise Gonzaga of Nevers, who married him in the following year. (Marie-Louise was forced to change her name to Louise-Marie, since the Poles' Catholic faith did not allow the forename Marie to be used for anyone other than

- 6 *Idem*, 'Henri de Valois au trône de Pologne – les problèmes de la tolérance religieuse et la politique au XVI^e siècle', in *Renaissance européenne et phénomènes religieux 1450–1650* (Montbrison: Édité par l'Association du Centre Culturel de la Ville de Montbrison, 1991), 302–3; *idem*, 'Les problèmes confessionnels dans les relations polono-françaises au 16^e et au 17^e siècles', in Jean Baptiste Neveux, ed., *Eglises, Etats, Nations. XVI^e–XVIII^e Siècle*, 2 vols (Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1985), vol. 2, 289–310.
- 7 Philippe Desportes, *Les Premières Œuvres de Philippes [sic] Des Portes: au roy de France et de Polongne [sic]*. Reueüs, corrigées et augmentées en ceste dernière impression (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1600), 293–4.

the Virgin Mary.) The arrival of a French queen and her retinue changed the character of the court in Warsaw. French fashion and customs began to interest Polish lords, although they often provoked xenophobic reactions.

The marriage of Louise-Marie and Władysław IV did not last long, as Władysław died in 1648. However, this did not signal a reduction of the French presence in Poland, quite the contrary. John Casimir, the half-brother of the late sovereign, acceded to the throne of the Republic and in 1649 he himself married Louise-Marie. His maid of honour at court, Marie Casimire de la Grange d'Arquien, later became the wife of John III Sobieski, to whom we shall return.

Reciprocal contacts between Poland and France continued in the eighteenth century. The French presence in culture and daily life became marked, above all with the arrival of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. In the political sphere there was someone eminent who brought the two countries together. This was the King of Poland and Duke of Lorraine and Bar Stanisław Leszczyński. In 1725 his daughter Marie Leszczyńska became Queen of France through her marriage to Louis XV. Thus Marie's parents became parents-in-law to the King of France and the alliance between Poland and France grew more and more evident. Despite a setback in the Polish War of Succession (1733–6), the clandestine policy pursued by Louis XV, called the King's Secret, continued to influence Polish affairs. However, in 1764 a serious rupture in diplomatic relations between the two countries was caused by the election to the Polish throne of Stanisław-August Poniatowski, a Russian candidate. The new Polish king was not recognized by France until 1766. During the Bar Confederation of 1768–72, an anti-Russian and anti-royalist movement, the French supported the confederates by sending French officers under the command of Charles François Dumouriez. Then, towards the end of the eighteenth century the French Revolution to some extent influenced the reforms of the Grand Diet, or Four-Year Diet, of 1788–92, in particular the Constitution of 3 May 1791.⁸

8 Serwański, 'Les reflets de la Révolution française en Pologne (1789–1794)', in *Colloque sur l'image de la France révolutionnaire dans les pays et les peuples de l'Europe centrale et du Sud-Est* (Paris: INALCO, 1989), 181–98.

It was against this historical background that cultural relations between France under the *ancien régime* and the Nobles' Republic of Poland played out. Over time, the role of the French language would seem increasingly important in this relationship.

The growing presence of French language and culture at the seventeenth century court

At the king's side, and enjoying great influence over him, the French queen, Louise-Marie, began to play an important political role. Cardinal Mazarin, the first minister of Louis XIV, reproached her for advancing her personal ambitions rather than supporting France's Polish policy. In his eyes, she was a subject of the King of France, not the sovereign of another country. Louise-Marie, for her part, upheld her monarch's dignity. During the war between Poland and Sweden (1655–60), she did her best to have the warring countries accept French mediation, and such mediation did take place.⁹ By then, she had begun to work on reform of the Polish state. Her reforms were designed to restrict the 'golden liberty' of the nobility, which was leading towards anarchy, and to strengthen the power of the king and the Senate¹⁰ and make the resolutions of the Diet more effective. She began to organize a pro-French party, which was persuaded by the award of posts, honours and money sent by Paris to support the queen's plans.

- 9 *Idem*, 'La politique de la France à l'égard de la Pologne pendant la Seconde Guerre du Nord (1655–1660)', in Daniel Tollet, ed., *Guerre et paix en Europe centrale aux époques moderne et contemporaine* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 545–61; *idem*, 'Médiations diplomatiques françaises en Pologne au XVIIe siècle', in Olivier Chaline, Jarosław Dumanowski and Michel Figeac, eds, *Le rayonnement français en Europe centrale du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (Pessac-Bordeaux: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, 2009), 21–6.
- 10 The Polish Diet was made up of three elements: the King, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Usually the Senate approved the resolutions of the Chamber of Deputies.

Another method was used too: young ladies of the court who had come from France with the queen were to be married to Polish nobles in order to create a category of 'sons-in-law of the court' who would be devoted to the queen. And yet, the support of France was not sufficient for the task.¹¹ Although the queen's reforms had many supporters in the Nobles' Republic, they were put to one side. They were perceived by the nobility as an attempt to introduce absolute monarchy on the French model and therefore as a threat to noble democracy. The Diets of the years 1661–2 rejected the queen's plans. She drove them forward anyway, which increased the nobles' opposition.¹² There was a revolt, led by Jerzy Lubomirski, whom the queen sentenced to exile. A song that was sung during these years of mutiny (1665–6) captured the rising Gallophobia: 'Beat the French, beat them with a good stick. / Kill the French, kill them, impale them. / Cut the French down, cut them down with your sharp sword. / Mow the French down, mow them down, there'll be fewer of them then!'¹³ Lubomirski was considered a victim of a despotic court and the queen the incarnation of tyranny of the sort that reigned, the Poles believed, in the House of Bourbon.

Louise-Marie made a large contribution to the propagation of French language and civilization in Poland. She attached much importance to her power of patronage and made the court at Warsaw into a place that counted on the European stage, as she gathered there personalities from

11 Serwański, 'L'identité sociale de la noblesse et la politique extérieure du roi en Pologne au XVIIe siècle. Un élément de l'activité anti-Habsbourg de la France', in Maciej Serwański, ed., *Les expressions de l'identité sociale en Europe depuis la Renaissance* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1990), 27–37; see also *idem*, 'La rivalité des factions à la cour de Pologne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in Klaus Malettke, Chantal Grell and Petra Holz, eds, *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jh.)*. *Société de Cour et courtisans dans l'Europe de l'époque moderne (XVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001), 217–30.

12 Serwański, 'Les projets de l'élection "vivente rege"', 35–44.

13 Zofia Libiszowska, *Żona dwóch Wazów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1963), 225; Andrzej Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja. Dziesięć wieków związków politycznych, kulturalnych i gospodarczych* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1983).

the worlds of science, culture and art.¹⁴ And yet, the Poles were divided between, on the one hand, the ‘dandies’, who embodied French fashion and customs, that is to say those people who did accept the influence of the queen and of the French culture that was spreading right across Europe, and, on the other, those who expressed xenophobic sentiments, the conservative ‘Sarmatians’. The misgivings of public opinion about Louise-Marie began to extend to everything that was French and therefore alien to Polish tradition. People mocked perfumes, make-up, powder and the huge wigs that sheltered lice, which could be killed with the little hammers and swatters that were attached to gentlemen’s clothing. They were critical of women’s very low-cut dresses, their many-layered coiffure, the freedom with which they conducted themselves in society, their coquetry in their relations with men and the habits they imported from France, for as it was said in an epigram ‘On the French or the Gauls’: ‘For us, one cock is enough for sixty hens, / But every French woman would love to have two men.’ Many people held such opinions.¹⁵

Such resistance to French influence had already been in evidence in the reign of Henry of Valois in Cracow. The excessive privileges that the French enjoyed at the court of Louise-Marie, their political intrigues and their nocturnal recreations jarred with the Poles. The Polish nobles felt that they were neglected at their own court and that they had been pushed into the background. All this plainly gave the great mass of the nobility

14 Serwański, ‘Quelques aspects de la conscience’, 27–38; see also *idem*, ‘Le jansénisme et la cour polonaise de Louise-Marie de Gonzague’, in Daniel Tollet, ed., *Le jansénisme et la franc-maçonnerie en Europe centrale aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 85–92; Bożena Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwika Marii* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976); Karolina Targosz, *La cour savante de Louise-Marie de Gonzague et ses liens scientifiques avec la France (1646–1667)* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1982).

15 Waclaw Potocki, *Ogród fraszek*, ed. Aleksander Brückner (Lwów: Towarzystwo popierania nauki polskiej, 1907), vol. 2, 23; Serwański, ‘Le stéréotype du Français dans la Pologne des XVIe-XVIIe siècles’, in Maciej Forycki and Maciej Serwański, eds, *Amis et ennemis héréditaires: Les stéréotypes nationaux* (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2006), 45–53.

good grounds for regarding the French in general with ill-will.¹⁶ Already in the early seventeenth century the view had been taken in Poland that the French were a nation who did not have much depth and that they were frivolous and garrulous. The merest trifle, it was thought, would be perceived by the French as an affront to their honour and they would want straight away to fight a duel, a matter of life and death. As far as positive characteristics were concerned, people noted above all the 'esprit' [mind, wit, spirit] that was so specific to this nation. The jokes that went around in the mid-seventeenth century were often full of malice.¹⁷ Jan Chryzostom Pasek, who shared the general opinion of the nobility, supposed (in Latin) that Louise-Marie 'would like to *inducere gallicismum* [bring Gallicism] to our liberties'. Through her activity, she could *tyrannidem inducere in Rempublicam* [bring tyranny to the Republic] and the pro-French party would make the country, which had been impoverished by the French, 'dance *ad galli cantum* [to the cock's crow]'.¹⁸

After the death of Louise-Marie in 1667 and the abdication of John Casimir in 1668, the nobility chose their compatriot Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki as king. The French party went into opposition after the loss of their Bourbon candidate for the throne, Prince Louis II. His supporters, called the 'malcontents', demanded that the election be annulled, that France intervene and that the king be dethroned. Turkey invaded the south-east of the country. The day was saved by a great military victory inflicted on the Turks in November 1673 by the hetman John Sobieski at Khotyn. Sobieski had belonged to the pro-French party in the time of Louise-Marie and had

16 Serwański, 'Quelques aspects de la conscience', 30.

17 *Ibid.*, 31.

18 *Ibid.* That is to say, at the command of a Frenchman, given the ambiguity of the word *gallus* to which we drew attention above. See Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, ed. Roman Pollak (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955), 247. See also an anonymous account of Poland in 1662, written in French by Pierre Des Noyers and translated into Polish by Edward Raczyński, ed., *Portfolio królowej Marii Ludwiki, czyli Zbiór listów, aktów urzędowych i innych dokumentów, ściągających się do pobytu tej monarchini w Polsce*, 2 vols (Poznań: Drukarnia i księgarnia Nowa, 1844), vol. 2, 262.

supported her reforms and then under Michał Korybut he had been an active member of the opposition. His admiration of a young lady in the queen's retinue, Marie Casimire, whom he married after the death of her husband Jean 'Sobiepan' Zamoyski in 1665, may have been an important factor. At any rate, once the 'conqueror of the Turks' took the name John III and had been elected to the throne of Poland in 1674, he wished to base his policy on an alliance with France. Unfortunately, though, relations between Poland and France did not improve during Sobieski's reign. On the contrary, lack of interest in good relations with Poland on the part of Louis XIV and the risk of war between Poland and most of her neighbours led to diplomatic relations being broken off. Marie Casimire, who had been educated in political affairs by Louise-Marie, did not break ties with Versailles and she promised support for the Polish pro-French party, but this French queen was not well-remembered in Poland. She was associated with a 'dark legend' and was accused of having undue ambition, of being grasping, of putting her personal interest before everything else and of placing little value on matters of state.

Learning French in the Nobles' Republic

It was during the first half of the sixteenth century that Poles became acquainted with the French language while they were studying in France and Switzerland. Often they studied French in advance of their journey. An obligatory stay in Paris would consolidate knowledge of the language and of France itself. More and more young Poles studied at the University of Orléans, where the first Polish student, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, was enrolled in 1518. The education of Poles at this university was very important to the Jagiellon monarchy because they could study law there: students graduating from Orléans could pass on legal knowledge that was valuable for the functioning of the Republic's institutions. As for young Polish Protestants, they would often begin their studies in Geneva or Basel and then continue them in France. Catholics, on the other hand, would study in Italy and

might then stop off in France before going home to Poland,¹⁹ which afforded them an opportunity to learn some French, however little. Young Poles from political and diplomatic backgrounds frequently studied in Paris.

In the 1560s and at the beginning of the 1570s, the number of Poles studying in Paris reached its peak. They formed a veritable Polish 'colony'.²⁰ We find among them not only young nobles but also the sons of bourgeois families and students from the great cities of Royal Prussia, above all Danzig (now Gdańsk) and Thorn (Toruń), who formed their own group – *communem Prutenorum*. In order to be able to study in France, these students were supported by grants from their home towns. During the Renaissance the University of Paris moulded a significant number of young Poles who passed on the intellectual inspiration they had received in this institution. Their presence at the Polish court and in the chancellery of King Sigismund Augustus attests to the quality of their French education.²¹ From the 1550s Polish Calvinists also began to appear at the University of Paris, following in their fathers' footsteps by undergoing part of their studies there.

In fact, during the reign of Henry IV of France (1589–1610) the Poles who travelled to France were mainly Calvinists, such as Krzysztof Radziwiłł. They were curious to find out about the king who had been raised in the Protestant faith and his government. One of the aims of these educational journeys was to learn French or to improve knowledge of it. French merchants, in turn, settled in Poland, as well as Protestants who had escaped religious persecution in France. Earlier still, Pierre Statorius-Strojeński, a Protestant writer who died in 1591 and was originally from Tonneville in Normandy, taught at the Arian school of Anti-Trinitarians in Pińczów, the first Protestant school in Poland. It was to him that this town owed the establishment of the school, which was modelled on the French college in Lausanne.

19 Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja*, 47–51.

20 Zygmunt Boras, 'La Petite Pologne à Paris (Mała Polska w Paryżu)', *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne* 8/2 (2002), 15–20.

21 Henryk Barycz, *Z dziejów polskich wędrówek naukowych za granicę* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), 211 ff.; Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja*, 51–2.

The tradition of studying in France was kept up throughout the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, passing down from father to son. Command of French was therefore maintained from one generation to the next in such seigneurial families as the Radziwiłłs, Sobieskis, Opalińskis, Leszczyńskis, Potockis, Morsztyns, Zamoyskis and Poniatowskis. From the eighteenth century, we also see French being learned by girls from noble families. This practice resulted from the cultural enlightenment emanating from the courts of the French queens in Warsaw.

Queen Louise-Marie brought two convents and a male monastery from France to educate the petty nobility,²² and the education these schools provided would include tuition in the French language. These schools (*les prêtres de la Mission* [The Priests of the Mission], *les sœurs de la Charité* [The Sisters of Charity] and *les sœurs de la Visitation* [The Sisters of the Visitation]) were set up in 1651, 1652 and 1654 respectively. The visitandine nuns attended to the education of girls from noble families and high society, especially the daughters of French courtiers but also those of Polish courtiers. The education they offered consisted above all of lessons on reading and writing, the catechism, singing, playing musical instruments and performing tasks that were considered to be in the woman's domain. The sisters translated theological and religious works into Polish.²³

If, following Jean Łukaszewicz, we study the curriculum of the convent schools in Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin and Vilnius, we can be sure that the French language had a strong presence in these schools in the eighteenth century. Sometimes it was treated on an equal footing with Polish.²⁴ Common knowledge of the language is demonstrated by a significant

22 Serwański, 'Les formes de l'éducation des filles nobles en Pologne aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in Chantal Grell and Arnaud Ramière de Fortanier, eds, *L'éducation des jeunes filles nobles en Europe, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 75–85.

23 Targosz, *La cour savante*, 75–7; B. Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór*, 69–73; M. Serwański, 'Les formes de l'éducation des filles nobles', 80–1.

24 Jan Łukaszewicz, *Historia szkół w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od najdawniejszych czasów aż do 1794*, 4 vols (Poznań: Jan Konstanty Żupański, 1849–51), vol. 4, 23.

number of publications designed to aid the learning of it. What texts were available to pupils for reading? In the course of their pedagogical work the visitandine nuns who had come to Poland with Louise-Marie undertook the publication of the following pious works, in French, for Polish readers: *Les sermons de St François de Sales* [*The Sermons of St Francis of Sales*] (1693); *La règle de St Augustin* [*The Rule of St Augustine*] (1695); *Lettres spirituelles de St François de Sales* [*The Letters of Spiritual Direction of St Francis of Sales*] (1699); *Le trésor de l'âme* [*The Treasure of the Soul*] (1701); and *Catéchisme de Canisius* [*Canisius's Catechism*] (1702). A further convent school was founded as a votive offering in the hope that the king, John III Sobieski, would safely return from the war with Turkey, namely Les Demoiselles de l'Adoration Perpétuelle du St Sacrement [*The Maids of the Perpetual Adoration of the Holy Sacrament*]. It was set up in Poland through Marie Casimire in 1687. The nuns commissioned the composition of a French-Polish grammar designed specially for Polish pupils.²⁵

Some French was also taught from the early seventeenth century in Gdańsk, which became a key point in Polish-French relations. At an earlier period French merchants had discovered Poland as an abundant source of raw materials and goods and also as a market for products made in France.²⁶ Economic collaboration brought cultural contacts in its wake. The beginnings of French teaching in Gdańsk date back to the late sixteenth century. For a short period, from 1588, a certain Paul Franco of Brussels taught reading, writing and conversation in French there, and also how to conduct commercial correspondence and keep accounts in that language. However, his successor, Joann van Deelen, failed. Having directed the school for three years he gave up for lack of pupils. In the following decades French courses in Gdańsk again sprang up sporadically, but it was not until 1678 that the

25 Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française dès origines à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1905–53, 1969–79), vol. 8, 458.

26 Michał Cieśla, 'Prywatne kursy języka i korespondencji francuskiej dla przysposobienia kupieckiego młodzieży w Gdańsku XVI i XVII wieku', in *Zeszyty Naukowe Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyk*, no. 5 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957), 211–35.

first native-born Frenchman, Victor de Saint Sulpis, started teaching his mother tongue there.²⁷

Throughout the eighteenth century, teaching in schools competed with domestic education in the Nobles' Republic. Education of the children of noble families was the responsibility of governors and governesses. Poland at this time was an eldorado for adventurers.²⁸ If some intelligent magnates who were able to make perceptive choices had an opportunity to catch in the tide of émigrés honest men like Pyrrhus de Varille,²⁹ who alone saved the reputation of French governors, still there were plenty of governors, sadly, who served as models for farces and satires and helped to create the atmosphere of suspicious ill-will that surrounded *maîtres* [teachers] in a French coat and white wig.³⁰ There are frequent instances in eighteenth-century Polish literature of writers deriding the type of the governor or governess and the 'ridiculous socialites' who were products of this foreign education. Nonetheless, the attachment of pupils to their educators and the educators' influence on their pupils could be strong. Take the example of Mme Truet that is given by Ferdinand Brunot. This French governess was responsible for the upbringing of Françoise Korwin-Krasińska, the daughter of Count Stanisław Krasiński, a supporter of Stanisław Leszczyński.³¹ Through her beneficial influence, she greatly contributed to the upbringing of this girl, who liked to read in French rather than Polish and who found French books more interesting than Polish ones.³²

27 *Ibid.*, 68.

28 Jean Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des Lumières* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes slaves, 1952), 281.

29 César Félicitas Pyrrhus Varillaeus (de Varille), a French political writer who settled in Poland, tutor of the son of Jan Sanguszko; he died in 1780.

30 Anna Nikliborc, *L'enseignement du français dans les écoles polonaises au XVIIIe siècle* (Wrocław: Travaux de la société des sciences et des lettres de Wrocław, Series A, no. 83, 1962), 11.

31 Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 470–1.

32 Klementyna Hoffmanowa, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach Augusta III pisany* (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1908), 19–20.

Books that could aid the learning of French had begun to be published in Poland in the seventeenth century.³³ The first French grammar produced there was the *Grammatica Gallica in usum iuventutis maxime Polonae composita* [*French Grammar Composed Mainly for the Polish Youth*], published in Gdańsk in 1649. Its author, Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński, was a Frenchman who had been born in Totain in Lorraine but had become a naturalized Pole. A further half-century would pass before another work of this type appeared, namely *Klucz do języka francuskiego* [*The Key to the French Language*], published in 1700 by the physician to King Augustus II, Bartłomiej Malicki, a doctor of philosophy and medicine at the Jagiellonian University.³⁴ A year later, in Cracow again, Malicki's French-Polish dictionary appeared, entitled *Lexicon francusko-polski, to jest dykcjonarz, albo zebranie wszystkich słów z francuskiego* [*A French-Polish Lexicon, that is to say a Dictionary or Collection of All the Words in the French Language*].³⁵

The memoirist Jan Ochocki relates that 'France was like a barometer that regulated opinions in our country'.³⁶ Another commentator of the age, abbé Kitowicz, in his 'Description des mœurs et coutumes pendant le règne du roi Auguste III' ['Description of the Manners and Customs of the Reign of King Augustus III'] observed contemporary trends in children's education with particular interest. 'The daughters of the most well-to-do houses', he wrote, 'studied German and French, for

33 The first complete grammar of the Polish language, incidentally, had been published in 1568, in Cracow. This was the *Polonicae grammatices institution*, and it was written by the Frenchman, Statorius. See Stanisław Kot, *Pierwsza szkoła protestancka w Polsce, Reformacja w Polsce* (Warsaw: Nakładem Towarzystwa do Badania Reformacji w Polsce, 1921); Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja*, 70; *Literatura polska. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, 2 vols (Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), vol. 2, 399.

34 *Klucz do języka francuskiego to jest Gramatyka polsko-francuska przez [...] filozofię y medycynę Doktora Jego Królewskiej Mości Sekretarza na pomoc Polakom chciwym umiejętności języka francuskiego złożona Roku Pańskiego 1700 w Krakowie*. For detailed analysis of textbooks, see Anna Nikliborc, *Les manuels du française publiés en Pologne au XVIIIe siècle* (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe. Komisja Językowa, 1961).

35 Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja*, 111.

36 Jan Duklan Ochocki, *Pamiętniki*, 6 vols (Warsaw: Drukarnia Edward Nicz i S-ka, 1910), vol. 5, 98.

which the fashion was growing'.³⁷ If, in summary, we consider general currents in the teaching of French in the eighteenth century, we may observe two groups of Francophiles. The first was made up of those who were attracted to the light-hearted aspect of Parisian life and were looking for a key to open the door to salons or who, in order to take up a diplomatic career, were learning French to make themselves understood to their diplomatic partners. The second group consisted of those who were seeking an opportunity to draw from the French source itself.³⁸ Indisputably the Enlightenment reinforced earlier interest in the teaching of French, affecting, for example, the great school reform overseen by the National Education Commission from the 1770s.³⁹ In particular, we should mention here Stanisław Konarski, a political writer and member of the *Congrégation des Pères des écoles pieuses* [Congregation of Fathers of Pious Schools]. Konarski had already founded an important school, the *Collegium Nobilium* [College of Nobles], which moulded pupils in the spirit of the Enlightenment and whose curriculum attached great importance to the teaching of French.

French in public and private use among the Polish elites

We have considered the presence of French in Poland as an aspect of the political and cultural influence exerted by France on the Nobles' Republic and also the opportunities available in early modern Poland to learn the language. We turn now to the level of knowledge of French attained by the Polish elite and the extent to which they used it beyond the court and

37 Jerzy Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1951), 71.

38 Nikliborc, *L'enseignement du français*, 73.

39 See Ambroise Jobert, *La Commission d'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773–1794), son œuvre d'instruction civique* (Paris: Droz, and Dijon: impr. de Darantière, 1941).

the diplomatic domain. We come, then, to the more specifically linguistic element of our chapter.⁴⁰

The election of Duke Henry of Anjou to the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1573 affords an opportunity to see the state of knowledge of French among the Poles. When a large and sumptuous embassy of Polish lords arrived in Paris to seek out the newly elected king, the Parisians were impressed by the command of foreign languages, including French, displayed by these people from a country that was remote and, as far as the French were concerned, exotic. Pierre Chevallier, the author of a biography of Henry III, remarked in his description of the Poles, not without irony: 'Unlike the idle, mocking onlookers of Paris, who were able to judge the Poles only by looking at their procession as it passed, the lords of the court of France at once sensed that the Poles outclassed them by virtue of their rich culture and their command of several languages.'⁴¹ The young Jacques-Auguste de Thou was astounded by the Poles' ability to speak and write Latin. Almost all of them used German and Italian without difficulty, somewhat fewer French. When the Polish guests questioned the French courtiers, de Thou also recounts, the courtiers 'responded only with a sign or by blushing', for they were undoubtedly among those who, as Montaigne had observed, 'hate books, as almost all our nobility do. Some of them even spoke our language so purely that they might have been taken for men brought up on the banks of the Seine or the Loire rather than inhabitants of the lands irrigated by the Vistula or the Dnieper.'⁴²

However, French was almost forgotten in Poland for a while after Henry's flight from Cracow in 1574. A humanist and linguist, Jakub Górski, in his political work *Rada pańska* [*A Lord's Counsel*] (1597), listed eight languages which he considered it necessary to know, but French was not

40 See also Serwański, 'Présence de la langue française en Pologne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in Marc Zuili and Susan Baddeley, eds, *Les langues étrangères en Europe. Apprentissages et pratiques (1450–1700)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2012), 195–204.

41 Pierre Chevallier, *Henri III roi shakespearien* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 198.

42 We are quoting from Marquis de Noailles, *Henri de Valois et la Pologne en 1572*, 3 vols (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1867), vol. 2, 354.

among them.⁴³ The well-known pedagogue Sebastian Petrycy (1554–1627) thought France set a bad example in the domain of education. He advised, among other things, that young people should not learn French, because he believed it brought Calvinism into Poland.⁴⁴ We see here that the Counter Reformation, which was by now in full flow in Poland, was making itself felt even in the field of foreign-language teaching.

As the Bourbon monarchy grew stronger in France, though, French became more important in various domains of daily life throughout Europe. The phenomenon was noticed by Jakub Sobieski, the voevode of Ruthenia and father of the future king John III Sobieski, who stayed in France during his youth. In the famous *Instruction* which he addressed in 1645 to his sons, who were setting off for Paris, Jakub Sobieski stressed the need to know French.⁴⁵ Evidently the task seemed challenging, for this is how this well educated man characterized French: ‘It is a difficult language, you have to fight it, and as for pronunciation, everything depends on it – they don’t write it in the way they read it. So you need to learn to write and read this language *ex professo* [competently].’⁴⁶

Clearly the leaders of the embassy sent to Paris by Władysław IV in the same decade to choose a new Polish queen, Wacław Leszczyński, the Archbishop of Warmie, and Krzysztof Opaliński, the voevode of Greater Poland, had a good command of French. Jean Le Laboureur, who accompanied Marie-Louise on her journey to Warsaw, judged the Polish delegates’ French not at all bad.⁴⁷ In a letter that he sent to his brother Łukasz from

43 Jerzy Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce. Wiek XVI–XVIII*, 2 vols (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976), vol. 1, 86.

44 Tomczak, ed., *Polska–Francja*, 63.

45 Jakub Sobieski, ‘Instrukcja synom moim do Paryża’, in Stanisław Kot, ed., *Źródła do historii wychowani*, 2 vols (Warsaw: Nakł. Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1929–30), vol. 1, *Od starożytnej Grecji do końca w. XVII*.

46 *Ibid.*

47 ‘Relacja Laboureura z podróży Pani de Guébriant do Polski w roku 1646’, in Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, ed., *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce. Z rękopismów tudzież dzieł w różnych językach o Polsce wydanych wraz z listami oryginalnymi królów i znakomitych ludzi w kraju naszym*, 4 vols (Warsaw: N. Glüksberg, 1822), vol. 4, 151.

Paris, Opaliński himself boasted that ‘as for language, they admit that I speak like a native Frenchman.’⁴⁸ There were also Poles, like the Grand Chamberlain of Lithuania, Janusz Radziwiłł, or the Equerry of Sandomierz, Andrzej Morsztyn, who were thought by the French to be distinguished both by their impeccable command of the language and by an entirely French cast of mind.⁴⁹ Sebastian Gawarecki, who accompanied the young Sobieskis (Marek and John, the future king) as their tutor during an educational journey they made to France in 1646–7, knew French so well that he could recognize various regional accents.⁵⁰

The use of French in Poland was reflected in epistolary formulae that began to enter Polish in the seventeenth century. The poet Jakub Boczyłowic, in a collection of instructions for orators, *Wymowny polityk, czyli Weselne i pogrzebowe mowy* [*The Eloquent Statesman, or Wedding and Funeral Speeches*] (1681),⁵¹ which was also a guide to practical correspondence, laid down a rule that *Madame* should be used for noble women, irrespective of whether they were married or maidens (!), whereas *Mademoiselle* should be used for women from the bourgeoisie. This advice shows, incidentally, how the traditional disparagement of the bourgeoisie by the ‘noble nation’ in Poland was reflected at the level of language.⁵²

We should also note that in diplomatic practice at the Polish court, including political correspondence, French began to replace Latin and Italian from the sixteenth century. Here we may cite as an example the instructions given by the Polish Diet to ambassadors going to Paris in 1573 on behalf of the Nobles’ Republic on the occasion of the election of Henry of Anjou to the throne in Cracow:

48 Roman Polak ed., *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641–1653* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1957), 306 (letter no. 88, from Paris, 1 November 1645).

49 ‘Relacja Laboureaux’, 199; ‘Listy P. de Noyers z roku 1656’, in Raczyński, ed., *Portfolio królowej Marii Ludwiki*, vol. 1, nos 6 and 12.

50 Sebastian Gawarecki, ‘Dziennik podróży po Europie Jana i Marka Sobieskich’, in Franciszek Kluczycki, *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1880), 67.

51 *Literatura polska*, vol. 1, 90.

52 Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, 137.

Ilz ne feront aussi aulcun accord ou alliance de nouveau. Que si quelque chose de semblable leur estoit proposé, comme d'arrester nouvellement quelque accord ou alliance avec les Francois, iceulx feront entendre qu'ilz veullent s'en rapporter aux ordres du roiaulme, au nom duquel ilz sont ambassadeurs; et toutes aultres telles choses seront modérées par leur prudence, et solliciteront icelluy Sérénissime roy esleu d'accélérer au plustost que faire se pourra sa venue en nostre roiaulme, ne laissant passer aulcune occasion sans nous faire certains au plustost tant du chemin que tiendra Sa Majesté, que de toutes les aultres choses.

[Nor will they make any new agreement or alliance. If some proposal of this sort is put to them, to conclude some new agreement or alliance with the French, they will make it understood that they wish to refer it to the estates of the kingdom in whose name they are ambassadors; and all other such things will be controlled by their prudence and they will beg the Most Serene King who has been elected to make a visit with all possible haste to our kingdom, missing no opportunity to inform us as soon as possible both of the road His Majesty will take and of all other things.]⁵³

By the seventeenth century French was already more widely used in the diplomatic domain. Take, for example, a letter in which the Grand Secretary of the Kingdom, an important figure in Polish politics, is addressing the King of France and apologizing for his supposedly quite modest French:

Sire, Bien qu'en si peu de temps que j'ai demeuré en France je n'ai pu apprendre la langue pour dignement écrire à Votre Majesté j'ose néanmoins prendre l'hardiesse de coucher ce peu de mots, puisque les grands honneurs et faveurs extrêmes que j'ai reçu d'Elle, étant ambassadeur, m'y contraignent de plus qu'aujourd'hui, par l'entremise et prière de Mr d'Avaux, ambassadeur de V. Majesté le roi, mon maître, m'honore de la charge de grand secrétaire de ce Royaume, charge qui, comme grande et honorable, m'obligera de pouvoir correspondre à tant d'obligations, et prier Dieu de Vous donner une longue et tranquille santé etc.

[Although in the little time that I lived in France I was not able to learn the language sufficiently to write to Your Majesty in a worthy way, nevertheless I make so bold as to set down these few words, for the great honours and utmost favours that I received

53 'Instructions des ambassadeurs dépechez au très-crestien roy de France et au sérénissime Henry esleu roy de Polloigne par tous les ordres et estatz d'icelluy roiaulme', in Marquis de Noailles, *Henri de Valois*, vol. 3, 432.

from Your Majesty while I was ambassador compel me all the more because today, through the intercession and request of Mr d'Avaux, Your Majesty's ambassador, my master the King has honoured me with the office of Grand Secretary of this Kingdom, an office which, great and honourable as it is, will oblige me to be able to meet so many obligations and pray God to grant You prolonged and undisturbed good health etc.]⁵⁴

The extent to which Poles' knowledge of French improved in the course of the seventeenth century may be seen from the letter that John III Sobieski, sent to his French wife, Marie Casimire d'Arquien, on 13 September 1683, after his victory over the Turks at Vienna:

Dieu soit béni à Jamais! Il a donné la victoire à notre nation; il lui a donné un triomphe tel, que les siècles passés n'en virent jamais de semblables. Toute l'artillerie, tout le camp des Musulmans, des richesses infinies, nous sont tombés dans les mains [...]. Le vizir a tout abandonné dans sa fuite; il n'a gardé que son habit et son cheval. C'est moi qui me suis établi son héritier [...].

[May God be thanked forever! He has granted victory to our nation: He has granted it a triumph such as past centuries have never seen. The Muslims' entire artillery, their whole camp, boundless riches, have fallen into our hands [...]. The vizier abandoned everything when he fled; he kept only his clothes and his horse. It is I who have become his heir [...].]⁵⁵

By the eighteenth century, French was being used more and more in the private correspondence of Polish nobles among themselves. This was the case, for example, in the Załuski and Leszczyński families.⁵⁶ The

54 Nicolas Gniewosz to the King of France, 7 February 1636, in François Pułaski and Ladislas Tomkiewicz, eds, *La mission de Claude de Mesmes comte d'Avaux, ambassadeur extraordinaire en Pologne (1634–1636)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Polonaise, 1937), 265. See also Serwanski, 'Médiations diplomatiques françaises', 21–7.

55 Michel Komaszynski, *Marie-Casimire, reine de Pologne dernière résidente royale du Château de Blois* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1995), 24.

56 See Bogumił Kupś and Krystyna Muszyńska, Krystyna Muszyńska eds, 'Korespondencja Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego, 1742–1736', in *Zakład Historii Nauki i Techniki Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Źródła do dziejów nauki i techniki*, 18 vols (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957–92), vol. 5.

correspondence of the latter family not only demonstrates their knowledge of French but also reveals French-Russian code-switching in quite a number of their letters. There were two reasons for this mixing of languages: a sentimental preference for expressions that were typical of Polish and a political inclination to conceal the name of the person by replacing it with a synonym used in Poland, as in the following example:

[...] O Kochaną Matusię [Dear Mother]; je sent bien, comme vous, że nie podobna teraz myśleć o jej przyjeździe [can't think now about her arrival]. Je vous assure que cette cruelle séparation z nią [from her] est le plus vif de mes tourments; nie mówię teraz, ale jak [I don't say straight away but as] nous respirerons ici, przy łasce P. Boga na wiosnę [God willing, in spring] [...] znoś-że się moja panienko kochana z Skolskim i Łyskim, o jak najlepszych sposobach, żebym ją miał [speak, my dear girl, to La Roche⁵⁷ and Chauvelin⁵⁸ about the best ways of getting her here]; car en vérité, je ne peux plus vivre sans elle. En attendant pielęgnuj mi ją jak najlepiej [Take care of her for me as well as you possibly can].

[[...] O Kochaną Matusię; I see very well how you že nie podobna teraz myśleć o jej przyjeździe. I assure you that this cruel separation z nią is the worst of my torments; nie mówię teraz, ale jak we shall breathe here, przy łasce P. Boga na wiosnę [...] znoś-że się moja panienko kochana z Skolskim i Łyskim, o jak najlepszych sposobach, żebym ją miał; for in truth, I can't any longer live without her. In the meantime pielęgnuj mi ją jak najlepiej.]⁵⁹

The vogue for French had really taken off in Poland during the reigns of the kings of Saxe, in the period 1697–1763. This German dynasty replaced Latin with French as the language used at court. In the following reign, under Stanisław-August Poniatowski (1764–95), French was used in the correspondence conducted by the king's cabinet with Polish diplomats

57 Charles Antoine, comte de La Roche-Aymon (1697–1777), a cardinal and Grand Almoner of France.

58 Germain-Louis Chauvelin, marquis de Grosbois (1685–1762), Keeper of the Seals and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Louis XV.

59 Fragment of a letter from Stanislas Leszczyński to his daughter Marie Leszczyńska, 15 November 1733. The letter is in the Bibliothèque Polonaise in Paris, in Teki Paryskie, 92, boxes 44 and 45.

abroad and also in the court's internal correspondence.⁶⁰ Poniatowski himself was the author of memoranda which were written and published in French.⁶¹ This trend weakened at the time of the Four-Year Diet of (1788–92), when we see Polish becoming more important. This change was precipitated not so much by a decline in the popularity of French as by the need to keep diplomatic correspondence secret. The general use of French in European diplomacy had led to the development of ways of deciphering correspondence, but Polish was not so easy for foreign secret services to decode.

As the Nobles' Republic declined, French persisted in the domains of diplomacy, intellectual life and high society, but commercial and industrial relationships, which were maintained in the first instance with neighbouring countries, increasingly required the use of German. After the dismemberment of Poland in the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795, German was introduced in the western provinces and Russian in the eastern ones, confirming the new political reality.

French in literature, theatre and the press

During the second half of the seventeenth century, when French culture began to spread throughout Europe, Poles took a greater interest in France, including its dramatic art and its literature. In order to follow fashion one needed to read French. Translations, although there were more and more of them, could hardly keep pace with the appearance of publications in vogue.

The age of the French queens in Poland during the second half of the seventeenth century was a period during which the influence of the

60 Jerzy Łojek, *Les journaux polonais d'expression française au siècle des Lumières* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1980), 5.

61 Stanislas Auguste, *Mémoires*, ed. Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz and Dominique Triaire (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, Société historique et littéraire polonaise, 2012).

brilliant culture emanating from France began to grow⁶² and it became stronger still under John III Sobieski. French literature, theatre and art came to be known and were widely commented upon.⁶³ This development was especially visible in the milieu of the magnates and the wealthy nobility, who adopted the fashion and habits of the royal court. Various cultural events in France were followed in Poland. Great writers such as Du Moulin, Bartas, Corneille, Racine, Molière and La Fontaine were translated. Plays arrived on the Polish stage shortly after they had been first performed in France. In the history of seventeenth-century Polish literature, the translation of Corneille's *Cid ou Rodéric, Comédie Espagnole de la langue française traduite* [*The Cid, or Roderick, A Spanish Play Translated from the French*] is considered a particularly significant development. It brought about what was undoubtedly the most important event in the life of the theatre in Poland in the Baroque age, namely the staging of this play in Polish at the royal court in Warsaw in 1662.⁶⁴ The first performance of the play in Poland had taken place two years earlier in Zamość, at the court of Jan Zamoyski, the above-mentioned husband of Marie Casimire.

By the late 1660s French comedies were being performed in the Warsaw palace of the magnate Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, an avowed Francophile, poet and Grand Treasurer of the Crown. In 1674, in Krakowskie Przedmieście, one of the main arteries of Warsaw's social

62 Serwański, 'Être une reine étrangère: deux Françaises en Pologne', in Isabelle Poutrin and Marie-Karine Schaub, eds, *Femmes et pouvoir politique. Les princesses d'Europe XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Rosny-sous-Bois: Éditions Bréal, 2007), 193–200.

63 The subject is richly covered in scholarly literature. See for example: Zofia Libiszowska, *Certains aspects des rapports entre la France et la Pologne au XVIIe siècle* (Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1964), no. 53; Karolina Targosz, 'Polsko-francuskie powiązania teatralne w XVII wieku', in *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1971, no. 1; I. Komasara, *Jan III Sobieski – miłośnik ksiąg* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1982); Serwański, 'Quelques aspects de la conscience', 27–38; *idem*, 'La réception du théâtre français en Pologne au XVIIe siècle', in Maciej Serwański, ed., *Théâtre et société de la Renaissance à nos jours. Actes du VIe colloque Poznań–Strasbourg, 19–20–21 avril 1990* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1992), 27–35.

64 Serwański, 'La réception du théâtre français', 29.

and cultural life, French actors staged a spectacle representing the victory of Louis XIV over Emperor Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor from 1658 to 1705. The Sarmatian nobles, who took this theatrical offering as political reality, started shooting arrows at the actors, interrupting the performance. It seemed to them necessary to show that 'true' Poles opposed the 'cosmopolitans'. Nevertheless, a treaty with France was celebrated the following year at the residence of John III at Jaworów with a performance of Racine's *Andromaque*. Nine years later, it was the turn of Molière's comedies to be performed there and in 1687 his *Bourgeois gentilhomme* [*Bourgeois Gentleman*] was staged at the court of the voivode of Poznań, Rafał Leszczyński. Unfortunately, we have no sources that would enable us to know more precisely the circumstances surrounding this performance or who acted in it. We do not even know in which language it was performed. We cannot rule out the possibility that the programme for it, which was written in Polish, was aimed at Polish spectators watching a play performed in French.⁶⁵ Be that as it may, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* was seen in Poland at an early date by comparison with the dates of other performances of Molière's comedies outside France. French plays were staged shortly afterwards at the court of the Branickis at Białystok. These, then, are just a few examples of the reception of French culture in Poland during the seventeenth century.⁶⁶

There was also a Polish readership for French literary works and philosophical treatises during the second half of the eighteenth century. The catalogues, sometimes printed, of such well-known Warsaw publishing houses as Michel Gröll, Frédéric Christian Netto and Joseph Lex show us that there was a considerable selection of books in French on sale.⁶⁷ We can say on the basis of these catalogues that the Polish public could easily obtain all the most interesting books in Europe. The demand for reading-matter in French is illustrated by the appearance of the first journal in

65 *Ibid.*, 33.

66 Julian Lewański 'Polska premiera "Mieszczanina szlachcicem" w roku 1687', in *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1964, no. 3; Serwański, 'La réception du théâtre français', 27–35.

67 *Ibid.*, 8.

French in Warsaw between 1754 and 1755. This was the *Journal littéraire de Pologne* [*Polish Literary Journal*]. Only two numbers came out, but they contained nothing but accounts of Polish and French books that had recently been published. Although the reading of French literature did not require a perfect knowledge of French, we know that by the late eighteenth century some intellectuals were so Gallicized that they wrote only in French.⁶⁸ We may refer, for example, to Jan Potocki (1761–1815), author of the *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse* [*Manuscript Found in Saragossa*], written in 1788.

As far as a francophonie press is concerned, periodicals printed in France were already known in Poland in the seventeenth century. Copies of the *Gazette de France* reached the country, for example, mostly via Gdańsk. The great Polish lords also asked their compatriots living in France to send extracts of the French press that might be of interest to a Polish nobleman. Then, from the mid-eighteenth century, we find more evidence of the presence of foreign periodical publications in Poland.⁶⁹ This was the age when the international newspaper began to develop. This phenomenon was a response to increasingly strict censorship throughout Europe, especially in France. In countries where there was a relatively large degree of freedom, such as Holland and the states of western Germany, papers appeared that were intended for export throughout Europe, Poland included. The spread of these titles played a very important role in intellectual and political life in Poland in the age of Poniatowski.⁷⁰

68 *Ibid.*, 10.

69 The Age of Enlightenment was also the time when Polish journalism developed in earnest. Over a hundred Polish magazines, journals and newspapers, with a print-run ranging from several hundreds to several thousands of copies, came out then. The press grew in importance as a political instrument and this helped to set a framework for social and economic reform. Most of this publishing activity took place in Warsaw. Alongside serious newspapers, new magazines appeared in the scientific, literary, moral and cultural fields. The most important of these was *Monitor*, which was published between 1765 and 1785 by Wawrzyniec Mitzler of Kolof, under the editorship of Franciszek Bohomolec, Ignacy Krasicki and Józef Minasowicz.

70 See Jerzy Łojek, *Polska inspiracja prasowa w Holandii i w Niemczech w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969).

Research carried out by Jerzy Łojek tells us that in the years between 1730 and 1795 the Polish Republic saw over a hundred periodical publications of various sorts. Among these there were publications written in French; in fact, Łojek counted fourteen of them in the period 1730–95.⁷¹ Titles in French began to arrive 1754, with the appearance in Warsaw of the *Journal littéraire de Pologne, contenant un récit exact des livres nouvellement publiés dans ce pays avec plusieurs remarques utiles et curieuses* [*Polish Literary Journal, Containing an Exact Account of Books Newly Published in That Country, together with Some Useful and Curious Remarks*].⁷² Some of the fourteen French periodicals identified by Łojek were insignificant and ephemeral, but others among them had a long life, attracted loyal readers and made a mark on the Polish journalistic market. We shall dwell on three of them here.

One of the first French periodicals to appear in Poland was the *Gazette de Varsovie* [*Warsaw Gazette*] (1758–64). This was a serious newspaper associated with the reforming activity of the above-mentioned Konarski. It was greatly influenced by the Saxon court in Dresden, whose political line it clearly followed. Contributors to it were entirely anonymous. It was published twice a week and its circulation was modest but it played a major part in disseminating information.

The *Journal hebdomadaire de la Diète* [*Weekly Journal of the Diet*], which came out during the Four-Year Diet of 1788–92, was a place for political discussions. It contained news of the French Revolution and political pamphlets putting forward models for new political systems in Poland. It was founded by the writer, traveller and thinker Jan Potocki and produced by a large new publishing house named Drukarnia Wolna [*The Free Press*] that Potocki had set up in 1788. ‘I shall write for foreigners’, Potocki wrote in the prospectus announcing the appearance of this weekly.⁷³ His aim

71 Łojek, *Les journaux polonais*, 5.

72 *Ibid.*

73 Józef Szczepanec, ‘Wokół Drukarni Wolnej i *Journal hebdomadaire de la Diète* Jana Potockiego w Warszawie w latach 1788–1792’, *Miscellanea z doby Oświecenia*, no. 4, *Archiwum Literackie*, vol. 18 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, 1973), 229–96.

was to present the political life of Poland to a foreign readership, report on the work of the Diet and publish important political documents and diplomatic notes and so forth.

Our third example of a Polish newspaper in French is the *Gazette de Hambourg* [*Hamburg Gazette*], issued between 1789 and 1794. This curious title suggests that we are dealing with a paper published in Germany, but this was not the case, for it was indeed printed in Warsaw. It was a translation of another paper, which was very well known in northern Europe, the *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen Unpartheyschen Correspondenten* [*Learned State Newspaper of the Impartial Correspondent in Hamburg*], which appeared in Hamburg throughout the eighteenth century. The fame of the *Zeitung* grew during the age of the Grand Diet. However, not so many people in Polish society any longer knew German, as it had become much less popular than French, in spite of its use as a result of the growth of the commercial and industrial contacts to which we referred earlier. In order to make the *Zeitung* more accessible to Polish readers, a certain abbé Montfambert, a Frenchman who had settled in Poland, hit upon the idea of systematically publishing a French translation of every number of the German paper in Warsaw.⁷⁴ The Polish version of the *Gazette de Hambourg*, like the *Gazette de Varsovie* before it, came out four times a week, and twice a week towards the end of its existence. It was printed in the workshop of Pierre Dufour. After a year its editor ended the policy of publishing only content from the German paper and started to reproduce articles from Parisian and other periodicals. Throughout its existence, the *Gazette de Hambourg* played an important part in spreading information. It was written in a reactionary spirit and was hostile to the French Revolution.

The appearance of the three late eighteenth-century periodicals we have described was a product of the fashion for French in Europe, to be sure, but also of the presence of French in Polish education. These periodicals show the extent to which French had spread in Poland, and indeed that there was demand for information about Poland abroad.

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74 Łojek, *Les journaux polonais*, 36.

From the historian's vantage-point, francophonie is easily visible in early modern Poland, that is to say in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or the so-called Nobles' Republic. That does not mean that it was dominant by comparison with other cultural influences, for Poland, as we have said, was situated at the crossroads of different cultures and civilizations, between the Christian west (including the Protestant world), the Orthodox world and the near Orient. Polish-French relations were firmly situated in a political context. The Polish lands were terrain on which the Valois and Bourbon monarchies competed with the House of Habsburg. Cultural influences made themselves felt depending on whether one of these powers or the other was dominant. Thus the presence of France, broadly speaking, was revealed during the brief reign of Henry of Valois in the sixteenth century and then again during the age of the two French queens who were married to Polish kings in the second half of the seventeenth century.

France was present in early modern Poland at several levels. On one level, this presence was a result of first-hand knowledge of France on the part of Polish lords who had travelled there. These lords brought back news, observations and views about all aspects of life in France, especially cultural aspects. At the same time they learned French. Then there was the presence of French people in Poland. This was strikingly in evidence for the first time when the French court of Henry of Valois came to Cracow in the sixteenth century. For a short period French practices and Polish customs, so different from one another, came into contact. The Sarmatian Poles were shocked by conspicuous manifestations of French Renaissance culture.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Italian and Spanish influences came to the fore in the cultural domain in Poland. However, the situation changed radically in the second half of the seventeenth century with the arrival of the French court of Louise-Marie Gonzaga of Nevers. Now the francophone elements of political, social and cultural life would increase. First, it was fashion from Paris, accompanied by a change in the habits of the social world, such as a transformation in the role of women in society. This change induced certain conflicting attitudes among the Poles: on the one hand, acceptance of models spread by the court and, on the other, criticism of those who approved of it, who were called 'cosmopolitans' by the Sarmatians. This, it should be stressed, was the period during

which the French language was increasingly learned in Poland, a development assisted by the presence of convent schools imported by Louise-Marie from her homeland. Noble girls and boys began to make up a generation whose education brought them close to the culture and civilization spread by the Bourbon monarchy. People knew of cultural events in Paris, such as the appearance of fashionable works of literature, theatre productions and things that were new in art and architecture. These observations relate to the reigns of the two French women who were on the Polish throne in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Other domains for francophonie opened up in Poland in the eighteenth century. French was already in widespread use among the nobles. As the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment developed, relationships proliferated which resulted in the reception of new ideas linked to the philosophy of everyday life. One of the ways in which these ideas were propagated was through a French-language press. In the age of Poniatowski, the last king of the Nobles' Republic before it fell, francophonie seemed the strongest of the foreign influences on Poland.

12 The Beginnings and the Golden Age of Francophonie among the Romanians

The cultural and literary contribution made to francophonie in the twentieth century by certain writers of Romanian origin who wrote in French has rightly been considered particularly striking and has consequently received much attention.¹ However, France's cultural influence on Romanian civilization, especially from the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, is also a topic that may yield some pleasing finds for researchers. From the late nineteenth century to our own day, it has occasioned many studies, including some, written in French, which have found a readership in France,² where they have caused some surprise. How, for example, can one explain the appearance of francophonie, or more precisely Francophilia, if not Francomania, among the Romanians, whose history, not to mention

- 1 Of all the works written on this subject, see especially Elena Budu, *Le déracinement dans l'œuvre romanesque de quatre écrivains roumains exilés en France après 1945: V. Gheorghiu, V. Horia, B. Nedelcovici et P. Goma* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du septentrion, 2002); Manuela Orita-Serban, *Ecrivains roumains d'expression française: Tristan Tzara, Benjamin Fondane, Mircéa Eliade, Eugène Ionesco: aspects de l'exil, trajectoires emblématiques* (Lille: Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, [2009]); Roxana M. Verona, *Parcours francophones: Anna de Noailles et sa famille culturelle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011); Anne Holloway Quinney, ed., *Paris–Bucharest, Bucharest–Paris: Francophone Writers from Romania* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2012).
- 2 See Alexandre Rally and Getta Hélène Rally, *Bibliographie franco-roumaine. Les œuvres françaises relatives à la Roumanie*, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1930); Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française dès origines à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1905–53, 1969–79), vol. 8, 3–8; Angela Ion, ed., *La littérature française dans l'espace culturel roumain* (Bucharest: Universitatea din București, 1984).

their geographical position, had never had any points of contact with France? And when French political influence on Romanians' destiny did become significant, especially from the time of the French Revolution of 1848 and the Second Empire (1852–70), it should be considered the effect rather than the cause of their francophonie. French influence would eventually give rise to Romanian writings in French, some of which may be said to belong to Romanian literature but others of which – by French-speaking writers of Romanian origin such as Dora d'Istria, Hélène Vacaresco, Anna de Noailles, Benjamin Fondane, Eugène Ionesco, Emile Cioran and so on – have enriched French literature.

It will be the aim of this chapter to examine the spread and impact of the French language in Romania in the two centuries preceding the full flowering of the literature written by Romanians in French to which I have referred. I shall begin with a historical survey of the introduction of French into the Romanian Lands in the eighteenth century and its use there in the nineteenth, focusing on the Age of Enlightenment and the periods of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the European revolutions of 1848. I shall then consider the teaching of French in the Romanian Lands, in both the private and public spheres, before turning to the reception and linguistic impact of French literature there. I shall end by briefly examining the development of a francophone tradition of Romanian writing in French, for various purposes, in the nineteenth century.

The spread of French in the Romanian Lands in the age of the Phanariots

The political and cultural state of the lands inhabited by the Romanians at the point when this survey of French in those lands begins was even less clear-cut than that of other Balkan regions. We cannot speak of a common situation which would warrant common conclusions about the penetration of the French language and French culture in all those lands in the period

with which we are concerned. Transylvania is removed from the picture, for our purposes here: it is a quite different case from the two main Romanian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. After the defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1683, this province, which had been a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, was incorporated in the Habsburg Empire through the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and the Romanian population of the province, although it was in the majority, was deprived of national and religious rights. As for Wallachia and Moldavia, they were situated at the cross-roads of three empires representing different civilizations. To the north of Wallachia and to the west of Moldavia lay the Holy Roman Empire (representing German civilization). To the east of Moldavia lay the Russian Empire. And to the south of Wallachia lay the Ottoman Empire, the sovereign empire for the two Romanian principalities. In the eighteenth century, during the reign of the Phanariot princes, those principalities began to acquire the more worthy status of provinces.

It was early in the Age of Enlightenment, when the Ottoman court, the Sublime Porte, started to instal Phanariot princes on the thrones of Wallachia and Moldavia in Bucharest and Jassy (Romanian Iași) respectively, that the French language and the French cultural model began to be imported into the Danubian principalities. These new rulers, or rather administrators, known as hospodars, replaced native princes, who had for centuries been vassals of the Ottoman Empire but who had now been too visibly disloyal to the sovereign power. The Phanariots were Greeks (they derived their name from the Constantinople quarter of Phanar), although some of the early princes among them also had Romanian ancestry. They were almost always francophone, having won repute at the Ottoman court as dragomans, interpreters and translators for the Grand Sultan at a time when French was becoming a European *lingua franca*.

Moreover, the Phanariots often came to the princely courts in Bucharest and Jassy accompanied by French or francophone secretaries, so that the Romanian boyars, who always occupied key places at these courts, needed knowledge of French as well as Greek in order to carry out their administrative tasks. Since these secretaries also conducted diplomatic relations with powers other than the Porte, French became the diplomatic language

used by the Romanian princely courts,³ together with Italian (which was widely used for diplomatic purposes by the Ottomans and more generally in the Mediterranean region up to the eighteenth century). The majority of such secretaries were individuals of quite modest abilities, but there were also some notable names among them. Alexandre-Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, Count of Hauterive, who was recommended to Alexander Mavrocordatos in 1785 by Choiseul-Gouffier, the French ambassador in Constantinople, was the author of a *Journal d'un voyage de Constantinople à Jassy dans l'hiver de 1785* [*Account of a Journey from Constantinople to Jassy in the Winter of 1785*].⁴ Jean-Baptiste Le Chevalier was an archaeologist; he left memoirs on his stay with Prince Alexander Callimaki (Prince of Moldavia from 1795 to 1799) in his *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin* [*Journey from the Propontis* [Sea of Marmara] *and the Euxine Sea* [Black Sea]]. Mention should also be made of the future Jacobin Jean-Louis Carra, who was secretary to Prince Grigore III Ghica during his final reign in Moldavia (1774–7) and who died on the scaffold in 1793; Carra was the author of the first French work on the Romanian Lands.⁵ Rétaux de la Vilette, another secretary placed with a hospodar by Choiseul-Gouffier, was a colourful figure who had featured in the sensational Affair of the Queen's Necklace in pre-revolutionary France, for he had forged Marie-Antoinette's signature.⁶

Like Alexander Mavrocordatos (the sultan's interpreter who had persuaded the sultan to instal his son Nicholas as the ruling prince in Jassy), the first Phanariot princes, Nicholas and John Mavrocordatos were highly cultivated men who had studied in the west, in Padua and Vienna to be precise. They owned a rich library which was the pride of the family and had no lack

3 See Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale Apusului*, 2 vols (Bucharest: Imprimeria Statului, 1896).

4 Published by M. A. Ubicini in *Revue de Géographie* 2 (1877), 120 and 274.

5 *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de ses provinces* (Jassy, Paris: 1777).

6 Pompiliu Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie. Les origines. Etude sur l'état de la société roumaine à l'époque des règnes phanariotes* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898), 151.

of French books.⁷ Nicholas Mavrocordatos also conducted a correspondence with French men of letters, for example the abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, a member of the Académie française and keeper of the library of Louis XV from 1718 to 1743, who read a manuscript of Nicholas's short novel *Filoteon Parerga* [*The Leisure of Philotheus*], the first modern Greek novel, and judged it very favourably.⁸ Nicholas's son, Constantine Mavrocordatos, who in turn became hospodar ten times in one or the other of the two Danubian principalities over the period 1730–69, was educated by French tutors. Steeped in the spirit of the Enlightenment, he had a plan for a Constitution, which he had written in French, published in the *Mercur de France* [*Mercury of France*] in 1742;⁹ the plan showed that Constantine had been affected by the doctrines of the *philosophes* and French economists.¹⁰ It was to Constantine that the French abbé Guyot-Desfontaines dedicated his translation of Virgil's works in 1744,¹¹ praising 'the esteem in which [Constantine] holds good French writers [...] and his particular attachment to France.'¹² Among the numerous travellers who bore witness to the use of French at the courts of Phanariot princes we should mention Jean-Claude Flachet, who around 1740 lauded Constantine both for his library, which contained a great number of French works, and for his knowledge of French, Italian and German.¹³

7 See J. Bouchard, 'Nicolas Mavrocordatos, sa vie et son œuvre', in Nicolas Mavrocordatos, *Les loisirs de Philothée*, tr. with commentary by Jacques Bouchard (Athens: Association pour l'étude des Lumières en Grèce, and Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1989), 27.

8 See Constantin Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteci umaniste românești* (Bucharest: Editura Litera, 1974), 193.

9 Georges Bengesco, *Bibliographie franco-roumaine du XIXe siècle* (Brussels: Paul Lacomblez Ed., 1895), vol. 1, 8.

10 N. I. Apostolescu, *L'influence des romantiques français sur la poésie roumaine* (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1909), 21; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 7.

11 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 157; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 8, 6.

12 Quoted by Bengesco, *Bibliographie franco-roumaine*, 8.

13 Jean-Claude Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes orientales*, 2 vols (Lyon: Chez Jaquenod père & Rusand, Libraires, 1766), vol. 1, 190.

Other Phanariot princes, besides members of the Mavrocordatos family, also showed a strong attraction to France and the French. Alexander Ypsilantis (hospodar of Wallachia from 1774 to 1782 and again in 1796–7 and hospodar of Moldavia in 1786–8), for example, surrounded himself with Frenchmen and tried to imitate ceremonial at the court of Versailles.¹⁴ Constantine Hangerli (Prince of Wallachia 1797–9) received the first consul of France, citizen Flûry, at his court in Bucharest with great pomp and conversed politely with him in French. Indeed, one possible explanation of his execution by the Turks for treachery is his good relations with the French Republic.¹⁵ Another friend of France, where he had studied, was the Phanariot prince Alexander ‘Draco’ Soutzo, who reigned in Moldavia in 1801–2 and four times in Wallachia in the period 1802–21.

From the late eighteenth century, Romanians’ contact with France and the French became more direct, turning into a social and political phenomenon as opposed to isolated contacts. The ideas of the Revolution of 1789 entered Romanian consciousness through pamphlets and foreign newspapers, which were peddled by Greek merchants in particular. These ideas caused a stir among the boyars who saw in them a possible source of support for their own dreams of national independence from Ottoman suzerainty, which weighed more and more heavily upon them. A number of French emigrants now appeared in the Danubian principalities – first aristocrats, next Jacobins, then Bonapartists and often also impostors in search of a rather illusory fortune. There was also increasing interest in this part of Europe in France itself; this interest found expression in the dispatch of the first French consuls to Bucharest and Jassy. As for the enthusiasm of the Romanians for Napoleon Bonaparte, it assumed phenomenal proportions among the common people; it was manifested even in native productions intended for fairs in the form of playlets or performances with puppets marvelling at Napoleon’s victories and then, for a long while, taking pity on him because of his sad fate.

14 See Adam Neale, *Voyage en Allemagne, en Pologne, en Moldavie et en Turquie*, tr. Charles-Auguste Fauconpret, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Gide, libraire, 1818) vol. 2, 29.

15 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 220–7.

French as a language of Romanian society and intellectuals in the nineteenth century

Phanariot reigns came to an end in 1821, as a result of the implication of the Greeks of Constantinople and the principalities in the Greek Revolt, especially their role in the organization of the secret society known as Filikí Eteria [Society of Friends], which was led, incidentally, by Prince Alexander Ypsilantis, the son of the Phanariot hospodar Constantine Ypsilantis.

By then, knowledge of French in the Romanian Lands, which had first been encouraged by the francophile Phanariots, was also being constantly improved by the half-friendly, half-belligerent relations which developed with French-speaking Russian officers during numerous armed conflicts between Turkey and Russia, in which Moldavia and Wallachia were often the theatre of military operations.¹⁶ Tsarist armies repeatedly passed through the principalities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as they cleared a path, from one war to the next, towards the Constantinople of their imperial dreams (which, however, they were destined never to reach). One palpable linguistic indication of this contact is the fact that a good number of words of French origin in Romanian entered the language through Russian. These loanwords are themselves Russian neologisms of French origin, such as Romanian *ofițer* [officer], which derives from French *officier*, but comes into Romanian via Russian *ofitser*,¹⁷ or Romanian *epolet*, *maghistrat*, *manifest*, *pretenție*, *senat*, *țeremonie* [epaulette, magistrate, manifesto,

16 Russian military campaigns waged on Moldavian and Wallachian territory during the period that concerns us here took place in 1711 (under Peter the Great of Russia), 1736–9 (better known as the Austro-Russian-Turkish War), 1768–74 and 1787–92 (the last two wars being prosecuted during the reign of the Russian Empress Catherine II), 1806–12 (in the reign of Alexander I), 1828–9 (in the reign of Nicholas I) and 1877–8 (the Russo-Turkish War, known in Romanian historiography as the War of Independence, in the reign of Alexander II).

17 See the entry in Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’, *Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române (DEX)*, 3rd edn (Bucharest: Ed. Univers Enciclopedic, 2009).

pretension, senate, ceremony] from French *epaulette*, *magistrat*, *manifeste*, *pretention*, *sénat* and *cérémonie* respectively.¹⁸

From the time of the Russo-Turkish wars in the age of Catherine and especially during the two Russo-Turkish wars in the first half of the nineteenth century, Russian officers played a significant role as intermediaries between French language and civilization, on the one hand, and Moldavian and Wallachian society, on the other. The learning of a form of French that was more correct and elegant in its pronunciation, the absorption by Romanian of French words which were in fact borrowed from Russian and of elements of European (especially French) civilization such as fashion in dress, soirées, balls, good manners – these were the visible results of the civilizing influence of the cosmopolitan Russian army in the Danubian principalities. Above all, women began to escape from the women's quarters of traditional patriarchal Romanian society. The education of Romanian girls, even noble girls, had been very much neglected, from the intellectual point of view, until about the end of the eighteenth century, as a reference by the celebrated English traveller Lady Craven shows.¹⁹ However, that situation would change radically once Romanian women came out of the quasi-oriental environment of the household and entered *le monde* [the social world],²⁰ an environment that was brought about by the need of the Moldavian and Wallachian aristocracy to offer Russian officers stationed in the two capitals, Jassy and Bucharest, at least some semblance of society.

The Russian administration set up in the principalities following the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–9 is of particular interest from our point of view. Of the Russian generals who replaced the Wallachian and Moldavian princes from 1828, it was General Pavel Kiseliiov whose period in command, which lasted from October 1829 to April 1834, most affected Romanian society. Francophone and francophile, Kiseliiov demanded that officials of

18 Ana Goldis Poalelungi, *L'influence du français sur le roumain (Vocabulaire et syntaxe)* (Paris: Société Les Belles Lettres, 1973), 78.

19 *Née* Lady Elizabeth Berkeley (1750–1828), author of *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1789).

20 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 187.

the two Romanian principalities write any papers that required his attention in French.²¹ Even the *Règlement Organique* [Organic Regulation] for Wallachia and Moldavia, the first modern constitution that these countries had known, which was drawn up under Kiseliiov's supervision, was written in French in the first instance and translated into Romanian afterwards. Many of the ideas that informed this document (ideas pertaining both to form and content) belonged to a French tradition. According to Saint-Marc Girardin (who admittedly exaggerated a little, being taken in by appearances), 'General Kiseliiov did everything and organized everything, and all according to the principles of French administration and in the French spirit.'²²

An amusing example of the persistence of French as a social language in elite Romanian society even in the second half of the nineteenth century is provided by the case of Mihai Eminescu (1850–89), who is still considered the greatest Romanian poet. The education he received, first in Czernowitz (in modern Ukraine), then in Vienna and Berlin, was not francophone but germanophone: he could understand and read French, but only with difficulty and with the aid of a French-German dictionary. However, once he had settled in Jassy, he was keen to frequent good society out of love for his mistress, Veronica, who was the very young bride of a university professor, Stefan Micle, and whom he had already met abroad. (Veronica was herself a poet and an excellent translator of the French Romantic poet Alphonse de Lamartine.) Eminescu now felt himself obliged to improve his French, lest he strike a discordant note in the circle of friends of his beloved. One product of his efforts is the draft of a furious jealous letter to Veronica, which in fact he never sent and which has survived among his manuscripts. Eminescu manages to achieve a remarkable level of expressivity in French, given that he is writing in a language he does not know at all well.²³

21 *idem, La Roumanie au XIXe siècle. Les trois présidents plénipotentiaires (1824–1834)* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1914), 138.

22 Saint-Marc-Girardin, *Souvenirs de voyages et d'études*, 2 vols (Paris: Amyot, 1853), vol. 2, 258–60.

23 Quoted by G. Calinescu, *Opera lui Mihai Eminescu*, ed. Ileana Mihaila, 2 vols (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1999–2000), vol. 1, 285–6.

By Eminescu's time, though, another function of French, besides its social function, had developed considerably. That is to say, it was a language of great importance to the nascent Romanian intelligentsia. After the Treaty of Adrianopolis (1829), which concluded the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–9, it became possible for Romanians to travel to western countries (which had been flatly forbidden during the period of Turkish-Phanariot government). Wallachian and Moldavian students now began to appear in Paris, whence they returned with minds imbued with the revolutionary ideas that agitated France throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Some of them took an active part in organizing revolutionary movements in the Romanian Lands in 1848.²⁴ The revolution of 1848 had its greatest success, in the Danubian principalities, in Wallachia, where a provisional government was set up. The armed intervention of three empires (Turkish, Russian and Austrian) quickly put an end to this revolution and many Romanian intellectuals who had been implicated in these events took the road to exile. Their preferred destination was again Paris, the city where most of them had studied. They had in any case organized A Society of Romanian Students in Paris in 1846. The Society's president was the writer Ion Ghica and its members included the historian Nicolae Bălcescu, the poet Dimitrie Bolintineanu, the historian Mihail Kogălniceanu, the writer and diplomat Vasile Alecsandri, Constantin Alexandru Rosetti, a publisher, journalist and politician of liberal persuasion, and many other, lesser figures. The honorary president of the Society was Lamartine. Its members maintained excellent relations with their former teachers at the Collège de France, the historians and intellectuals Jules Michelet and Edgar Quinet, who subsequently used their pens to produce pro-Romanian propaganda in the French capital and thanks to whose efforts French diplomacy became actively involved during the Second Empire in the process of the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia, in 1859, in a national state. This whole francophone and francophile generation of Romanians

24 The most prominent among them, Nicolae Bălcescu, took an active part in the French Revolution of 1848 and sent his friends in Bucharest the foot he had torn off the throne of Louis-Philippe.

is known in Romanian historiography as the 'generation of forty-eight'; it was affected by the same literary ideals, as well as the same political ideals, and it founded Romanian Romanticism. French, for this generation, was no longer a language of the elite social world but the language of intellectual life and a key to participation in an international political and literary community.

Thus French penetrated the Romanian Lands gradually and from different directions. The Romanian press and literary writings of the nineteenth century give us an insight into the extent of this knowledge, which had become a necessity for integration into Romanian society. In less than a hundred years it had seeped down into lower and lower social strata by a process of imitation. Knowledge of French was more thorough, of course, among the upper classes and the nascent intellectual class, which was drawn from the offspring of the most distinguished aristocratic families, such as the Brancovans, Ghicas, Sturdzas, Dudescus, Câmpineanus, Cantecuzinos and Rosettis. Among the various layers of the bourgeoisie it was more imitative and superficial. Even the high Romanian Orthodox clergy no longer lacked opportunities to learn French, in spite of the thunderbolts with which the Patriarch of Constantinople threatened it. It is a piquant fact that among the earliest readers and translators of the authors of the Age of Enlightenment we find several churchmen: bishops such as Chesarie of Râmnic, a great admirer of the *Encyclopédie* [*Encyclopaedia*] edited by Denis Diderot and d'Alembert, which Chesarie purchased and even used in his sermons;²⁵ the archimandrite Gherasim, who in 1792 translated Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* [*History of Charles XII*];²⁶ and Bishop Leon Gheuca of Roman, a devotee of François Fénelon.²⁷ It is worth mentioning in this connection that the first Romanian translation of a work as scandalous for its time as George Sand's novel *Lélia* was published, in 1853–4, by the Press of the Holy Metropolitan Archbishopric of Bucharest.

25 See Al. Dușu, *Coordonate ale culturii românești în secolul XVIII* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1968) 147–50.

26 Ms. IV-5, in the archive of the Central Library of the University of Jassy.

27 Dușu, *Coordonate ale culturii românești*, 225–40.

The fullest account of the gradual penetration of French influence into Romanian society was written over a hundred years ago, in French, by Pompiliu Eliade in two works published in Paris, namely *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie* [*On French Influence on the Public Spirit in Romania*], which I have already cited,²⁸ and *Histoire de l'esprit public en Roumanie au dix-neuvième siècle* [*History of the Public Spirit in Romania in the Nineteenth Century*].²⁹ Having been born in 1869, Eliade was quite close to the events he described and indeed had heard about them directly from older generations. 'The youth, especially women,' he wrote,

allowed themselves quite simply to be captivated and seduced by excellent pronunciation of French. If the Phanariots gave the first French lessons to the aristocracy of Moldavia and Wallachia, it was certainly the Russians who taught them to pronounce it well. From being an official language, French increasingly became the language of salons, a language that was commonly used.³⁰

Knowing French and how to play the piano, Eliade continued, 'became the two essential items in a girl's education, at least in the great families; to know these two things well was the *summum* of education; for a girl, it amounted to a diploma on the eve of marriage'.³¹ The use of French was an instrument in the westernization and modernization of the Romanian Lands. 'Let us call to mind our grandfathers,' Eliade wrote, 'who managed to give us a western soul; they were the real creators of modern Romania.'³²

As in many other European societies, though, the spread of French generated acerbic criticism. Thus when Gheorghe Bibescu, the ruling prince of Wallachia from 1843 to 1848, proposed that French should become the

28 See n. 6 above.

29 Eliade, *Histoire de l'esprit public en Roumanie au dix-neuvième siècle. L'occupation turque et les premiers princes indigènes (1821–1828)* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition (Librairie Georges Bellais), 1905).

30 *Idem*, *De l'influence française*, 183.

31 *Ibid.*, 187.

32 *Histoire de l'esprit public*, xix.

language of higher education in the principality, following the example of Greek in earlier times, the resistance he met made him abandon his plan.³³ As in other countries too, the study of French which had been poorly learned was a source of comedy in early masterpieces of the national theatre, such as Alecsandri's *Coana Chirița la Iași* [*Madame Kiritza in Jassy*] (1850) and *Coana Chirița în provincie* [*Madame Kiritza in the Provinces*] (1855). Some years later, the subject was taken up in the plays of the most distinguished Romanian dramatist, Ion Luca Caragiale, especially in his *O noapte furtunoasă* [*A Stormy Night*] (1879). In this play (written roughly in the period in which Eminescu was using French to conduct his affair, it will be noted), Caragiale portrays two sisters, Veta and Zița. Veta, who is much older than her younger sister, *ne lit pas* [does not read] either French or Romanian. Zița, on the other hand, does read it, *mais surtout des romans français* [but mainly French novels]. Moreover, characters in Caragiale's stories and comedies highlight the continuation in the second half of the nineteenth century of a phenomenon already criticized by Alecsandri in his comedies, that is to say loan translations in both directions, namely French words and expressions that have been poorly assimilated in Romanian speech *à la mode* and Romanian words and expressions that are wrongly used by Romanians when they speak French. The resulting doublets are an inexhaustible source of comedy for Caragiale. On the one hand, there are Romanian words that are well established in the language; on the other, there are forms of French words Romanianized in a rush which are phonetically similar in the two languages but have quite different meanings. One example will suffice. The French term *suffrage* was recreated in Romanian as *sufragiu*. However, the word *sufragiu* already existed in the meaning 'servant who brings the dishes into the dining-room' (and the 'dining-room' was already designated *sufagerie* in Romanian). The reading of a political article on universal suffrage in *A Stormy Night* thus lends itself to laughable interpretations. Thus the works of these two writers, Alecsandri and Caragiale, suggest a superficial assimilation of French, which is a source of error.

33 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 374.

How French was learnt in the Romanian Lands

The learning of French in the Romanian principalities, as we have seen, began at the courts of princes who had French secretaries. Some of these Frenchmen acted not only as administrators but also as tutors.³⁴ One of them, Linchou, taught the two sons of Prince Alexander Ypsilantis, whose court had a good number of Frenchmen in it (Ypsilantis's secretary La Roche, Linchou to teach the prince's children and even a cook, a certain L. Etienne Meynard). Linchou inculcated in his pupils such a strong desire for direct contact with European life (and especially Parisian life, as his pupils themselves affirmed³⁵) that Ypsilantis's sons secretly fled from Bucharest and arrived, via Transylvania, in Vienna. Worried about how the Turks might interpret this escapade, Ypsilantis took advantage of the excellent knowledge of French and diplomatic skills of his boyar Ianake Vacarescu (who himself had been taught some years before by the same Linchou³⁶), sending him as an emissary to the Habsburg court to make the fugitives come back. This juvenile attempt to undertake something like a Grand Tour in Romanian style in the Age of Enlightenment resulted in the disgrace of the boys' father, who was assumed to be complicit in their flight and therefore guilty of treachery to the Sublime Porte, which at that time was in diplomatic dispute with the Habsburgs. A little later, in 1806, the Marquess of Beaupoil de Saint-Aulaire, while serving as a minister to Prince Constantine Ypsilantis, also acted as governor to the prince's children. Again, around 1806, a certain M. Fleury, who claimed to have voted for the death of Louis XVI at his trial before the National Convention in 1792–3, provided an education for the two grandsons of

34 The most reliable source of information on tutors is Jorga [Iorga], *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains* (Paris: Payot, 1918), 48–70, but other Romanian sources are also rich in detail: see, e.g., C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de Doamnă și Domnițe*, 5th edn (Bucharest: Universul, 1943).

35 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 160, where extracts of the princes' letter to Emperor Joseph II are given.

36 *Ibid.*, 159, 162.

the logothete Nicolae Roznovanu, the sons of the keeper of the Moldavian hospodar's wardrobe, Iordaki Balș, and one of the first Romanian poets, Costache Conachi.³⁷

From princely courts French passed to the manor houses of great feudal lords and then to the houses of lesser ones, coming finally to the emergent bourgeoisie. From being part of the education of the offspring of great families who were destined to participate in the political life and culture of their land, it became an essential element (like playing the piano!) in the formation of fine young ladies, who from the early nineteenth century were also supposed to read and write (if not to translate to and from) the language of Voltaire.

French (or at least francophone) tutors may have been confined to the great families, but the French language came also to schools that were open to anyone who wanted to study. (Access was subject usually to payment of a sum from which only bursary-holders were exempt, as often because they had achieved good academic results as because of material hardship.) From the eighteenth century (in the case of Romanian schools using the Greek language³⁸) and from the early nineteenth century (in the case of 'Greek schools' in which Romanian came to be the language of teaching, because Greek had been prohibited in them in 1821, following the outbreak of the Greek Revolt), educational establishments made provision for the teaching of French in their curricula. While we do not have enough documents from the earlier period to be able to speak with certainty about language-teaching policy then, we do know that French was introduced as an obligatory foreign language in all Wallachian schools as a result of the educational reorganization carried out – on the French model – in 1775, during the reign of the Phanariot prince Alexander Ypsilantis. This example was quickly imitated in Moldavia through the

37 *Ibid.*, 268, 272–3.

38 These schools in the principalities were attended by the offspring of local noble families, both Romanian and Greek, and by the children of rich families of the whole Orthodox community, especially from south-eastern Europe, because of the importance of the Greek cultural tradition (ancient, Byzantine and post-Byzantine) in the region.

school reform initiated by Grigore III Ghica.³⁹ However, it would not have been possible to conceive or implement a measure that was so radical without there being some prior tradition. We should add that towards the end of the eighteenth century the children of peasants were admitted to these schools, as boarding pupils, in order to stimulate their wealthier peers by example.⁴⁰

The first private French school (that is to say, Romanian school in which teaching took place in French) was set up in Bucharest in 1830 by the Frenchman Jean Alexandre Vaillant. In 1832 this school was merged with the Saint-Sava College. Originally this establishment operated under the name the Princes' Academy of Bucharest; it was the first college in the Wallachian capital. It had been founded in 1694 by the ruling prince, Constantine Brancovan, and the majority of teachers in it were Greeks. It was not until 1818 that Romanian was introduced into its curriculum, thanks to the efforts of an immigrant Transylvanian scholar, Gheorghe Lazăr, and after 1821 it replaced Greek as the language of instruction there. The Saint-Sava College was directed, after the departure of Lazăr, by his pupil and disciple Ion Heliade Radulescu, the father of modern Romanian literature and culture, who was an accomplished poet, translator, philologist and journalist, a minister in the provisional government of 1848 and honorary president of the Academic Society (which would become the Romanian Academy). The Saint-Sava College was the first Romanian school (that is to say, school in which the language of instruction was Romanian) in which French was taught. An educational reform of 1864 divided it into two institutions, the lycée which still bears that name and the University of Bucharest. Both these institutions carried on the tradition of French teaching. The first professor of French at the University of Bucharest would be Ulysse de Marsillac, who had previously taught the subject at

39 See Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Thessaloniki: Institut d'études balcaniques, 1974); Sultana Craia [Craia], *Francofonie et francophilie en Roumanie* (Bucharest: Ed. Meronia, 2006), 192; Duțu, *Coordonate ale culturii românești*, 221.

40 Eliade, *De l'influence française*, 166–7.

the Saint-Sava College. From 1900 the University would have a dedicated department of French, whose first tenured professor would be the great specialist on Franco-Romanian relations to whom I have already referred, Pompiliu Eliade.

A number of French schools, in addition to Vaillant's school in Bucharest, were opened in the principalities from 1830 on. A certain Lincourt, who had previously been a private teacher in noble households in Jassy, opened a school for boys in 1831 in Miroslava, a village a few kilometres outside the Moldavian capital, in which the languages of instruction were French and Greek. Also in Jassy, Victor Cuénim-Four (or Quénim) ran a boarding school between 1828 and 1834, in which French was the language of instruction. Pupils at this school included some of the most important future literary and political figures of mid-nineteenth-century Moldavia, such as Alecsandri and Kogălniceanu.⁴¹ In 1836, a boarding school opened for Moldavian girls by the 'Countess E. de Grandpré' offered pupils, for fifty pieces of gold a year, a full teaching programme in which French had pride of place. This school had been preceded, around 1831, by a similar establishment for 'nobilele dimoazele' [young noble ladies] opened by a couple from the Moldavian petty nobility, Teodor and Maria Burada. The Buradas charged sixty pieces of gold a month and admitted just fifteen pupils, who were to come from the best families. Maria Burada, incidentally, was the first Moldavian female translator from French. By 1837, a good number of Moldavian towns had their own French, Greco-French or Romano-French schools.⁴² The education law passed in Romania in 1864 included French among the compulsory subjects in secondary education, to the extent that even an orphanage for girls offered its boarders courses in that language.⁴³

41 *Idem, Histoire de l'esprit public*, 212.

42 N. Iorga, *Istoria învățământului românesc*, ed. Ilie Popescu Teiușan (Bucharest: ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, 1971), 120–1.

43 Emilia Grecu, *Azilul Elena Doamna și ajutorul domnesc dat orfanilor* (Bucharest: Ed. Casei Școalelor, 1944), 210–16.

The demand for French literature and its linguistic impact in the Romanian Lands

Libraries and the book-market

One early sign of Romanian interest in French culture and familiarity with the French language was the presence of French books in the private libraries of the Romanian elite. The accounts of contemporary observers and catalogues which have survived attest to the fact that the private libraries of eighteenth-century princes and nobles, and in the following century those belonging to members of the middle class as well, contained many volumes in French. Voltaire was among the first to mention the phenomenon: 'why is our language spoken in Moscow and in Yassi [Jassy]'; he exclaimed in a letter of 21 June 1771 to Marmontel. His own reply to his rhetorical question referred to the spread of the works of French authors in these distant countries.⁴⁴ The above-mentioned Carra informed readers of his *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie* [*History of Moldavia and Wallachia*] that 'the works of Voltaire are in the hands of various young boyars'.⁴⁵ In 1777, the boyar Ioan (Ioniță) Canta was asked to purchase 'the *Encyclopaedias*' for the sons of Grigoraș Costachi. The Wallachian Prince Barbu Știrbey wrote to his Transylvanian merchant, also towards the end of the Age of Enlightenment, asking him to find a good teacher of French and at the same time 'all the books that are needed for that purpose'.⁴⁶

Eighteenth-century French literature remained in demand in the Romanian Lands in the nineteenth century. In 1803, the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were obtained for the young Mihail Sturdza, who would

44 *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 60 vols (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Chapelet, 1821–3), vol. 55, 531–2. Marmontel's *Bélisaire* was translated into Romanian in 1792 by one of the most distinguished Transylvanian men of letters of that time, Samuil Micu.

45 Jean-Louis Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de ses provinces, par M. C... [J.-L. Carra] qui a séjourné dans ces provinces* (Jassy [Paris?]: Aux dépenses de la Société Typographique des Deux-Ponts, 1777), 215.

46 Craia, *Francophonie et francophilie*, 43.

become the ruling prince of Moldavia from 1834 to 1849. Voltaire's *Henriade* featured in the library of Gheorghe Asachi, an early nineteenth-century Moldavian man of letters who owned many French works of the first rank. (It is no surprise that his adopted daughter Hermione, who would marry Quinet in 1852, began her literary career as a translator from French into Romanian.) Indeed, everyone with a library in the nineteenth century, a recent historian of Romanian literature has observed, owned a copy of Voltaire's complete works.⁴⁷ In the post-Phanariot period, however, more modern French works were also in demand. Thus in the 1830s and 1840s the book-sellers of Bucharest and Jassy offered their readers, according to one catalogue, 'all of the works of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Hugo, Musset, Charles Nodier, George Sand, imported as soon as they have appeared'.⁴⁸ As for Honoré de Balzac, the first documents providing evidence of the distribution of his novels in the Romanian Lands are the lists of books ordered in France and submitted to the censors by the book-sellers of Jassy.⁴⁹ Alongside the names of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French writers, which still predominated, we also find there the works of contemporary writers such as Victor Hugo, Alphonse de Lamartine, Pierre-Jean de Béranger and Paul Courier. Balzac figures in these lists with his *Contes philosophiques* [*Philosophical Tales*], *Contes drolatiques* [*Ribald Tales*], *Scènes de la vie militaire* [*Scenes from Military Life*] (probably *Les Chouans* [*The Chouans*]), *Histoire des Treize* [*History of the Thirteen*], and so forth. These works of prose fiction had only recently been published, which shows the speed with which French books were now being imported into the Romanian Lands.⁵⁰

47 G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, 2nd edn, ed. Al. Piru (Bucharest: Ed. Minerva, 1982), 207.

48 Angela Ion, 'Présence du romantisme français dans la littérature roumaine', in *idem*, ed., *La littérature française*, 131. Ion cites the catalogues of the bookshops of Adolphe Hennig of Jassy (1834), Frédéric Waldbaum of Bucharest (1838) and C. A. Rosetti and Winterhalder of Bucharest (1847).

49 Radu Rosetti, 'Despre censura în Moldova', in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, 2nd series, vol. 29 (1906–7), vol. 30 (1907–8).

50 Ion, 'Balzac dans la littérature roumaine', in *idem*, ed., *La littérature française*, 142.

The first translations

Romanian familiarity with French and the literature written in it bore fruit in a long line of translations, many of which were done by distinguished representatives of Romanian culture, often very soon after the appearance of the original works in France.

The oldest translations that were made directly from French into Romanian were those of works by Voltaire, namely *Tocsin des Rois* [*The Alarm Bell for Kings*] and *Poème de Jean Plokoff* [*Poem of Jean Plokoff*]. They were done in 1771–2, in the context of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–74, and the manuscript of them is decorated with a portrait of Catherine II.⁵¹ One of the most notable early translators was Prince Ioan Cantacuzino, who was the first, in 1794, to translate Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau into Romanian. The work by Rousseau that he chose was *Narcisse ou l'amant de lui-même* [*Narcissus, or the Man who Loves Himself*].⁵² This little-known work was among Rousseau's juvenilia and had only just been brought to readers' attention by its inclusion in the first collection of Rousseau's works which purported to be complete, published in Geneva after Rousseau's death.⁵³ There is an analogy here with the minor work by Montesquieu, the *Histoire orientale ou Arsace et Isménie* [*An Oriental Tale, or Arsace and Ismenie*], which Cantacuzino also translated in 1794. This is a short novel published for the first time by Montesquieu's son in the writer's posthumous works in 1783. Thus the translator was in a position to work with the best editions of his preferred authors that were available at the time.

A translator representative of the following age was Stanciu Căpățâneanu, who had studied at the Saint-Sava College in Bucharest and was therefore

51 As Ariadna Camariano-Cioran shows in her work *Spiritul revoluționar francez și Voltaire în limbile greacă și română* (Bucharest: Institutul de studii și cercetări balcanice, 1946).

52 The two translations are preserved in an original manuscript (mss. roum. 3099 in the Library of the Romanian Academy). They were first cited by Al. Ciorănescu, 'O veche traducere din J.-J. Rousseau', *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* 4/6 (1 June 1937), 659–65.

53 Rousseau, *Collection complète des œuvres de J. J. Rousseau*, 17 vols (Geneva: Ed. Du Peyrou and Moulto, 1782–9), vol. 8, 1–52.

a pupil and disciple of Ion Heliade Rădulescu. A teacher at the National School in Craiova and the author of school textbooks, Căpățâneanu was very active around 1830, translating Montesquieu's *Considérations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains* [*Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*], a little book which contained the translations of four classical French prose works (one each by Pascal, Boileau, Montesquieu and Voltaire) and Voltaire's philosophical novel *Zadig ou la destinée* [*Zadig, or the Book of Fate*]. Around the same time he also announced that he was going to produce an unabridged translation of Rousseau's *Contrat social* [*Social Contract*] but he had to abandon this plan because of lack of funds. Analysing his choice of works to translate, we see that the ideas of the French Enlightenment had lost none of their splendour and modernity in the first half of the nineteenth century. We should take account also of their pedagogical potential in Romanian society, which was setting out with great difficulty on the path of Europeanization. At the same time, translators' choices could still be influenced by the reading that their teachers of French had recommended to them when they were students (hence the interest in eighteenth-century writers), as well as by the growing enthusiasm for contemporary writers, both Romantic and Realist.

The reception of George Sand provides a striking example of the latter trend. Almost all of the translations of her works appeared in Bucharest. That is no coincidence, because in Wallachia at that time, as we saw in an earlier section of this chapter, there was a very powerful group of political figures and men of letters who were of liberal persuasion. Heliade Rădulescu, the former teacher of many of them, was a leading light among them. His name almost invariably crops up when there is mention of the reception of the great French authors in Romanian culture. He himself produced translations of Molière, Voltaire, Rousseau, Marmontel, Madame de Genlis, Lamartine, Hugo and Dumas. Like many others before and after him (Cantacuzino in the eighteenth century, for example⁵⁴), he made use of French as an intermediary language for translations of works from other literatures (for instance, he

54 Cantacuzino translated Alexander Pope's 'Essay on Man' from French. His translation survives in a manuscript dated 1794. There is every reason to believe that he used

translated Byron into Romanian for the first time). Heliade Rădulescu was one of the first to take an interest in Sand's novelistic output. His journal *Curierul Românesc* [*Romanian Courier*] (1829–48) announced in 1845 that a long series of translations of the works of 'Madame G. Sand' was forthcoming: *Le Secrétaire intime* [*The Private Secretary*], *Métella*, *La Marquise* [*The Marchioness*], which would shortly be followed by *Indiana*, *Mauprat*, *Lélia*, *La dernière Aldini* [*The Last Aldini*] and many others, all of which would be translated by the same translator, Ștefan Andronic. It was an ambitious project, which depended above all on the material support of Heliade Rădulescu himself, who was the owner of a press as well as the journal which published the announcement of these forthcoming translations.

As it turned out, *Le Secrétaire intime* was the only title in the proposed series to appear in 1847 and extracts of Sand's *Lélia* and *Lettres à Marcie* [*Letters to Marcie*], which Heliade Rădulescu himself translated, remained in manuscript form. Notwithstanding the overall failure of Heliade Rădulescu's translation project, the year 1847 saw the appearance of a Romanian translation of Sand's *Indiana*, done by Teulescu, who would himself take part in the revolution of 1848. In the same year, *Curierul Românesc* published a translation of *Métella* and the following year *Mattéa* and *Lavinia*, all three of them in a version by D. Moșoiu. Interest in Sand continued in the years 1848–57, when many Romanian intellectuals were in exile following the failed revolution of 1848. Translations of several of Sand's short stories were published: *Leone Leoni* appeared in Romanian in 1850, *Lélia* in 1853–4, in a translation done by N. Nenovici (who had been commissar for propaganda during the revolution), and *Métella*, again, in 1853, translated this time by G. A. Baronzi.⁵⁵ Sand's *Mont Revêche*, published in 1852, was translated almost immediately into Romanian, in 1853–4, and her novella *L'Orco* [*The Devil's Pool*] was translated in 1857. It is tempting to see the abundance of translations of Sand's work as a form of political action by liberal figures associated with the revolution.

the French version of 1739, which was done by Etienne de Silhouette and annotated by Diderot.

55 Baronzi was a collaborator on *Curierul Românesc*, a prolific translator from French into Romanian and a fairly well known creative writer in his own right. He would translate Alexandre Dumas, Alexandre Dumas fils and Eugène Sue as well as George Sand.

While we should not exaggerate the bearing of ideological sympathies on imaginative literature or appreciation of it, it is nonetheless plain that Sand was one of the favourite writers of members of these groups and one of the most translated writers of the time and that translators' selection of works by her for translation is in keeping with their political complexion.⁵⁶

The scale of the reception of French literature in Romanian cultural space, of which I have given just a few examples in this section, has been such as to militate, as yet, against production of a scholarly overview of the subject, although new discoveries in archives and the press are now increasing our knowledge of the extent of French literary influence.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, recent research on the substantial contribution made by female translators in nineteenth-century Romania tends to underline their particular interest in French literature. Let us take the work of nineteen Romanian women who can be regarded as among the most interesting and important female translators of that time, if we are to judge them by the literary standard of the work they selected for translation and by the volume and quality of their output. We find that although they were interested in a considerable number of European literatures (nine), direct access to texts in those literatures, other than French texts, seems to have been confined to works written in German and Italian. We may assume that works in the remainder of the literatures were read in French translation. I have been able to ascertain that these female translators' selections of French literature greatly exceed forty (forty-four titles, to be precise) out of the sixty-six that I have catalogued from

56 See Ileana Mihaila, 'Le rôle des idées politiques dans la réception de George Sand en Roumanie au XIXe siècle', in Suzan van Dijk, ed., *George Sand lue à l'étranger* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 68–79.

57 The following works enable us to take a statistical approach as well as to produce a nuanced analysis of the most representative cases of translators and translations: *Bibliografia analitică a periodicelor românești (1790–1858)*, compiled by Ioan Lupu, Nestor Camariano and Ovidiu Papadima (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1966–72), 6 vols; *Bibliografia literaturii române cu literaturile straine în periodice (1859–1918)*, compiled by Ioan Lupu, Cornelia Ștefănescu *et al.* (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1980–5), 3 vols; and *Bibliografia literaturii române cu literaturile straine în periodice (1919–1944)*, compiled by Ana-Maria Brezuleanu, Ileana Mihăilă, Michaela Șchiopu, Cornelia Ștefănescu and Viorica Nișcov, 10 vols (Bucharest: Ed. Saeculum, 1997–2009).

periodical publications and books published over the period 1830–1918. To this number we should add seven or eight others which were also most probably translated from French, given that nothing in the writers' biographies entitles us to attribute knowledge of English, Swedish or Polish to them.⁵⁸

The influence of French on the Romanian literary language

The positive impact of reading and translation that I have described on original Romanian literature would be twofold. First, of course, French writings offered models for Romanian writers. The evolution of modern narrative genres (novels and novellas) which were just beginning to appear in literature written in Romanian, and of lyrical discourse too, shows how nineteenth-century Romanian writers assimilated the Romantic paradigm in its French version. In the second half of the century it was the turn of Realism and Naturalism to be integrated little by little into the Romanian literary landscape, without altogether displacing the Romantic model. Secondly (and this is what concerns us here), these genres helped writers to fashion a literary language suitable for the expression of new content.⁵⁹ French influence on the Romanian language in the nineteenth century, as Eliade pointed out, was exerted on two levels. On one level, it affected style and syntax, which was essential for the modernization of the language by enabling it to express subject-matter that was more wide-ranging and intellectually more sophisticated than that which writers had tackled previously. The Romanian writers who set about translating French authors took pains to find equivalent Romanian forms to express the same ideas. For

58 These are the findings of an investigation carried out within the framework of a European project on *Women Writers In History* (2008–13). See Mihaila, 'La contribution des Roumaines à la réception des littératures européennes dans l'espace culturel roumain', in Guyonne Leduc, ed., *Les Rôles transfrontaliers joués par les femmes dans la construction de l'Europe*, with a preface by Suzan van Dijk (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 147–56.

59 See Goldiș-Poalelungi, *L'influence du français sur le roumain*, especially 7–45.

Eliade, as also for the person who governed his thinking in this line of his research, Heliade Rădulescu, this very positive type of French influence on Romanian – which was the opposite side of the coin to the negative effects of francophonie satirized by dramatists such as Caragiale – could only come from people who knew French very well. Thus the large number of translations from French into Romanian in the nineteenth century answered the need to enrich Romanian by taking French as a model, rather than the need to make French literature known to Romanian readers, for the majority of cultivated Romanian men and women had learnt French well at school and were perfectly capable of reading this literature in the original.

The other, and most easily visible, level of influence was lexical. Statistical analyses of the percentages of lexical borrowings of French origin in modern Romanian carried out during the twentieth century revealed 30 per cent in 1942 (on the basis of a dictionary published in 1931) and over 38 per cent on the basis of a dictionary published in 1958. In the first dictionary of Romanian neologisms, published in 1966, the proportion of French borrowings rises to as much as 46 per cent of new words entering the language. As the foundation for the latter dictionary is the Romanian language of classical works of literature, we are clearly dealing here with words first recorded in the nineteenth century. These words of French origin, moreover, have gradually replaced words of other origin (for instance, Turkish or Slavonic) in modern Romanian. For example, *macat* [quilt] (< Turkish *makat*), has been supplanted in literary Romanian by *cuvertura* (< French *couverture*), while *taina* [secret] (< Church Slavonic *taina*), has gradually given way to *secret* (< French *secret*).⁶⁰

Preference for borrowings from French – a Romance language – in the process of the modernization of Romanian was encouraged by the influence of the Latinizing conceptions of linguists belonging to the Transylvanian School in the principalities. This was a historical, philological and political movement born in the Romanian community of Transylvania in the eighteenth century and continuing in the nineteenth. Aiming to assert the rights of the Transylvanian Romanians, members of this School argued that the

60 *Ibid.*, 68–9.

Romanians were descended from the Romans who had conquered Dacia, of which Transylvania was a part, and that they had Romanized it from the linguistic point of view. Admittedly, Italian, a language easily accessible to Romanians, was another source of the re-Latinization of Romanian in the nineteenth century, which was manifested in the replacement of many words of Slavonic origin by neologisms of Latin or Neo-Latin provenance. Nonetheless, the cultural influence of France was one of the reasons which contributed to the creation of the francophone linguistic superstrate that is evident in modern and contemporary Romanian.

Not that French lexical influence on Romanian was due entirely to Romanians' familiarity with the French written language. Recent studies of Romanian vocabulary have highlighted borrowings from French which have given rise to etymological doublets, a single French word generating two different terms in Romanian, one of which has entered the language through its written form and the other through its oral form. The phenomenon proves the importance of French as a *spoken* language alongside *written* French in Romanian society. Thus, for example, French *revers* is at the base of both the Romanian words *rever* [lapels on the front of a traditional jacket] and *revers* [reverse side of something]; or again, French *bord* gives both Romanian *bor* [rim of a hat] and *bord* [e.g. side of a ship].⁶¹

Romanian literature in French

The francophone Romanian press

Turning finally to writings published in French in the Romanian Lands and to works written in French by Romanians themselves, we should note first of all that a French-language press did exist in the principalities in the

61 Cristian Moroianu, *Dublete și triplete etimologice în limba română* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2005).

nineteenth century, though it perhaps played a less important role than the francophone press in some other European countries.

The *Courrier de Moldavie* [*Moldavian Courier*], written in French and published in Jassy in 1790, marked the beginning of a periodical press in the Romanian principalities, but it was a short-term creation of the Russian army. Nonetheless, the first Moldavian and Wallachian newspapers did have a mixed Franco-Romanian character. For a long time both the *Albina Româneasca* [*Romanian Bee*], published in Jassy from 1829 to 1835 and from 1837 to 1850 by Gheorghe Asachi, and the *Curierul românesc* (the journal published in Bucharest by Heliade Radulescu to which I referred above) included articles in French. In this respect, they were not dissimilar to *Le glaneur moldo-valaque, journal scientifique, littéraire et industriel / Spicuitorul moldo-român* [*The Moldavian-Wallachian Gleaner, a Scientific, Literary and Industrial Journal*], a bilingual publication that came out in Jassy in 1841, also thanks to the efforts of Gheorghe Asachi, with the contribution of two French journalists, A. Gallice and Hommaire de Hell.

Nor was the French-language press as such negligible in the two Romanian principalities. Among the earliest titles, we find *Le Courrier de Bukarest* [*The Bucharest Courier*], published in 1836 by the French journalist Alfred de Poissonnier, and *Le Journal de Bucarest politique, commercial et littéraire* [*The Bucharest Political, Commercial and Literary Journal*] (1849–50), financed by Prince Barbu Dimitrie Știrbey of Wallachia. Slightly later, we come across the *Courrier de Bucarest, journal des Principautés Danubiennes* [*The Bucharest Courier, the Journal of the Danubian Principalities*] (1855–6), which was financed by a group of Romanian nobles, including Constantin Cantacuzino. This periodical probably also enjoyed foreign support since its editor (Alfred de Poissonnier again) represented the diplomatic interests of Napoleon III. These were publications of a conservative complexion, which owed their existence to the ruling princes and therefore adopted positions in keeping with the interests of the governing power of the moment. (The *Courrier de Bucarest*, for example, often campaigned *against* the unification of the Romanian principalities.) A substantial proportion of the material published in them was simply taken from Parisian dailies. They may have been aimed partly at potential francophone readers in armies of

occupation, since they were published in periods of Russian and Turkish military occupation of the principalities.

Of greater interest, perhaps, are the theatre reviews *Almanach du théâtre* [*Theatre Almanach*] (1857), *Le Foyer* [*The Foyer*] (1859) and *La Soirée théâtrale* [*The Evening at the Theatre*] (1885, 1893). There also appeared in the second half of the century *La Lanterne mondaine* [*The Society Lantern*] (1884), *Les Cancans de la semaine* [*The Week's Gossip*] (1870), *Le Bucarest mondain* [*Bucharest Society*] (1892) and *Le Bucarest artistique* [*Artistic Bucharest*] (1898). These periodicals, as some of their titles suggest, were mainly concerned with society life, a fact which gives us a clear idea of the readership at which they were directed. At a more serious level, the weekly *Le peuple roumain* [*The Romanian People*] (1885–6), edited in Bucharest by Nicolas Blarambert and Nicolas Moret, was aimed at francophone Romanian intellectual circles. It published articles on internal and foreign policy and also serialized a French version of the first modern Romanian novel, *Les parvenus d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* [*The Upstarts of Yesterday and Today*], by Nicolae Filimon. *Le Journal de Bucarest* [*The Bucharest Journal*], edited by the university professor Ulysse de Marsillac, to whom I referred earlier, came out in 118 numbers between 1848 and 1877. *L'Indépendance roumaine. Quotidien politique, économique et littéraire* [*Romanian Independence. A Political, Economic and Literary Daily*], edited by a French journalist, Frédéric Damé, was first published as a means of propagandizing the Romanian cause in international circles during the War of Independence in 1877; it continued, with interruptions, up until 1944.⁶²

With a few exceptions, this francophone Romanian press failed to attract distinguished contributors and it did not play much of a role in the modernization of Romanian journalism. Fashion, as much as a wish to have a means of literary expression in French, was often the papers' main *raison d'être*. The most widely read column in *Romanian Independence*, for

62 This francophone chapter in the history of the Romanian francophone press has recently been examined by Mihaela Cojocaru, 'Jurnalele franceze din Bucureștii anilor 1849–1855', in *Interferențe franco-române. Opinii franceze despre români. 1849–1855* (Bucharest: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1999), 27–69, and by Craia, *Francophonie et francophilie*, 61–70.

example, was ‘Carnet du High-Life’ [‘High-Life Diary’], whose author, under the pseudonym ‘Claymoor’, was none other than Mihai Vacarescu, the uncle of Hélène Vacaresco. However, it did have social importance, in that it provided francophone Romanian readers, male and female, with reading in French on Romanian subjects.

Romanian writers who wrote in French

It was in the twentieth century, as I indicated at the beginning of this chapter, that a tradition of creative writing in French by Romanians really began to flourish, but the roots of this tradition are to be found in the nineteenth. In fact, Romanian writers – like writers at various times in some other European countries examined in this volume – were already using French in their private correspondence⁶³ or for personal diaries in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, Alecsandri, who began his literary career at the age of seventeen in 1827 with poems in French (*Zunarilla, Marie, Les brigands* [*The Brigands*], *Le petit Rameau* [*The Little Bough*]), and whose friends addressed him simply as ‘Basile’, kept a personal diary in French as a young man.⁶⁴ He would acquire some fame in Paris through his translation into French of Romanian folk poems that he himself had collected (and to which he may himself have contributed, at least in the second edition) and by himself writing poems in French in the style of the peasants.⁶⁵

63 There is an excellent selection of the correspondence, preserved in French archives, which was written in French by the Romanian intellectuals of forty-eight who lived in exile in Paris: see Marin Bucur, *Documente inedite din arhivele franceze privitoare la românii în secolul al XIX-lea* (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1969).

64 See C. D. Papastate, *Vasile Alecsandri și Elena Negri cu un jurnal inedit al poetului* (Bucharest: Ed. Tiparului românesc, 1947).

65 *Les Doïnas*, the Moldavian poems of Vasile Alecsandri, translated from the Romanian by J.-E. Voinescu (Paris: Imprimerie de De Soye et Bouchet, 1853). The second edition (Paris: Cherbuliez, 1855) mentions *three* translators, Vasile Alecsandri, J.-E. Voinescu and Georges Bell.

Most important for our purposes here, though, is the generation of forty-eight. The writers of this generation had been pupils of the first teachers of French in Romanian schools and had benefited from the sound instruction offered there. They had all passed through Paris, either to complete their studies or during the exile that followed their participation in the revolution of 1848 in the Romanian principalities. They provided the architects of the modernization of the Romanian language and Romanian literature and politics. Some of the members of the generation of forty-eight wrote French as easily as they wrote Romanian. Among the best known Wallachians of this generation who had been shaped by their francophone education at the Saint-Sava College we should mention the following in particular: Bălcescu, a guiding hand in the 1848 revolution in Wallachia; Rosetti, a poet in his spare time, who would become leader of the Romanian Liberal Party in the second half of the century; I. C. Bratianu, another prominent figure in the Liberal Party; the painter Gheorghe Tattarescu; General Christian Tell, one of the founders, together with Bălcescu and Ion Ghica, of the revolutionary society La Fraternité [The Brotherhood], which was a hub of the revolutionary events of 1848. Among the former pupils of Cuénim's boarding school in Jassy, we find Alecsandri and Kogălniceanu, first-rank participants in the revolution of 1848 and the unification of the principalities in 1859, and Matei Millo, a dramatist, actor and translator who helped in a major way to introduce French drama into the Romanian theatre. Driven by their political and national convictions, some members of this generation, during their years of study or exile in Paris, published works of propaganda written in French and aimed at an international readership. These works included Ion Ghica's *Poids de la Moldovalachie dans la question d'Orient* [*The Importance of Moldavia and Wallachia in the Eastern Question*] (1838), Heliade Radulescu's *Souvenirs et impressions d'un proscrit* [*Memoirs and Impressions of a Banished Man*] (1850) and Balcescu's *Question économique des Principautés danubiennes* [*Economic Question of the Danubian Principalities*] (also 1850).

Leaving aside the members of this generation, other Romanian writers of the middle and second half of the nineteenth century also attempted to master the French language. A case in point is the Moldavian writer Alecu Russo, who thus Gallicized his Romanian name Rusu. Educated

in Switzerland, Russo returned after some years to his native country but throughout his life preserved the habit of expressing himself mainly in French when he wrote. He produced poems celebrating revolt against tyranny, memoirs, a diary kept during his confinement in the Soveja Monastery in northern Moldavia and a travelogue, *Yassi et ses habitants en 1840* [*Jassy and Its Inhabitants in 1840*]. He owes his fame in Romanian culture to his 'Chant de la Roumanie' ['Song of Romania'], a prose poem with biblical overtones published in Romanian translation in 1855 in a Parisian émigré journal, *România viitoare* [*The Romanian Future*]. His works, which are full of delicacy and humour, were not published in their French originals until the twentieth century, perhaps because of his premature death at the age of forty. Another Romanian who wrote in French, often under a pseudonym (E. D'Albon, Constantia Dunca de Sajo, Camille d'Alb) was Constanța Dunca-Schiau. While studying in Paris, she published a novel in French, *Eléna ou les Roumains et les Fanariotes* [*Elena, or the Romanians and the Phanariots*] (1862), which appeared in Romanian translation in 1863–4. The novel was partly inspired by Filimon's Realist novel *Ciocoii vechi și noi*, which had appeared in Romanian in 1862 and to which I referred above. Particular mention might also be made of the symbolist poet Alexandru Macedonski, the author of a volume of French poems, *Bronzes* (1897), who managed in addition to publish some poems in French in the Liège review *La Wallonie* [*Wallonia*] in 1885. The results of such efforts were worthy but from the artistic point of view they did not surpass the writers' works in their native language, which have earned them important places in the history of Romanian literature. These writers' francophonie did, on the other hand, serve as a linguistic passport in their attempts at integration into the European mainstream: the French they had acquired during their formative years helped them to win acceptance in the international literary world.

I shall conclude with two further examples of Romanians whose command of French assisted them in this way. The first is Hermione Asachi, born Glicheria Melirato, whom I mentioned above. The earliest fruit of her excellent knowledge of French was her translation into Romanian of Emile Deschamps's psychological novel *René-Paul et Paul-René* [*René-Paul and Paul-René*]. Following her marriage to Quinet, whose student she had formerly been at the Collège de France, she supported her husband's literary

activity, maintaining a strong international network of correspondents, both male and female, and recopying Quinet's manuscripts. After her husband's death in 1875, she devoted herself to ensuring his literary reputation for posterity, publishing several books on him (for example, *Mémoires d'exile* [*Memoirs from Exile*] and *Cinquante ans d'amitié: Michelet – Quinet* [*Fifty Years of Friendship: Michelet and Quinet*]) and overseeing a posthumous edition of his works.

As a Romanian writer using French, Asachi is perhaps surpassed by the writer known by her pen-name as Dora d'Istria, that is to say Elena (or Ileana) Ghica, niece of Grigore IV Ghica, the reigning Prince of Wallachia from 1822 to 1828. Married to and then separated from a Russian prince, Aleksandr Koltsov-Masalsky, Dora d'Istria settled in Florence but published virtually all of her copious *œuvre* in French. She contributed significantly to the dissemination, among francophone readers of her time, of fuller and more precise information about the national identities of the peoples of south-eastern Europe (Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Turks, as well as Romanians) and helped to bring about better foreign understanding of those peoples. Her writings, which were frequently published in the *Revue des deux mondes* [*Review of Two Worlds*] and *Il Diritto* [*The Law*], included many books, of which *Des femmes en Orient* [*On Women in the East*] (1859) and *Des femmes par une femme* [*On Women, by a Woman*] (1869) are the best known. They were translated into and discussed in several European languages during her lifetime.⁶⁶ She took a particular interest in the folk poetry of the Balkan peoples, which had barely begun to be studied at that time, treating it as particularly valuable evidence of peoples' essential ethnic spirit as well as of the historical course they had taken. Books inspired by her many travels made up another strand in her literary output, for instance: *La Suisse allemande* [*German Switzerland*]

66 For a basic bibliography, which was enormous even in Dora d'Istria's lifetime, see B. Cecchetti, 'Despre viața și operele principesei Elena Ghica' (tr. into Romanian by S. Sichleanu), in Dora d'Istria, *Operele domnei Dora d'Istria*, tr. into Romanian by Gregorie G. Peretz, 2 vols (Bucharest: Typographia Curții, 1876), vol. 1, 3–39, 371–89; Oscar Greco, 'Bibliografia principesei Dora d'Istria', *ibid.*, 371–89.

(1855), which was quickly translated into German and English;⁶⁷ *La vie monastique dans l'Église orientale* [*Monastic Life in the Eastern Church*] (1858), a wide-ranging, detailed and well-documented description of a number of Romanian monasteries and other Orthodox monasteries that she had visited elsewhere, in Greece, Russia, the Holy Lands and Arabia); *La Suisse française* [*French Switzerland*] (1860); *Au bord des lacs helvétiques* [*At Swiss Lakesides*] (1861); and *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée* [*Excursions in Rumelia and The Morea*] (1863), a warm depiction of modern Greek civilization. This rich and varied travel literature, which was not without literary quality, contributed significantly to Dora d'Istria's European renown.

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Describing the complex process by which French language and culture penetrated Romanian society from the eighteenth century on, the most notable Romanian student of this subject, Pompiliu Eliade, showed how four more or less distinct layers of francophonie had been superimposed over the long eighteenth century. First, there was the francophonie of the ruling Phanariots; second, contact with Russian francophonie through military men stationed in the principalities; third, direct contact with French émigrés who came to the principalities; and fourth, familiarity among the Moldavian and Wallachian intelligentsia with French ideas in the age of the Revolution of 1789 and the First Empire. Then, in the early nineteenth century, the bookish influence of the Latinizing Transylvanian School, who highlighted the Roman origin of the Romanian people, gave a further boost to Romanians' Francophilia. The introduction of French as a compulsory foreign language in Romanian education increased the number of francophone Romanians in the nineteenth century. Romanians became not merely francophone but also enthusiastic consumers of French literature. The lion's share of publications aimed at Romanian women was in the field of French language and culture, and these publications were disseminated in the original as well as in translation. Paris became the destination of choice for Romanian students. Francophonie became a means of access

67 Published by Meyer and Zeller in Zürich and Fullarton in London and Edinburgh.

to other European literatures. The influence of French on the Romanian language carried on growing. By the second half of the nineteenth century, it had become so widespread among the Romanians that it even reached the not very literate petty bourgeoisie. Nor was it confined to men, as we have seen; it affected women too, in spite of the lateness of women's education in Romania. The privileged position of French in Romanian culture was sustained, almost without mishap (it even survived the brief period after the Second World War when Russian was imposed in a highly politicized way) right up until the end of the twentieth century, at which point the dominance of English began to make itself felt.

13 Francophonie in Imperial Russia

Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, at least in its early versions and in the fifth edition that came to be considered definitive, famously begins with a conversation conducted by Russians in French. 'Eh bien, mon prince', begins Anna Scherer, a maid of honour at the court of Alexander I, at a St Petersburg *soirée* she is hosting in 1805.

'Gênes et Lucques ne sont plus que des apanages, des *pomest'ia* [estates], de la famille Buonaparte. Non, je vous previens, que si vous ne me dites pas, que nous avons la guerre, si vous vous permettez encore de pallier toutes les infamies, toutes les atrocités de cet Antichrist (ma parole, j'y crois) – je ne vous connais plus, vous n'êtes plus mon ami, vous n'êtes plus my faithful slave, comme vous dites.' [...]

'Dieu, quelle virulente sortie!' replied the prince [Prince Vasilii Kuragin], not in the least disconcerted by this reception [...]. He spoke in that refined French in which our grandfathers not only spoke but thought [...].¹

['Well, Prince, so Genoa and Lucca are now just family estates of the Buonapartes. But I warn you, if you don't tell me that this means war, if you still try to defend the infamies and horrors perpetrated by that Antichrist – I really believe he is Antichrist – I will have nothing more to do with you and you are no longer my friend, no longer my "faithful slave", as you call yourself!' [...]

'Heavens! what a virulent attack!' [...].²

In general, conversations, remarks, phrases and letters in French are so pervasive in all the versions of *War and Peace* published in the 1860s, the decade in which the novel was written, that the eminent Soviet linguistic

1 *Voina i mir*, in L. N. Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 90 vols (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1928–58; hereafter Tolstoy, *PSS*), vol. 9, 4.

2 I have used the translation by Louise and Aylmer Maude: see Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

scholar Viktor Vinogradov considered it a bilingual work.³ Tolstoy himself defended and pointed up the importance and significance of his use of French in the novel in an article, 'A Few Words about "War and Peace"', which he published, in response to readers' comments, in 1868, before he became interested in the dissemination of his writings among the lower social classes, who did not know foreign languages.⁴

From the point of view of the historical sociolinguist, *War and Peace* has value primarily because of the light it sheds on perceptions of the phenomenon of bilingualism in the mid-nineteenth century rather than as an objective record of sociolinguistic reality in the period some fifty or sixty years earlier in which it was set. I shall discuss these perceptions in the last section of this chapter. Nonetheless, the prominence of French-speaking and French-writing and the copious references to these activities in Tolstoy's monumental account of Russia's experience in the Napoleonic period do also serve to underline the importance that francophonie acquired in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in this backward and previously isolated country on Europe's eastern periphery.⁵

3 Viktor Vinogradov, 'O iazyke Tolstogo (50–60-e gody)', *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 35–6 (1939), 123.

4 'Neskol'ko slov po povodu knigi "Voyna i mir"', in Tolstoy, *PSS*, vol. 16, 8–9.

5 The subject of the use of French in pre-revolutionary Russia has been little studied until recently. Ferdinand Brunot devotes some forty pages to it in his *Histoire de la langue française, des origines à 1900*, 13 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1905–53, 1969–79), vol. 8, 489–529. More recent ground-breaking studies include the following, in chronological order of their publication: Iu. M. Lotman, 'Russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke', in his *Izbrannye stat'i*, 3 vols (Tallinn: 'Aleksandra', 1992–3), vol. 2, 350–68; V. Rjéoutski, 'La langue française en Russie au siècle des Lumières. Eléments pour une histoire sociale', in *Multilinguisme et multiculturalité dans l'Europe des Lumières (Actes du Séminaire international des jeunes dix-huitiémistes 2004)*, ed. U. Haskins-Gonthier and A. Sandrier (Paris: Champion, 2007), 101–26; Elena Grechanaia, *Kogda Rossiia govorila po-frantsuzski: russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke (XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX veka)* (Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2010); Elena Gretchanaia and Catherine Viollet, eds, '*Si tu lis jamais ce journal...*': *Diaristes russes francophones 1780–1854* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2008); Elena Gretchanaia, Alexandre Stoev and Catherine Viollet, eds, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles: Perspectives littéraires, historiques et culturelles* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang,

I approach the subject of the Russian manifestation of francophonie from the following angles, seeking a balance between a *tour d'horizon* and – for the sake of illustration – more detailed analysis of a few aspects of the subject. First, in order to provide historical bearings, I outline the development of the habit of speaking, reading and writing French at the Russian court and among the Russian nobility, explaining the contexts in which the habit emerged, persisted and declined. The principal focus of my account will be on the period from the mid-eighteenth century, when French was coming to be widely used by the Russian social elite, to the mid-nineteenth century, when the social and cultural contexts in which French had formerly flourished in Russia had changed and the use of French was becoming more restricted there. Secondly, I describe the many functions of francophonie in pre-revolutionary Russia. Thirdly, I briefly consider the impact that Russian use of the French language had on the vernacular, providing examples mainly from the field of lexicology. Fourthly, I discuss the social dimension of the history of the French language in Russia. (In so far as francophonie is an attribute of the nobility, the social history of the phenomenon principally concerns the life of that class or estate.) Fifthly, I examine the effect of francophonie among the Russian elite on Russian discourse about national identity and destiny, drawing attention to the anxieties to which the phenomenon gave rise. Lastly, as I have indicated, I focus on the treatment of francophonie in classical Russian prose fiction, or more particularly in a series of major novels, including *War and Peace*, that were written in the space of little more than ten years during a period of intense national self-analysis following Russia's defeat by Britain and France in the Crimean War (1853–6).

The treatment of Russian francophonie by Tolstoy and other Russian writers and thinkers of his age has helped to foster the impression that

2012); and various publications (some of them forthcoming) by the co-editors of this volume (see our project website at <<http://bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/french-in-russia/>>, on which various articles of our own to which reference is made below are also to be found).

Russian bilingualism was a symptom or even a cause of social fragmentation and malaise among an elite estranged from its native land. This perception has contributed, in turn, to the formation of a view of Russia as linguistically and culturally exceptional in the European community of nations. However, Russian foreign-language use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when placed in the pan-European environment with which this volume is concerned, does not seem to bear out a view of the Russian experience as quite so distinctive as many nineteenth-century Russian writers and thinkers and an influential twentieth-century scholarly tradition would have us believe it was. It will therefore be useful to bear in mind throughout this chapter questions of the following sort. Did French have functions in Russia that were in fact similar to those that it had in other European nations where it was used at courts and by certain groups, especially nobilities, at roughly the same time? Did it have linguistic effects on Russian that were similar to those it had on other European languages? Did it have similar significance in the life of a particular social group? And did it provoke similar reactions and generate similar debates?

The life cycle of French in Russia

Before the age of Peter the Great, who was sole ruler of Russia from 1696 to 1725, France was a remote place in the Russian mental landscape and the French language seems to have been scarcely known there. The experience of a Russian embassy to France in 1668 vividly illustrates this ignorance and the degree to which it could weaken the position of Russian diplomats or complicate their mission. The ambassador sent to France by Tsar Alexis (reigned 1645–76), Piotr Potiomkin, arrived with an interpreter who spoke only ‘Muscovite’ and German. The Russians therefore had to explain their position to the French through two interpreters, one of whom translated what they said in Russian into German and the other of whom translated the German into French. As negotiations faltered, the Russian embassy

had to rely on the services of a Polish priest who had visited Russia in the 1650s and now lived in France.⁶

Nor did knowledge of the French language suddenly become widespread in Russia during the Petrine age, despite the surge of westernization for which Peter was responsible and the encouragement he offered to foreigners from the west to work in Russia, although some attempts were indeed made to learn and use French at this time.⁷ Peter's priorities were military, administrative, fiscal, commercial, industrial and social rather than cultural, and he looked primarily to the achievements of other peoples (the Danes and Swedes, the Dutch, the English, the Germans), rather than to the French, for models for his innovations. The provenance of many of the loanwords absorbed by Russian in the first half of the eighteenth century tends to illustrate these priorities and preferences. Thus we find *veksel'* [bill of exchange], from German, *gavan'* [haven], from Dutch, and *midshman* [midshipman], from English.

In fact, for several reasons German was a more important language than French in Russia in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The Baltic lands acquired by Peter as a result of his victories over Sweden in the Great Northern War (1700–21) were inhabited by German-speaking nobles. Germanophone scholars, some of them Swiss, were dominant in the Academy of Sciences founded by Peter shortly before his death and opened in St Petersburg in 1725. The favourites who enjoyed political influence during the reign of Empress Anne (1730–40) were Germans. And yet, Peter's reforms did prepare the ground for the introduction of French into Russia in various important functions. By attempting to Europeanize Russia, with the strategic aim of turning the backward Muscovite state that

- 6 Marie-Karine Schaub, 'Avoir l'oreille du roi: l'ambassade de Pierre Potemkine et Siméon Roumiantsev en France en 1668', in *Paroles des négociateurs. Entretien dans la pratique diplomatique de la fin du Moyen Age à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2010), 213–28.
- 7 See Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'Le français et d'autres langues dans l'éducation en Russie au XVIIIe siècle', *Vivliofika: E-Journal of Eighteenth-Century Russian Studies* 1 (2013), 22–5, at <<http://vivliofika.library.duke.edu/article/view/14789/6237>> (accessed on 13.11.2013).

he had inherited into a force capable of competing with the major European powers, Peter was promoting contact with a continent in which the French language and French culture were spreading vigorously. And in due course French gained a hold at the court of Peter's daughter Elizabeth (reigned 1741–61), who had learned the language in childhood from a French lady at her father's court. Thus by 1757 the Frenchman La Messelière, who accompanied a French ambassador to Russia, could report that Russian courtiers spoke French 'comme à Paris' [as they do in Paris].⁸ Then, in the age of Catherine II (1762–96), French became firmly established not merely as a court language but also as a language of prestige among the Russian nobility.

We can point to many factors which must have assisted the spread of French among the Russian social elite in the age of Catherine, besides its ascendancy as an international language in the European community of nations Russia was finally entering and its association with the highest standards of learning, refinement, elegance, taste and comfort. A diplomatic rapprochement between Russia and France at the beginning of the Seven Years War (1756–63) inaugurated a period in which Russia received distinguished French or francophone visitors, such as the future naturalist and pre-Romantic writer Bernardin de Saint Pierre, the future historian Pierre-Charles Levesque, the diplomat Louis Philippe, Count of Ségur, and the *encyclopédiste* Denis Diderot. Catherine herself was a foreigner, a German princess who had learned French before she learnt Russian. Moreover, the Russian nobility had been emancipated from compulsory service to the state by Peter III in 1762 (shortly before he was deposed by Catherine, his wife, and murdered). Many nobles used their new-found leisure to cultivate themselves by learning foreign languages and undertaking their own version of the Grand Tour, in the course of which French might be used as a lingua franca. The acquisition of French was also encouraged by the fact that the corpus of neo-classical literature that provided the aesthetic doctrine and chief generic models for the Russian writers who in the eighteenth century began to lay the foundations for a secular literature

8 Quoted in Anthony Cross, ed., *Russian under Western Eyes, 1517–1825* (London: Elek Books, 1971), 34, 194.

of their own was written mainly in that language. Two formative figures in the history of modern Russian literature, Vasilii Trediakovsky, a poet, writer on prosody and translator, and Antiokh Kantemir, a satirist and diplomat, spent long periods in Paris, the former as a student at the Sorbonne from 1727 to 1730 and the latter as head of the Russian diplomatic mission from 1738 until his early death in 1744. Finally, the French language also prospered because of the perceived relative weaknesses of Russian, whose literary variant was still felt at the end of Catherine's reign to lack the suppleness needed to express the sophisticated philosophical, political, legal, economic and cultural concepts associated with the modern European polity and society and with the Republic of Letters.⁹

The ascendancy of French among the Russian nobility in the second half of the eighteenth century and an associated affection for things French were noted by foreigners, who were now beginning to visit Russia for cultural and educational as well as diplomatic and commercial purposes, and whose contact with the natives was becoming much easier as a consequence of Russian bilingualism. (I use 'bilingualism' here not as meaning native command of two languages but a high degree of functional competence in both languages in one or more of the skills of speaking, reading and writing.) The Englishman William Coxe, travelling in Russia in 1768 with his pupil Lord Herbert, who was undertaking the Grand Tour of northern Europe to complete his education, found that a family with whom he was invited to dine in provincial Smolensk spoke French.¹⁰ The Scotsman William Richardson remarked, in a more patronizing tone: 'If their children learn to dance; and if they can read, speak, and write French, and have a little geography, [the Russians] desire no more.'¹¹ The Frenchman Charles Masson, with reference to the latter part of the reign of Catherine and the brief reign of her son Paul (1796–1801), declared that 'the Russians, almost all brought up by Frenchmen, develop a pronounced predilection

9 I shall not enter here into the question of whether such views are tenable from the linguist's point of view.

10 See Peter Putnam, ed., *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia 1698–1812* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 254.

11 *Ibid.*, 167.

for [France] from their childhood: they soon know its language and history better than those of their own country, and since in effect they have no fatherland France becomes one in their heart and imagination'.¹²

Not all foreigners' comments on Russian linguistic proficiency were as flattering as those of La Messelière, Coxe and Masson. A British envoy to Russia in the 1760s, Sir George Macartney, while acknowledging the facility of Russian noblemen in French (and German), thought them incapable of writing the language 'with precision or propriety'.¹³ In any case, we might wonder what criteria inform observers' linguistic judgements. We might even question the credentials of some of them as linguistic evaluators. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that elite bilingualism, in the flexible sense in which I am using the term here, was commonplace. Indeed, there may have been cases in which Russian was the language of which Russians had a less sure grasp. Catherine's favourite Princess Dashkova, recalling her childhood milieu in the Vorontsov family, claimed in her memoirs that the members of the younger generation in her family circle used French as their first language and spoke Russian very imperfectly.¹⁴ The example of Nikita Muraviov, if a story about him is to be believed, tends to confirm the impression that some Russians of the noble class struggled to express themselves in their native tongue. So halting was young Muraviov's Russian that, when in 1812, at the age of sixteen, he left his home to seek out Russian forces with whom he could take up the fight against Napoleon's invading army, Russian peasants detained him because they suspected he was a French spy.¹⁵

The status French acquired in Russia in the age of Catherine was maintained long into the nineteenth century and in some respects extended.

- 12 Charles François Philibert Masson, *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catherine II et le commencement de celui de Paul I*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Charles Pougens, 1800), vol. 2, 176. I treat the last part of Masson's claim with scepticism.
- 13 George Macartney, *An Account of Russia* (London, 1768): see Cross, ed., *Russian under Western Eyes*, 203.
- 14 E. R. Dashkova, *Zapiski* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1987), 38, 42.
- 15 Lotman, 'Russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke', 353–4.

The fortunes of the language seem to have been largely unaffected by Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. Still in the age of Nicholas I (1825–55) francophonie carried social prestige and the French (or francophone Swiss) tutor or governess was therefore commonly to be found in the Russian noble household.¹⁶ It was only around the middle of the nineteenth century that command of French began to be seen less widely as a desirable attainment. This shift is linked to factors as numerous as those that I invoked in order to explain the ascendancy of francophonie almost a century earlier. New ideas emanating from the German world, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter, gave rise to concerns in literary and intellectual circles about the use of a foreign language by the domestic elite for communication among themselves. A new 'cultural' form of nationalism began to develop, to which I shall also return below. This nationalism animated so-called Westernizers, who advocated borrowing from the West, just as much as their opponents, so-called Slavophiles, who regarded the Orthodox religion and the supposed virtues of the Russian common people as the true bases for Russian nationhood. On the international plane, the political and cultural hegemony of France was challenged by Britain and Germany. On the domestic plane, the use of French was bound to be affected by the decline in the status of the Russian gentry, which was already well under way by the time of the abolition of serfdom in 1861. This decline proceeded in parallel with the rise of men of lower social origin, so-called *raznochintsy*, or 'people of various ranks', in the intelligentsia that was coming into being in the ages of Nicholas I and Alexander II (1855–81). That is not to say that aristocrats ceased to use French in the second half of the nineteenth century; but the language lost social prestige in the eyes of the literary elite towards whom cultural authority shifted as the century progressed.

16 On the great importance of French in the private education of the Russian nobility, see Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'Apprendre la "langue de l'Europe": le français parmi d'autres langues dans l'éducation en Russie au siècle des Lumières', *Vivliofika: E-Journal of Eighteenth-Century Russian Studies* 1 (2013), 5–19, at <<http://vivliofika.library.duke.edu/article/view/14833/6235>>; *idem*, 'Le français et d'autres langues dans l'éducation en Russie au XVIIIe siècle', *ibid.*, 20–47.

The functions of francophonie in Russia

French served many purposes in the course of its long history in pre-revolutionary Russia. From the mid-eighteenth century, it began to be used as an instrument for the modernization – synonymous in this context with westernization – on which the eighteenth-century rulers embarked. It was a vehicle for the direct transmission to Russia of French notions and expertise and of modern French culture, broadly understood, including the voluminous body of literature written in French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It served as an intermediary language for the introduction into Russia of literature and knowledge from many other sources too, both classical (Greek and Latin) and modern (especially German and English). It was spoken by a monarch who wished her polity to be seen as an example of enlightened absolutism and who maintained a refined court where she engaged with political and social ideas. Thus French was one of the languages (the others were German, Latin and Russian) in which Catherine's *Instruction* to delegates to the Legislative Commission she convoked in 1767 were published. (The *Instruction* revealed Catherine's close knowledge of Enlightenment thought, especially the writings of Montesquieu.¹⁷) Equally, French could be used as a vehicle for what we should now call cultural propaganda, a medium in which Russian achievements, such as new works of secular literature, could be brought to the attention, through translation, of a western public.¹⁸ Such propaganda counteracted the commonplace sixteenth- and seventeenth-century western depictions of Muscovy as a barbarous kingdom, an oriental state 'plain tyrannical', as the Elizabethan Englishman

17 See *Catherine the Great's Instruction (Nakaz) to the Legislative Commission, 1767*, ed. Paul Dukes (Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners, 1977).

18 See, e.g., Vladislav Rjéoutski and Derek Offord, 'Translation and Propaganda in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: French Versions of Sumarokov's Tragedy *Sinav* and *Truvor*', at <<https://frinru.ilt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/translation-and-propaganda-mid-eighteenth-century-french-versions-sumarokov%E2%80%99s-tragedy>>.

Giles Fletcher had put it.¹⁹ French was also, of course, a lingua franca for communication, oral and written, with foreigners of various nationalities, both in Russia and outside it. Prince Mikhail Shcherbatov, an eminent late-eighteenth-century champion of the old nobility, deplored the corruption of Russian morals by the influx of western habits and luxury;²⁰ nevertheless, in letters to one of his sons, he underlined the importance of knowledge of French as a tool with which to negotiate the modern world and as a pre-requisite for the fulfilment of the nobleman's duty towards his fatherland.²¹

As an international lingua franca, French naturally served Russians as a diplomatic language from quite early in the eighteenth century.²² French also came in due course to be used in some areas of the Russian administration apart from the diplomatic corps. For instance, the early annual reports of the Third Section, the secret police service set up by Nicholas after the Decembrist Revolt of 1825, and some reports by agents of this department were written in it. Again, a French periodical press flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in St Petersburg, Russia's 'window to the west', to use Aleksandr Pushkin's famous description of the northern capital that Peter the Great had founded on the Gulf of Finland. Some periodicals were literary; indeed the first Russian literary periodical, *Le Caméléon littéraire* [*The Literary Chameleon*] (1755) was in French. The popular *Revue étrangère* [*Foreign Review*] (1832–63) published many works by well-known French writers, including Honoré de Balzac,

19 Giles Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 30.

20 Prince M. M. Shcherbatov, *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia*, ed. and tr. A. Lentin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

21 Derek Offord and Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'French in the Education of the Nobility: Mikhail Shcherbatov's Letters to His Son Dmitrii', at <<https://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/french-education-nobility-mikhail-shcherbatov%E2%80%99s-letters-his-son-dmitrii>>.

22 See, e.g., Vladislav Rjéoutski and Derek Offord, 'Teaching and Learning French in the Early Eighteenth Century: Ivan Shcherbatov's Letters to His French Teacher', at <<https://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/teaching-and-learning-french-early-eighteenth-century-ivan-shcherbatov%E2%80%99s-letters-his>>.

Georges Sand and Victor Hugo, in some cases before the works in question had been published in France. The Russian authorities also began to use the francophone press as a means of presenting an official Russian point of view to foreign readers: the *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg* [*St Petersburg Journal*] (1825–1914, but not continuously), for example, became *de facto* the main official journal of the Russian Empire. Eventually, in the mid-nineteenth century, French began also to serve political opponents of the tsarist regime as a means of bringing their criticisms of Russian autocracy before a foreign readership.²³ Writings by the émigré Nikolai Turgenev and the radical publicist Aleksandr Herzen, whose support for European revolutions in 1848 made it inexpedient for him to return from his travels in the west to his native land, exemplify this function of French in the latter part of the age of Nicholas.²⁴ Defenders of the regime, for their part, used French to rebut criticisms of it and to denigrate the opponents of autocracy, as did Baron Fircks in tirades against the ‘nihilism’ of radical members of the younger generation in the 1860s.²⁵

Besides its uses as a means of overcoming Russia’s backwardness, presenting Russia to the western world in a more positive light or simply promoting a Russian point of view on the international stage, French also quickly became both a language of polite public sociability and a language of intimacy among the elite. It was used, for example, in many Russian Masonic lodges, cosmopolitan institutions that sprang up in the reigns of Catherine (who tolerated them until just after the outbreak of the French Revolution) and then again under Alexander I (who allowed them to exist until 1822, when an edict prohibited them, and secret societies in general, as potential seedbeds of subversive ideas). Most notably, as Tolstoy is at

23 I am grateful to Vladislav Rjéoutski for this information on the francophone press in Russia.

24 N. I. Turgenev, *La Russie et les russes*, 3 vols (Paris: Au comptoir des imprimeurs-unis, 1847); ‘La Russie’, in A. I. Gertsen [Herzen], ‘Le peuple russe et le socialisme’, *Sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1954–65), vol. 7, 271–306.

25 Schedo-Ferroti [F. I. Fircks], *Etudes sur l’avenir de la Russie* (from 1857), including *Le nihilisme en Russie* (the ninth ‘study’, 1867).

pains to show in the opening lines of *War and Peace*, French conquered such domains as the *soirée*, the salon and the ball (social venues that were themselves signs of the reception of western – especially French – cultural practice).

The preconditions for the salon had been created by Peter the Great when, in his customary autocratic manner, he required his subjects, including women (who had been debarred from such social gatherings as took place in Muscovy), to attend ‘assemblies’ for the purpose of social interaction of the sort that went on in the west. However, it was in the second half of the eighteenth century that refined sociability really came to be prized among the Russian elite. Activities for which French was commonly the vehicle in the European world – polite conversation, the reading aloud of literary works, musical entertainments²⁶ – were now cultivated in aristocratic houses in St Petersburg and Moscow. The fact that salons, as important social venues in the capital cities, were frequented by eminent foreigners resident in Russia further encouraged the use of French, as a *lingua franca*, in them.

The survival of a strongly francophone salon society in Alexandrine Russia during the Napoleonic and immediate post-Napoleonic period, even at a time of heightened patriotic feeling, is well illustrated by reference to Fiodor Rostopchin, a conservative statesman, official and writer who was governor of Moscow when Napoleon entered the city in 1812 and who instigated the burning of it. Rostopchin was a jingoistic nationalist and the author of Gallophobic tracts berating Russians for their alleged infatuation with French language and fashion.²⁷ At the same time, he was a perfectly francophone *habitué* of salon society, highly accomplished in the type of conversational performance that was required in this milieu both in Russia and in Paris, where he flourished for seven years during the

26 On this practice, see, e.g., Gesine Argent, ‘Noble Sociability in French: Romances in Princess Natalia Kurakina’s Album’, at <<http://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/noble-sociability-french-romances-princess-natalia-kurakina%E2%80%99s-album>>.

27 See, e.g., ‘Mysli vslukh na Krasnom kryl’tse rossiiskogo dvorianina Sily Andreevicha Bogatyreva’, in F. V. Rostopchin, *Okb, Frantsuzy*, ed. G. D. Ovchinnikov (Moscow: Russkaia kniga, 1992), 148–52.

period of the Bourbon Restoration after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Having returned to Russia near the end of his life, in 1824, he was invited by the hostess of a Russian salon to write his memoirs. The following day, it is said, he returned with a brief, elegant autobiographical document, *Mémoires écrits en dix minutes* [*Memoirs Written in Ten Minutes*], which was later published and translated into other foreign languages. Rostopchin shows absolute command of the salon's idiom, as we see from the first four of the fifteen 'chapters', none of them more than four sentences long, into which he divides his 'memoirs'.

CHAPITRE I. – *Ma naissance.*

En 1765, le 12 mars, je sortis des ténèbres pour être au grand jour. On me mesura, on me pesa, on me baptisa. Je naquis sans savoir pourquoi, et mes parens remercièrent le ciel sans savoir de quoi.

CHAPITRE II. – *Mon éducation.*

On m'apprit toutes sortes de choses et toute espèce de langues. A force d'être impudent et charlatan, je passai quelquefois pour un savant. Ma tête est devenue une bibliothèque dépareillée dont j'ai gardé la clé.

CHAPITRE III. – *Mes souffrances.*

Je fus tourmenté par les maîtres, par les tailleurs qui me faisaient les habits étroits, par les femmes, par l'ambition, par l'amour-propre, par les regrets inutiles, par les souverains, par les souvenirs.

CHAPITRE IV. – *Privations.*

J'ai été privé de trois grandes jouissances de l'espèce humaine: du vol, de la gourmandise, et de l'orgueil.²⁸

28 The document itself can be seen at <<https://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/french-nineteenth-century-russian-salon-fiodor-rostopchin%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98memoirs%E2%80%99>>. For further background and discussion of the text, see Derek Offord and Vladislav Rjéoutski, 'French in the Russian Salon: Fiodor Rostopchin's "Memoirs"', at <<http://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/french-nineteenth-century-russian-salon-fiodor-rostopchin%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98memoirs%E2%80%99>>.

[CHAPTER I. *My Birth*. In 1765, on the 12th of March, I entered on the light of day. They measured me, weighed me, baptized me. I was born without knowing why; and my parents rejoiced, without knowing what for.

CHAP. II. *My Education*. They taught me all sorts of things, and all sorts of languages; so that by dint of impudence and quackery, I sometimes passed for a man of learning. My head became a library of odd volumes, of which, however, I have myself kept the key.

CHAP. III. *My Torments*. I was plagued with masters, with tailors, who would make my clothes too small; by the women, by ambition, by self-love, by vain regrets, by *sovereigns*, and by *souvenirs*.

CHAP. IV. *Privations*. I have been deprived of three of the greatest enjoyments of humanity; theft, gluttony, and pride.]²⁹

Steering a narrow course between cynicism and levity, Rostopchin aims above all in his ‘memoirs’ to entertain and to display wit, the most highly prized virtue in the Gallicized social world.

Rostopchin’s memoirs illustrate not just the use of French in the salon but also its function as the vehicle for a literature of a private sort that flourished in the noble sphere in an age before literary activity had become altogether professionalized.³⁰ French was the preferred idiom, for instance, for various kinds of ego-writing – the personal diary,³¹ the album, the travel account,³² autobiographical reminiscences – which, while not intended for

29 I have used the translation that was published posthumously in *The Athenaeum* shortly after the publication of the French version: see *The Athenaeum* 617 (1839), 630.

30 A similar situation is discussed in Ivo Cerman’s chapter in this volume on the Bohemian Lands: see Chapter 8 above.

31 See, e.g., Gretchanaia and Viollet, ‘*Si tu lis jamais ce journal...*’. For a specific example, see also Gesine Argent and Derek Offord, ‘Ego-Writing in French: The Diary of Anastasiia Iakushkina’, at <<https://frinru.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/introduction/ego-writing-french-diary-anastasiia-iakushkina>>, although in this instance the diary was for personal use only, it seems, not for a social circle.

32 See, e.g., Emilie Murphy, ‘Récits de voyages rédigés en français par des femmes russes (1777–1850)’, in Gretchanaia *et al.*, *La francophonie européenne aux XVIIIe–XIXe siècles*, 221–35.

formal publication, would nevertheless in many cases be read and discussed among the author's family or social circle. Russian francophonie was also strongly in evidence in private noble correspondence. Here it was used not merely when the writer was addressing foreign acquaintances (in which French served, of course, as a *lingua franca*) but also – as the archival holdings of many noble families amply demonstrate – in letters to family members and other compatriots who were friends, patrons or protégés. The same Rostopchin who deplored Russian francophonie, incidentally, not only spoke French in the salon but also conducted a voluminous correspondence in French over a long period with his compatriot Semion Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador in London.³³ Nor was the use of French for what can be described as in some sense literary activity confined to the private sphere. French was also the vehicle for some published writing, especially women's prose fiction in the age of Alexander I.³⁴

Since Rostopchin, Shcherbatov and their Russian peers did use Russian as well as French, the question arises whether it is bilingualism or diglossia that is being described here, if by 'diglossia' we mean, as in the classic formulation of it, the customary use of one available variety rather than another in more or less clearly defined domains. Nina Dmitrieva has convincingly argued that while bilingualism was predominant, inasmuch as French and Russian were both used spontaneously without people reflecting on language choice, there were also situations in which the use of French, as a sign of membership of a social caste, was *de rigueur*. She also notes that linguistic usage differed somewhat in male and female society, with the former tending towards bilingualism and the latter, on occasion, towards diglossia. Men, who were more independent, used Russian more frequently, whereas etiquette prescribed the use of French by well-mannered ladies in certain social situations.³⁵ It would probably be unwise,

33 These letters are published in *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, 40 vols (Moscow: Tipografia A. I. Mamontova, 1870–95), vol. 8.

34 See Alessandra Tosi, *Waiting for Pushkin: Russian Fiction in the Reign of Alexander I (1801–1825)* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006).

35 Nina Dmitrieva, 'La coexistence du russe et du français en Russie du premier tiers du XIX-e siècle: le bilinguisme ou la diglossie?', a paper delivered at the conference

though, to try to adduce clear-cut rules of linguistic usage or to generalize from individual cases. We know that Nikolai Karamzin, an important late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century man of letters, corresponded with his first fiancée in French and switched to Russian when he married her, lest French bring the frigidity of society to the family hearth,³⁶ but we do not know that this was a general rule even within the rather narrow circle in which we might expect a francophone man of letters to move. It is worth noting, finally, that there was also much code-switching, as is generally the case in bilingual environments. In many of the very numerous cases to be found in extant documents the switching can be explained by some combination of such factors as relations between writer and addressee, situation, subject-matter, register, personal tastes and interests and, of course, linguistic competence.

The impact of French on Russian

Russian did not invariably need to borrow words from French, or other languages, to render all of the new concepts and objects with which Russians became familiar, or more familiar than they had been before, as a result of the eighteenth-century westernization of the culture of the social elite. However, Russians' familiarity with the French language in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did have a significant and lasting effect on the Russian language, particularly in the fields of lexis and phraseology. (More attention has perhaps been paid by scholars, at least until very recently, to this linguistic dimension of the history of French in Russia

'The French Language in Russia', 12–14 September 2012, in the University of Bristol; recording available at <<http://bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/french-in-russia/conference/audiorecordings/>>.

36 Lotman, 'Russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke', 361; Pushkin also wrote to his fiancée in French (*ibid.*, 365).

than to its socio-cultural dimensions.³⁷) Not that identification of French loanwords in Russian is always a straightforward matter: in many cases it is difficult to determine the precise origin of a word of international currency or to be sure whether the word has been borrowed directly from French or indirectly through, say, German or Polish.

Russian naturally borrowed from French many words denoting concepts associated with the previously unfamiliar refined society that was being imported into Russia in the eighteenth century. These words relate especially to the arts, taste, sensibility, human feelings, psychological characteristics, moral qualities and defects, social behaviour and experience, manners, courtesy, etiquette and urban life. The presence of a French source word, or a word of international currency that came into Russian through French, is felt, for example, in such loanwords as *afisha* [poster], *atmosfera* [atmosphere], *bul'var* [boulevard], *egoist* [egoist], *entuziazm* [enthusiasm], *karikatura* [caricature], *komediia* [comedy], *orkestr* [orchestra], *part'er* [stalls [in theatre]], *p'esa* [play], *simpatiia* [sympathy], *teatr* [theatre] and *trotuar* [pavement].

Russian also made many calques of French words, that is to say loan translations constructed morpheme by morpheme in imitation of a foreign word, such as *raspolozhenie* on the model of French *disposition*. More numerous are examples of semantic calques, which are devised by extending the field of meaning of an existing word on the model of an equivalent word in the donor language. Russian semantic calques from French include the cognate adjectives *blistaiushchii*, *blistatel'nyi* [brilliant], modelled on

37 A number of the major works by Russian philologists on the history of the Russian language have been translated into English: see especially V. V. Vinogradov, *The History of the Russian Literary Language from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth: A Condensed Adaptation into English*, with an introduction by Lawrence L. Thomas (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), and V. M. Zhivov, *Language and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Russia*, tr. M. Levitt (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2009). For more specialized studies of foreign loanwords in Russian, see G. Hüttl-Worth, *Foreign Words in Russian* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), and May Smith, *The Influence of French on Eighteenth-Century Literary Russian: Semantic and Phraseological Calques* (Oxford, etc.: Peter Lang, 2006), on which I have mainly drawn in the following three paragraphs.

French *brillant*; *prelest* 'charm] and *prelestnyi* [charming], in the positive sense of 'attractive' or 'delightful' as opposed to 'bewitching' (< Fr. *charme*, *charmant*); *ukus* [taste], in the sense of 'discernment' or 'aesthetic perception' (< *gout*); and *zhivoi*, in the sense of 'lively' or 'animated' (< *vif*).

Numerous phraseological calques modelled on French usage also began to be used, especially phrases consisting of verb + noun, such as the following: *igrat' rol'* [to play a part] (< Fr. *jouer un rôle*); *prinimat' uchastie* [to take part] (< *prendre part*); *vskruzhit' golovu* [to turn someone's head] (< *tourner la tête*). Several calques of this type were constructed with the verbs *delat'* [to do/make], and *imet'* [to have], for example, *delat' komplimenty* [to pay compliments] (< *faire des compliments*) and *imet' chest'* [to have the honour] (< *avoir l'honneur*). Many such calques will readily be seen to be connected to new types of sociability and sensibility or to a new style of social relations. Other phraseological calques (for example, *s odnoi storony* [...], *s drugoi storony* [on the one hand [...], on the other hand] (< *d'un côté* [...], *de l'autre*)) aid the formulation of thoughts when they are expressed in oral patterns or written genres adopted in the secular intellectual world that was coming into being in post-Petrine Russia. Some loanwords and calques that were adopted in the eighteenth century, especially phraseological calques, have of course become archaic, since they belong exclusively to the world of the salon or the neo-classical literary corpus, but most of those listed here remain in common use in the modern Russian language.

French literature also provided syntactic models for Russian writers who in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were trying to develop a new, Europeanized literary language. Already in the mid-eighteenth century the dramatist Aleksandr Sumarokov had begun to insist that Russian, although it is an inflected language, should observe a stricter word order than had traditionally been permitted. (He quarrelled with Trediakovsky over this.) Towards the end of the century, the syntactic evolution that was taking place was reinforced by other writers who were affected by the French example. These writers were led by Karamzin, who was a figure of cardinal importance in the development of the Russian literary language as well as in the development of Russian literature and historiography. The subject of a sentence, they believed, should be placed before the predicate and its complements, adjectives

before the nouns they qualified and adverbs before the verbs they modified. Complements in the dative or instrumental case should be placed before complements in the accusative. The complex period that followed either the Latin or the German model or the model provided by the language of the Muscovite bureaucracy was rejected. Instead, syntax was simplified, and concise, elegant sentences began to be prized. The stock of conjunctions was reduced. Main clauses would precede subordinate clauses and the embedding of clauses within other clauses would be discouraged. It was intended that the written language, thus reformed, should approximate to the language supposedly spoken by the polite society which was coming into being and which, after all, was francophone. It is doubtful, though, to what extent this spoken language actually existed as a model for writers to follow and debatable to what extent French has had a lasting syntactic effect on Russian beyond the written language of the classical authors.³⁸

The French example also affected what we might now call Russian language culture. Russians received not only the French language but also the purist, normative tradition of thought about language typified by Vaugelas's prescriptions about *bon usage* [correct usage], which dated back to the mid-seventeenth century.³⁹ (These prescriptions were well known to Karamzin.⁴⁰) This normative tradition and the eighteenth-century discourse mentioned elsewhere in this volume about the supposedly inherent qualities of French encouraged Russians to take pride in their own vernacular, to protect it and to establish institutions to standardize it. In 1783, in the very period when French was reaching the height of its prestige in Russia, Catherine founded the Russian Academy, with the above-mentioned Countess Dashkova as its first president. Like the Académie française

38 On the points made in this paragraph, including Karamzin's contribution to the Russian literary language, see especially Vinogradov, *The History of the Russian Literary Language*, 91–104.

39 See Claude Favre de Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue française utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien écrire* (Paris: Champ Libre, 1981).

40 B. A. Uspenskii, *Iz istorii russkogo literaturnogo iazyka XVIII–nachala XIX veka: iazykovaia programma Karamzina i ee istoricheskie korni* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1985), 61–5.

established in 1634 (though with much greater dispatch than the French institution), the Russian Academy oversaw the compilation of the first Russian dictionary, which comprised over 43,000 words and came out in six volumes in the period 1789–94.⁴¹

The social significance of French in Russia

The history of the French language in Russia is on one level an aspect of the history of the social and cultural life of members of the social elite who used this foreign language not merely for communication with foreigners but also as a preferred means of communication among themselves. Mastery of a language, or of a variety of a language, may of course function as a means of attaining and maintaining social exclusiveness. French does not seem to have functioned in this way in Russia during the first three or four decades of the eighteenth century, but from at least as far back as the beginning of the age of Catherine francophonie did come to serve the interests of the nobility by reinforcing difference between this social elite and other classes. In the process, French took on quite a different role from that of German. It is important in this connection to note that the habit of using French became established among the Russian nobility just at the moment when the nobility was aspiring to become a corporation of a European sort, an aspiration met by Catherine in 1785 when she granted the estate its own charter.⁴² The new noble self-consciousness prompted Russian writers to enter into debate on questions that agitated other European nobilities: debate about rights and obligations, whether

41 *Slovar' Akademii Rossiiskoi* (St Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1789–94).

42 For a discussion of this Charter, see the definitive work on Catherine by Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 296–9.

lineage or merit was the better criterion for membership of the estate and whether nobles should engage in commerce. In this climate francophonie was an emblem of status.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to see noble francophonie as helping merely to accentuate difference between one social class in its entirety and all other classes. The nobility was a broad estate that stretched all the way from the court and the social world of St Petersburg and Moscow, to which great families such as the Golitsyns, Naryshkins, Shcherbatovs, Sheremetevs, Shuvalovs, Stroganovs, Tolstoys and Vorontsovs had access, at one end, to the rural farmstead whose owner possessed just a handful of serfs, at the other. The degree of bilingualism varied across the range of the nobility, high and low, metropolitan and provincial, not least because it was much easier in the higher echelons of the estate than in the lower echelons to maintain a bilingual and bicultural way of life by employing resident foreign tutors and travelling or residing abroad for long periods. It is more doubtful whether the nascent bourgeoisie – if indeed a bourgeoisie, in the commonly accepted sense of the word, can be said to have existed in eighteenth-century Russia – also made attempts to acquire a skill that they considered necessary for advancement, like Molière's socially ambitious *bourgeois gentilhomme*.

The use of French as a means of differentiation within the nobility itself is strikingly illustrated in passages from works by major literary figures writing about social attitudes some seventy years apart (though here it is personal differentiation as well as differentiation of social strata that I have in mind). Denis Fonvizin, one of the major men of letters in the age of Catherine, offers us an insight into the importance of a command of French as an indicator of social worth in a brief autobiography that he wrote towards the end of his life. He describes an encounter that he had in his youth in a theatre in St Petersburg 'with the son of a certain personage'. (The episode must have taken place around 1760.) The 'very manner' of this personage, Fonvizin wrote,

impressed me by his evident sense of self-worth. He asked me if I could speak French. When I responded that I could not, his interest in me seemed to pass rather quickly. Apparently he considered me ignorant and improperly schooled. So he began taunting

me [...]. This whole episode taught me how necessary it was for a young man to know French. I immediately undertook the study of the language.⁴³

A passage in Tolstoy's pseudo-autobiographical trilogy *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth*, written in the 1850s, brutally underlines the continuing significance of francophonie as what Pierre Bourdieu would see as a form of the cultural capital that the nobleman needed in the social marketplace. Drawing attention to the status that the French language still enjoyed in Russian high society while he was growing up, in the 1840s, Tolstoy confessed that his 'favourite and principal system of division' of the human race at that time 'was into people *comme il faut* [who behaved properly] and *comme il ne faut pas* [who did not behave properly].'

The latter I subdivided into those inherently not *comme il faut* and the lower orders. The *comme il faut* people I respected and looked upon as worthy to consort with me as my equals; the *comme il ne faut pas* I pretended to despise but in reality detested, nourishing a sort of injured personal feeling where they were concerned [...]. *My* [Tolstoy's italics] *comme il faut* consisted first and foremost in having an excellent knowledge of the French tongue, especially pronunciation. Anyone who spoke French with a bad accent at once aroused my dislike. 'Why do you try to talk like us when you don't know how?' I mentally inquired with biting irony.⁴⁴

Seen through the lens of cultural theorists such as Iurii Lotman who are interested in norms of social behaviour, francophonie was thus a tool used by the nobleman for the purpose of self-fashioning, a 'social sign', or part of the performance required to maintain social standing. Together with other attributes of noble identity and forms of noble behaviour, such as long, well-kept, clean fingernails and an ability to bow, dance, converse and cultivate an air of refined, supercilious *ennui*, facility in French furnished evidence of membership of a corporation that was closed to the profane.⁴⁵

43 I have taken this translation from [Fonvizin], 'Sincere Confessions of My Thoughts and Deeds', in *The Political and Legal Writings of Denis Fonvizin*, tr. and with notes and an introduction by Walter Gleason (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1985), 41.

44 For this quotation I have used the translation by Rosemary Edmonds in L. N. Tolstoy, *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), 268.

45 Lotman, 'Russkaia literatura na frantsuzskom iazyke', 351.

However, to suggest as I do that nobles distinguished themselves by virtue of their francophonie from members of other classes or from other nobles is not to say that they necessarily lost touch as a result of their bilingualism and biculturalism with Russian traditions. Still less is it to say that they experienced some disturbing tension between the impulse to perform a western role and an inner sense of natural native behaviour. As Michelle Marrese has recently argued in an important article, the personal correspondence of families across the noble spectrum, as opposed to the literary sources on which Lotman heavily relies, does not bear out the claim that bilingualism and biculturalism necessarily and ordinarily implied estrangement from native tradition.⁴⁶ In any case bilingualism, it can be argued, quickly became a part of native tradition, an element of identity among the high Russian nobility, just as it did for Dashkova.

We should not leave the subject of the social significance of francophonie in Russia without mentioning once more its implication in the history of the politics of gender. It has been argued with reference to the reign of Alexander I that the difference in linguistic expectations of men and women and the requirement that women speak French in both social and family settings militated disproportionately against their proficiency in Russian. It was for this reason that women more commonly than men used French as the vehicle for prose fiction and consequently found their standing in literary circles, as opposed to the social milieu, diminished. In contrast, male writers of the age of Alexander I switched adroitly between French and Russian, it is argued, regarding the use of French in imaginative literature as a sign of dilettantism but continuing to employ it in the more intimate spheres of personal correspondence, memoirs and diaries. The great poet Pushkin exemplified this versatility.⁴⁷

46 Michelle Marrese, “‘The Poetics of Everyday Behaviour’ Revisited: Lotman, Gender, and the Evolution of Russian Noble Identity”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 11 (2010), 701–39.

47 Alessandra Tosi, ‘Women and Literature, Women in Literature: Female Authors of Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Women in Russian Culture and Society, 1700–1825*, ed. Wendy Rosslyn and Alessandra Tosi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 39–62; see especially 47–8. That is not to say that all female authors of the period

Light-hearted asides in Pushkin's 'novel in verse' *Eugene Onegin* (1823–31), a seminal work of Russian literature, seem to indicate the persistence of different expectations about the linguistic behaviour of men and women as late as the 1820s. Tatiana, the heroine of Pushkin's novel, has difficulty penning a letter to the feckless eponymous hero in Russian. 'She knew Russian poorly', Pushkin's narrator remarks, she 'Didn't read our journals / And expressed herself with difficulty / In her native language'. In fact, Russian girls in general were forsaking the Russian language, according to Pushkin's narrator: 'weak in Russian / And finding it hard to use, / They mangled it so sweetly, / And did not a foreign language / Turn in their mouths into a native one?'⁴⁸ Curiously, though, Pushkin also seems to regard Tatiana as more deeply rooted in native tradition than Onegin. Indeed, it became common among writers and critics of the classical period to equate literary heroines and heroes with Russian and alien character respectively. However, we need here to ask whether Pushkin's art and subsequent literary representations really reflect reality, and this question leads us from consideration of actual linguistic usage, in so far as we can determine it on the basis of the exclusively written sources available to us, to the subjective realm of perceptions of language use and its effects among the literary and intellectual community that was coming into being in mid-nineteenth-century Russia.

Perceptions of francophonie in Russia

The choice of a foreign language in preference to their own by the Russian social and cultural elite gave rise at a surprisingly early date to debate about the relative status and respective qualities of the foreign language, French, and the vernacular, Russian. Already in the age of Catherine some

wrote in French: Anna Bunina, Mariia Izvekova and Mariia Pospelova, for example, wrote in Russian, perhaps because they had been brought up in a less elevated social milieu.

48 These quotations are taken from canto 3, stanzas 26 and 27 of Pushkin's work.

writers – representatives of a youthful culture that was growing in confidence – were objecting to the influx of Gallicisms and satirizing the alleged Gallomania of their compatriots. Fonvizin mocks a francophone fop and the habit of code-switching in his play *The Brigadier*, first performed in 1769, in which the provincial nobility are held up to ridicule.⁴⁹ At the same time, some Russian writers began to commend the use of Russian – a variety of Russian that was recognized as pure and refined, of course – as a mark of nobility.⁵⁰ Concern about the Gallicization of Russian lexis found notable expression too in a *Treatise on the Old and New Styles of the Russian Language* (1803) by the conservative statesman Admiral Aleksandr Shishkov. Responding to the linguistic borrowings and new syntax evident in the prose fiction and essays written by Karamzin around the turn of the century, Shishkov held up Church Slavonic, the language of the Russian Orthodox Church, as a model for literary Russian and advocated the elimination even of well-established Gallicisms from Russian speech.⁵¹ Even Karamzin allowed fewer Europeanisms in the *History of the Russian State* to which he devoted the final twenty-five years of his life than he had in his Sentimentalist tales of the 1790s and in early versions of his seminal travelogue, *The Letters of a Russian Traveller*, which had arisen out of his travels in the German states, Switzerland, France and England in 1789–90 and in which western neologisms abounded.⁵²

Debate about Russian linguistic identity was reanimated in the second quarter of the nineteenth century by the influx of the European intellectual current associated with what has come to be called the ‘invention’ of the

49 In fact, several Russian dramatists had addressed the subject before Fonvizin. Sumarokov’s *Monsters* (1750) is a landmark in this respect.

50 W. Gareth Jones, ‘The Russian Language as a Definer of Nobility’, in Lindsey Hughes and Mario di Salvio, eds, *A Window on Russia: Papers from the V International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia Gargnano 1994* (Rome: La Fenice, 1996), 293–8.

51 Shishkov, *Rassuzhdenie o starom i novom sloze Rossiiskogo iazyka*, available online at <http://az.lib.ru/s/shishkow_a_s/text_1803_rassuzhdenie_o_starom.shtml> (accessed on 08.11.2013).

52 For an English translation of the *Letters*, see *Nikolai Karamzin: Letters of a Russian Traveller*, tr. and ed. Andrew Kahn (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003).

nation. One of the effects of this current, which originated in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German culture, was to inspire a search for signs, in life and art, of the distinctive character that individual peoples were now supposed to have. Following Johann Gottfried von Herder's identification of the nation with a speech community, this search touched upon linguistic usage as well as literary, social and political matters. Thus the Russian Romantic revolt of the 1820s and 1830s entailed complaints by writers such as Pushkin and Aleksandr Bestuzhev not only about French neo-classical literary models, social convention and political absolutism but also about the pernicious effects of Gallicisms and the retarding effect of the use of French on the development of Russian literature. Russian troops returned from the Napoleonic Wars, Bestuzhev complained, 'with laurels on their brow but French phrases on their lips' and the 'hidden passion for Gallicisms captured all of society more strongly than ever'.⁵³

Linguistic patriotism was bound to be heightened by the fact that one of the leading intellectuals in the salons of the 1820s and 1830s, Piotr Chaadaev, pointedly used French as the vehicle for his first 'Lettre philosophique' ['Philosophical Letter'], written in 1829 (but not published until 1836). In this letter Chaadaev denied that Russia had any worthwhile indigenous cultural tradition or a coherent historical past or any futurity.

C'est une des choses les plus déplorable de notre singulière civilisation, que les vérités les plus triviales ailleurs, et même chez les peuples bien moins avancés que nous sous certains rapports, nous sommes encore à les découvrir. C'est que nous n'avons jamais marché avec les autres peuples; nous n'appartenons à aucune des grandes familles du genre humain; nous ne sommes ni de l'Occident ni de l'Orient, et nous n'avons les traditions ni de l'un ni de l'autre.⁵⁴

[One of the most deplorable features of our peculiar civilization is that we are still only beginning to discover truths which have long been truisms elsewhere, even

53 See 'O prichinakh, zamedlivshikh khod nashei slovesnosti' (1824) and 'O predislovii g-na Lemonte k perevodu basen Krylova' (1825), in A. A. Bestuzhev-Marlinskii, *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1958) vol. 2, 541.

54 See P. Ia. Chaadaev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i izbrannnye pis'ma*, 2 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1991), vol. 1, 89.

among nations less advanced in certain respects than we are. This is the result of our never having marched in step with other nations; we belong to none of the great families of mankind; we are neither of the West nor of the East, and we possess the traditions of neither.]⁵⁵

The pessimistic persona of this francophone intellectual is related to the character of the so-called ‘superfluous man’ portrayed in many works of Russian imaginative literature, including Pushkin’s *Eugene Onegin*, from the 1820s to the 1850s. In a climate of national revival, the bilingualism and attendant biculturalism of the francophone nobleman came to be seen as a sign – perhaps even a partial explanation – of a sense of rootlessness and futility.

The above-mentioned Slavophiles, as Romantic nationalists, responded to Chaadaev’s degrading choice of French as the vehicle for his withering criticism of Russia by presenting bilingualism as enervating and divisive. Francophonie was an attribute for which nobles could be castigated when they were compared to monolingual peasants, who were coming to be seen by many writers and intellectuals as the true repository of the national essence. The aristocratic public, Konstantin Aksakov alleged in 1857, moved in a westernized social world (*svet*, a calque of French *monde* in this meaning) and was idle, irreligious, fond of Parisian fashion and francophone. The peasantry, confined to its village commune (*mir*; the word also denotes ‘world’ in Russian) were hard-working and pious and observed Russian custom, Aksakov supposed; they were also, of course, exclusively russophone.⁵⁶

Thus the status of French as a prestige language in Russia at the moment when language was coming to be seen across Europe as a key expression of national identity helped to stimulate a cultural form of nationalism, according to which the nation is a community of common descent united

55 I have used the translation, with minor revisions and additions, in W. J. Leatherbarrow and D. C. Offord, tr. and eds, *A Documentary History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1987), 67–8.

56 See K. S. Aksakov, ‘Opyt sinonimov. Publika–narod’, in *Rannie slavianofily: A. S. Khomiakov, I. V. Kireevskii, K. S. i I. S. Aksakovy*, ed. N. L. Brodsky (Moscow: Tipografiia T-va I. D. Sytina, 1910), 121–2.

by shared culture and language. Such a nation is best represented, it has been argued by students of nationalism such as Anthony Smith, by its writers, thinkers and scholars, rather than by its statesmen, legislators and agitators.⁵⁷ The strong leaning towards this sort of nationalism in the Russian literary and intellectual world – which in the 1840s and 1850s was feeling itself increasingly at odds with the official world of the Russian state – was reflected in increased interest and pride in the Russian language, exemplified by renewed lexicographical work, such as Vladimir Dal's production of a ground-breaking explanatory dictionary.⁵⁸ Above all, though, cultural nationalism was reflected in the flowering of Russian literature, especially in the development of Russian prose fiction, in which the search for distinctive national identity was most urgently and exhaustively conducted.

Treatment of francophonie in the classical Russian novel

In order to provide a slightly fuller illustration of the treatment of francophonie in Russian debate about national destiny, I turn, finally, to the way in which the subject is handled in Ivan Turgenev's *Nest of Gentry* (1859), Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and Fiodor Dostoevsky's *Devils* (also translated as *The Possessed*; 1871–2). I begin with Tolstoy's novel, although it was not the first of these novels to be written, because it deals with an earlier historical period than the other two works.

On one level, the abundant passages, remarks and phrases in French in *War and Peace* lend the novel that verisimilitude for which historical novelists strive. French-speaking and the behaviour and mentality that Tolstoy associates with it convey the Rousseauesque moral judgements

57 See Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 9–12.

58 Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka*, 4 vols (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovarei, 1955; reprint of Izdanie knigoprodavtsa-tipografa M. O. Vol'fa, Moscow and St Petersburg, 1881).

of the mature author, who has turned his back on the aristocratic world of the two capitals. French-speaking, for the adult Tolstoy, is inextricably associated with the affectation, hypocrisy, pretences, deceits, stratagems and seductions (metaphorical and literal) of that metropolitan world. Characters' facility in French and the pleasure they take in using it tend to damn them. Hélène (that is to say 'Elena', if she were to use the Russian form of her name) is both supremely competent in French and one of the novel's most repugnant characters. Men and women whom Tolstoy presents in a more favourable light, on the other hand, may have reservations about using French or they may even prize relative lack of proficiency in it. Andrei Bolkonsky, for instance, is attracted to one of Tolstoy's favourite creations, Natasha Rostova, admiring her joy and shyness 'and even her mistakes in French'.⁵⁹

Most importantly, Russian French-speaking in *War and Peace* invites reflection about the nation's integrity and identity. Tolstoy explicitly linked the 'habit of using the French language' with the 'estrangement of the upper class from the other classes' which he identified as a characteristic of the period in which *War and Peace* was set.⁶⁰ It falls to Tolstoy's seeker after truth, Pierre Bezukhov, to illustrate how the problem of elite biculturalism might be overcome. Pierre's French forename; his long stay in pre-war Paris, which he agrees is 'la capitale du monde' ['the capital of the world']; his command of French, which makes a French officer believe that he is French; his frequent recourse to French phrases when he is speaking Russian; his ability to act as an interpreter who can mediate between a French-speaking member and a German-speaking member of Napoleon's army: all these factors point towards a cosmopolitan, more specifically French, identity.⁶¹ And yet, Pierre comes to discover a truly Russian identity, of which receptivity to the achievements of foreign cultures is a part. He repudiates the title of Frenchman, which the French officer had seen as the 'highest

59 *Voina i mir*, in Tolstoy, *PSS*, vol. 10, 204.

60 Tolstoy, 'Neskol'ko slov', 8. I have again used the translation in Tolstoy, *War and Peace*: see 1308.

61 The evidence cited in this sentence can be found in *Voina i mir*, in Tolstoy, *PSS*, vol. 11, 365–71.

appellation in the world'.⁶² He leaves his first wife, the francophile Hélène (whose death Tolstoy contrives in the year of Napoleon's invasion) and, after the war, he marries the quintessentially Russian Natasha. Crucially, during his imprisonment by the invading army he is attracted to the Russian peasant Platon Karataev, an embodiment of the common people, whom Tolstoy – although he is not a Slavophile – idealizes as unspoiled by modern civilization. Karataev, moreover, speaks a Russian which is vital and immediate, steeped in folk wisdom and devoid of the pretensions associated by Tolstoy with French.⁶³

In *A Nest of Gentry*, which is set in 1842, around the time when the debate between Westernizers and Slavophiles was beginning, Turgenev too uses the phenomenon of francophonie as a means of characterization and of evaluating nobles' attitudes towards Europe and their native land. Those characters whom Turgenev views positively on account of their sense of duty and altruism – the good-natured but unsettled nobleman Lavretsky, and the young noblewoman with whom he falls in love, Liza Kalitina – eschew the use of French for dealings with their compatriots. Lavretsky does have a command of French, having been exposed to various foreign upbringings by his eccentric father who spoke French with Parisian pronunciation and wrote exhortatory letters to his son in that language.⁶⁴ However, Lavretsky himself never resorts to the use of French in the Russian heartland, to which he returns alone from Paris after discovering that his wife, Varvara, has been unfaithful to him and where he aspires to learn to 'plough the land' (the phrase should be construed as a metaphor for attachment to the native soil).⁶⁵

Those characters whom Turgenev views in a negative light, on the other hand, self-consciously display or even delight in their francophonie. For Liza's mother, Maria Dmitrievna, it is a means of maintaining her modest

62 *Ibid.*, 365.

63 *Ibid.*, vol. 12, 43–51 (i.e. vol. 4, part 1, chapters 12–13 of the novel).

64 *Dvorianskoe gnezdo*, in I. S. Turgenev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v dvadtsati vos'mi tomakh* (Moscow and Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1961–8), vol. 7, 162–3.

65 *Ibid.*, 233.

standing in local society. For the St Petersburg bureaucrat Panshin, it is a mark of his disdain for Russia, which, he believes, lags behind Europe, as 'les meilleures têtes' ['the best minds'] have long since realized, and which has no alternative but to borrow from other nations if it is to progress.⁶⁶ For Varvara, French is associated with a hedonistic way of life around which all her thoughts and feelings revolve. The excellence of Panshin's and Varvara's command of French and their choice of French as the language in which to conduct their relationship indicate a strong affinity between them. It therefore comes as no surprise when at the end of the novel they embark upon a shamelessly boisterous affair. This affinity conspicuously marks Panshin and Varvara off from other members of their own class, who willingly conform to linguistic and cultural convention but have neither such mastery of the French language nor the power of dissimulation that they possess. There is francophonie and francophonie, then: for Panshin and Varvara it is not merely a source of social formulae or a vehicle for light, animated conversation but also a sign of a bond between individuals who are intent on fulfilling egoistic ambitions and have become culturally and psychologically detached from their homeland.

Turgenev can be defined, on the political spectrum of his time, as a liberal Westernizer. He lived in France for much of the last twenty years of his life, admired western civilization and, unlike many of his contemporaries, refused to idealize the Russian peasantry. And yet, his treatment of francophonie in *A Nest of Gentry*, and also in his later novel *Smoke*, has much in common not only with Tolstoy's but also with Dostoevsky's. A conservative nationalist in the Slavophile tradition, Dostoevsky placed the problem of educated Russians' loss of contact with their native soil at the centre of his socio-political outlook in the 1860s. One sign of such estrangement in Dostoevsky's fiction is characters' inability to express themselves coherently in their native language. In *The Devils* this problem afflicts not only nihilistic members of the younger generation but also the chief representative of the older generation, Stepan Verkhovensky, who repeatedly resorts to some French turn of phrase. It is the fault of such deracinated

66 *Ibid.*, 231.

fathers, who had dominated intellectual life in the 1840s, Dostoevsky is arguing, that the younger generation, embodied in Stepan's forgotten son Piotr, are now rejecting conventional morality, organizing revolutionary cells and bringing the nation to the brink of Apocalypse.⁶⁷

It is important to note that the novels I have discussed are backward-looking works in which Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky critically examine the Russian nobility from a vantage-point beyond the Crimean War, when defeat by Britain and France on home soil had harshly exposed the nation's social and technological backwardness. Drawing on stereotypical negative views of French language and character (superficiality, shallowness, showiness, insincerity, capacity for dissimulation and so forth), the novelists gave voice to anxieties among the literary elite of their time about the loss of a supposedly organic community in a nation humiliated by foreign powers and undergoing, as result of the emancipation of the serfs, major social change. For all three writers, despite their differences and animosities, Russian bilingualism and attendant biculturalism have become symptomatic of the estrangement of the social elite from native soil. Thus, far from being the cherished attribute it once was, francophonie was turning into a stigma in literary circles. Indeed we may argue that professed distaste for the habit of French-speaking among the nobility, together with admiration of the monolingual common people, had become for the cultural elite of the second Alexandrine age just as much a social sign of the sort that Lotman liked to identify as ostentatious francophonie had been for the young Tolstoy, who had characterized the common folk as *manants* [peasants, or churls].⁶⁸

That is not to say that aristocrats ceased to use French after the Crimean War or to prize it as an emblem of social status, rather that the social elite was losing its cultural authority. If in the late eighteenth century and the first Alexandrine age the nobility, following Montesquieu, saw itself as the flower of the nation, by the mid-nineteenth century it

67 *Besy*, in F. M. Dostoevsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1972–90), vol. 10.

68 *Iunosť* in Tolstoy, *PSS*, vol. 2, 194; see also 191.

was the socially heterogeneous community of artists and intellectuals that believed itself to be the guardian of the nation's purest values and the arbiter of its conscience. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital may help us to understand this shift. In the heyday of the self-confident nobility serving an imperial fatherland (that is to say, a political nation), francophonie had been a valuable asset. Noble families invested heavily, if they could afford it, in the purchase of pre-requisites for ownership of this asset, such as private education and foreign travel. However, as a new 'cultural' conception of the nation began to prevail in the literary and intellectual community writers who presumed to speak for this type of nation persistently represented francophonie as a liability, a piece of cultural capital that had lost its value.

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We should not lose sight of the fact that French was not the only modern foreign language to be used or understood in pre-revolutionary Russia. German, in particular, was more widely used than French among certain groups at certain times and in certain domains (for example, in the Academy of Sciences in the early stages of its existence). Nevertheless, French was the living foreign language that had the widest currency and greatest social prestige among the high nobility for the longest period in pre-revolutionary Russia. It also had the deepest impact on the Russian language and on Russian society and culture. It was a source of new concepts and literary models, linguistic borrowings and attitudes towards language. It served as a sign of social standing. At the same time, it provoked reflection on native identity and helped to nourish a potent Russian variety of cultural nationalism. It may therefore be credited to some degree with stimulation of the creative energy that produced an abundant cultural flowering and a new national self-consciousness.

14 French in Ottoman Turkey: ‘The Language of the Afflicted Peoples’?

Had it been written by one of the columnists of *El Djugeton* [*The Joker*], the Istanbul-based satirical Judeo-Spanish weekly, or by one of the masters of twentieth-century Turkish satire such as Aziz Nesin or Haldun Taner, the following scene might have been amusing. Rather reluctantly the Ministry of Education of the new Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923 with Mustafa Kemal (later known as Atatürk) as its first president, was implementing one of the stipulations of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) and granting the three recognized non-Muslim minorities, namely the Armenians, the Greeks and the Jews, the right to be educated in their national language. The state was to provide ‘adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language.’¹ While the establishment of the national languages of the Armenians and Greeks who remained on the territory of the Republic had been relatively straightforward, the case of the Jewish community turned out to be more complex. After much deliberation, the responsible commission in the Ministry of Education reached the conclusion that the national language of the Jews of Turkey was Hebrew. Either Jewish schools were to use Hebrew as the language of education or they would have to implement education in Turkish. Jewish community leaders were flabbergasted, Hebrew being only the liturgical language of the community. Faced with the daunting prospect of education in what was for them a dead language, David Fresko, a community leader and editor of the Ladino *El Tyempo* [*Time*] newspaper, protested and maintained,

1 ‘Lausanne Peace Treaty’, at <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-part-i-political-clauses.en.mfa>> (accessed on 09.07.2013).

in yet another twist that would have delighted lovers of socio-political satire, that French had become the national language of the Jews of Turkey. Though not opposed to the teaching of Turkish, he stressed the historical role played by French in the empowerment of the Ottoman Jewish community and defended the idea that Jewish children should continue to be taught in French.² His statement was a testimony to the effectiveness of the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle [Universal Israelite Alliance], which, over the previous sixty years, had promoted the French language and turned it into the language of the elite, condemning Judeo-Spanish, the language spoken by the great majority of the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire, to a slow agony.³ Fresko's proposal, however, was unacceptable to the Turkish government. France, after all, had been one of the belligerents against whom Turkey fought its war of independence. In consequence, Turkish was imposed as the language of education in Jewish schools and a campaign in the press denounced the Jews as French agents. One journalist even wrote of the 'Jews' preference for speaking a broken dialect [a reference to Judeo-Spanish] or a bizarre variety of French rather than the language of the state.⁴ The Turkish government had thus achieved its aim: to make education in Turkish compulsory. This was to have a lasting impact on a community that until then had been rather reluctant to succumb to the charms of the Turkish language. While in the first quarter of the twentieth century literacy in Turkish had been the exception, not the rule, in the Jewish community (and this despite campaigns by progressive Jewish intellectuals to promote the study of the Turkish language), by the last quarter of the century the community was linguistically Turkified.

The anecdote offers an insight into the complexity of the history of French in Ottoman and Republican Turkey. French language and culture played a major role in the political, intellectual and literary transformations promoted by Ottoman Turkish reformers throughout the nineteenth

2 Avner Levi, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Yahudiler: Hukuki ve Siyasi Durumları*, ed. Rifat Bali (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), 49–50.

3 On the role of the Alliance Israélite schools the standard work of reference is Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

4 Levi, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Yahudiler*, 51.

century. During the second half of the century, French and translations from French became the main medium through which reformist intellectuals and bureaucrats discovered and engaged with European culture, history and politics. This was not only the case for the Ottoman Turkish Muslim ruling elite, but also for the non-Muslim minorities of the Empire. At a time when the Ottoman Empire was collapsing under the pressures of nationalist demands and colonialist expansion, the ambivalent attitude of the Ottoman, then Republican elite towards French language and culture constitutes a fascinating topic of investigation.

It should therefore come as no surprise that several scholars have engaged with various aspects of the influence of French language and literature in Ottoman and Republican Turkey. Major works which deal with the literature of the post-Tanzimat period (that is to say, an era beginning in 1839 when new literary genres such as the novel, the short story and drama were appropriated and literary movements such as Romanticism and Parnassianism were domesticated) explore the role of translations from French and French literary culture in the renovation of Ottoman Turkish literature.⁵ The aim of this chapter is not to cover this well-travelled ground in the field of French literary influence in Turkey, but to propose some alternative readings of this phenomenon by putting the emphasis on the attempts at domesticating literary movements and in certain cases appropriating the French language in a context of ambivalence towards French cultural and political hegemony. The literary productions of non-Muslims will also be integrated into the discussion, which thus participates in the

5 For French and English language sources on the topic, see, among others, the following: Robert Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel 1872–1900* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1984), Ahmet Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Indiana University Press, 1983), Güzin Dino, *La genèse du roman turc au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Publications orientalistes de France, 1973), and Gül Mete Yuva, *La littérature turque et ses sources françaises* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006). Turkish sources are too numerous to be listed here in full, but particular attention should be paid *inter alia* to Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946), İsmail Habib Sevük, *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz*, 2 vols (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940–1), and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı*, 8th edn (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1997).

ongoing re-evaluation of late Ottoman and early Republican Turkish literary history by questioning the nationalist discourse which has underpinned Turkish literary historiography and negated or marginalized non-Muslim contributions to Turkish literary culture.

After a few introductory words on the status of French in pre-republican Turkey, the second section of the chapter will argue that the adoption of western literary genres and movements was far from passive but was the product of a critical engagement with the French tradition. I shall discuss, in particular, the cases of the novelist and polymath Ahmed Midhat Efendi and the tormented neo-symbolist poet Ahmed Haşim. Their attempt to domesticate French literature can, partly, be interpreted as an attempt to 'write back' to Paris, while simultaneously being a subversion of classical Ottoman and folk genres. Yet, it would be wrong to surmise that there were no straightforward examples of adoption of French trends. A late, but short-lived, Ottoman-Turkish version of Jean Moréas' Ecole Romane [Roman School], spearheaded by the young poet Yahya Kemal [Beyatlı],⁶ was one of the most interesting instances of acculturation.⁷ Though Kemal would in a later incarnation celebrate Ottoman Islamic aesthetics in his neo-classical verse, he continued to recognize his debts to the French teachers whom he had encountered, and perhaps studied under, during his voluntary exile in Paris between 1903 and 1912. The third section of the chapter will return to the Jewish case and bring to the fore the divergent attitudes to France among progressive Ottoman Jewish intellectuals. Despite their successful implantation and their modernist agenda, the roles of the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools and France were questioned, at the same time as Judeo-French literature in Ottoman Turkey

6 Surnames adopted by authors and poets after the implementation of the Surname Law in 1934 are indicated in square brackets.

7 On the Neo-Hellenic Nev-Yunani movement, see Şevket Toker, 'Edebiyatımızda Nev-Yunanilik Akımı', *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1982), 135–63, and Laurent Mignon, 'Yahya Kemal ve Jean Moréas'ın Mirası: Taklitten Sahiplenmeye', in Alphan Akgül, *Hayal Şiir: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı Şiiri Üzerine Makaleler* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 67–79.

was being born. Finally, the chapter will discuss the contributions of late Ottoman and early republican writers who chose to write literary works in French. With specific attention to the playwright İzzet Melih and the poet Abdullah Cevdet, this section will also question the extent to which their works can be discussed within the framework of 'minor literature', developed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.

French in pre-republican Turkey

Extending over three continents with a population of 15,000,000 at the time of its apogee under the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66), the Ottoman Empire harboured a multilingual, multi-ethnic population throughout the centuries. Native speakers of French, however, were a tiny minority, consisting mostly of Levantines, Latin Christians of the Ottoman Empire. Though it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that French language and literature started to exert a strong influence and to feature in literary debates, the presence of France and French in Ottoman Turkey goes further back.⁸ Nevertheless, it is true that the Ottoman Turkish ruling elite and the learned class had shown little interest in the languages, cultures and literatures of the lands of the unbelievers before the eighteenth century. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, the first Ottoman ambassador sent to France, in 1720, wrote a rather equivocal

8 There is a significant amount of secondary literature dealing with the history and various aspects of 'francophonie' in Ottoman Turkey. See, *inter alia*, the special issue 37–8 (2007) of the journal *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* (*Le français langue des 'élites' dans le bassin méditerranéen et les pays balkaniques (XVIIIe siècle-moitié du XXe siècle)*), which covers a wide range of topics from the genesis of the francophone press to the cultural and intellectual impact of French schools. Zeynep Mennan, ed., *Francophonie en Turquie, dans les pays balkaniques et de l'Europe orientale [sic]* (Istanbul: Isis, 2004), offers a similarly broad range of articles but with a greater emphasis on literature and the question of influence.

report about his journey.⁹ The discovery of new urban landscapes and the exoticism of the French court captivated him, but his general impressions of the country, which he despised as ‘the paradise of womenfolk’ [*avratların cenneti*], were rather ambivalent.

However, the fact that the Ottoman court should have wished to develop diplomatic relations with France and to explore the possibilities of an alliance against Great Britain was indicative of the transformations that were going to affect the Empire in the decades to come. The world was changing and Ottoman statesmen, becoming conscious of the rise of western power, looked at ways of espousing the changes. As most of the Ottoman trade with western Europe was controlled by France, French was the language of commerce. The increase in trade and the development of diplomatic relations with the west throughout the eighteenth century made the need for translators who knew French and Turkish the more pressing. This need was partly covered by Christian subjects of the Grande Porte, mostly Greeks. However, rising suspicions about the loyalty of non-Muslims in the wake of the Greek war of independence (1821–32) led to the establishment, in 1821, of a translators’ school,¹⁰ which was to have a profound influence on the development of intellectual life and the opening-up to France and the west in the Ottoman Empire.

Realization that the Ottoman state had ceased to be a conquering empire and that it was in fact in decline also led to a series of reforms and attempts to modernize the state, culminating in the so-called Tanzimat (or ‘reorganization’) reforms of 1839. The first step had been taken in the military domain with the foundation of new schools, often modelled on French examples with French instructors, and ultimately the introduction of French as an obligatory subject in the Military Engineering School

9 For a French translation, see Mehmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, tr. Julien-Claude Galland and ed. Gilles Weinstein (Paris: François Maspéro, 1981). See also Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

10 Taceddin Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye’de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998), 25.

in 1793. Hence French had become the language of access to the west in matters of science before it started to play a similar role in matters of culture and literature. Newly founded institutions such as the Encümen-i Danış (the Ottoman Academy, 1851) and the Tercüme Cemiyeti (Translation Society, 1865), among others, played a fundamental role in familiarizing the Ottoman elite with western science and culture.

The emergence of the press was another area where French and francophone influence was felt throughout the nineteenth century. The first ever newspaper in Ottoman Turkey was published in French in 1795 by the French embassy. Named *Bulletin des nouvelles* [*News Bulletin*], it aimed at spreading the Enlightenment ideals promoted by the French Revolution among the francophones of the Empire and French expatriates. Though short-lived, it was the first of about 700 newspapers and periodicals written partly or entirely in French which were to be published in Ottoman and Republican Turkey over the next two centuries. Beside official bulletins published by foreign institutions, an independent press started to develop from the 1820s onwards. Still owned by French nationals, it saw a growing journalistic input by Levantines. Finally the publication of the official bilingual French-Turkish *Moniteur ottoman* [*Ottoman Monitor*] in 1832 launched the era of French language newspapers and cultural periodicals owned and edited by Muslim Ottomans, defending a great variety of views in matters of national and international politics as well as in the domains of culture and literature.¹¹

French Catholic schools set up by religious congregations in the Empire had been another important element in spreading French language, culture and interests. Though France claimed to be the protector of the Christians of the Orient, this self-declared mission often served to conceal imperialist designs. French schools in Turkey were highly effective and on the eve of

11 Joëlle Pierre, 'La presse française de Turquie, canal de transmission des idées de la Révolution', *Le temps des médias* 5 (Fall 2005), 168–76. For a history and catalogue of the francophone press in Ottoman and republican Turkey, see Gérard Groc and Ismail Caglar, *La presse française de Turquie de 1795 à nos jours: histoire et catalogue* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1985).

World War I there were thirty-two Catholic schools in Istanbul alone.¹² In the second half of the nineteenth century, boys from Muslim families too had started to attend those schools and receive a French education. In 1868, a progressive secondary school, the secular Lycée Impérial Ottoman de Galata-Sérai [Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi; hereafter Galatasaray High School] was established. Modelled on French lycées and using French as the main language of instruction, the school welcomed students from all ethno-religious communities. It became one of the high schools of the elite and would retain this status even after the establishment of the Republic.

Critical engagement with the French literary tradition

Galatasaray High School was officially inaugurated at a time when the Ottoman Turkish literary world was engaged in the process of translating and adapting literary works from French and debating the ideas at the heart of western literary trends. Post-Tanzimat reformist intellectuals such as Namık Kemal and Şemseddin Sami maintained that genres like the novel and drama were more appropriate for the promotion of progressive ideas and for responding to the challenges of the contemporary world than highly metaphorical Ottoman divan poetry and versified and prose narratives with their supernatural elements and Sufi references, whether they were mystical *mesnevi* [long poems based on rhyming couplets] or folk *hikâye* [tales]. Nonetheless, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and later, a growing number of voices questioned the appropriateness of French literary techniques and movements to reflect Ottoman realities in a context where literature was seen as an important didactic tool to promote the enlightenment of the people and, arguably, the gradual democratization of the political system and culture. Unsurprisingly, many of the leading

12 Paul Dumont, 'La présence culturelle française dans l'Empire ottoman à l'âge de la compétition coloniale en Europe (1870–1914)', *Frankofoni* 19 (2007), 45.

figures of the next generation of literary renovators in Ottoman Turkey would have a connection with Galatasaray High School. The poet Ahmed Haşım, one among many, discovered French poetry during his school years there. He was fascinated by the first volume of the anthology of contemporary poetry, *Poètes d'aujourd'hui 1880–1900* [*Poets of Today 1880–1900*] (1900), by Adolphe Van Bever and Paul Léautaud, which introduced him to the symbolist works of Gustave Kahn, Maurice Maeterlinck, Stéphane Mallarmé, Emile Verhaeren and others.¹³ But the increasing presence of French in educational and cultural spheres did encounter some resistance and not only in ultra-conservative religious circles. The novelist, critic, essayist, playwright, translator and publisher Ahmed Mithad Efendi, by no means a reactionary closed to foreign ideas, reminded his readers in an essay dating from 1878 that Galatasaray High School was not an

Ottoman school belonging to the state, but tended to be French, to belong to an Empire. It is known that it was opened as a result of the French Embassy's continuous endeavour to teach knowledge and science in French. Moreover, the fact that during one of the classes on Ottoman history, the teacher had characterized the Ottomans as barbarians and started to develop this view extensively had been a matter of controversy some time ago.¹⁴

Also known as the Hâce-i Evvel [First Teacher] or, in less complimentary fashion, 'the typewriter with the strength of forty workhorses' – a reference to his logorrhoea and the more than one hundred books, of uneven quality, that he published – Ahmed Midhat, who unlike most of his peers came from a modest background and had been an apprentice in an Istanbul bazaar, also felt uneasy about the supremacy of western, that is to say French, letters in an Ottoman context. He was himself francophone and had translated a wide range of books from French, including Paul de Kock's *Une femme à trois visages* [*A Woman with Three Faces*] (1877) and Charles Merouvel's *La conquête de Gabrielle* [*The Conquest of Gabrielle*] (1882). During this

13 Asım Bezirci, *Ahmet Haşım* (Istanbul: Oluş Yayinevi, 1972), 8, and Ad. Van Bever and Paul Léautaud, *Poètes d'aujourd'hui 1880–1900: Morceaux choisis* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1900).

14 Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkilâb* (Istanbul: Takvim-i Vekâyi Matbaası, 1912), 117.

process, he developed a passionate defence of ‘adaptation’ as opposed to translation, arguing that texts had to be adapted to their audiences even if that meant interfering with the original.

Yet, despite the ambivalent feelings provoked by French cultural and literary influence, a creative encounter between literatures in French and Turkish was taking place in the Ottoman capital. Translations and adaptations from French played a major role in the transformation of Ottoman Turkish literature. However, no clear patterns emerge from the lists of literary works translated in the nineteenth century, though one could argue that popular literature, predominantly adventure novels, detective novels and romance, as well as the French romantics, seem to have particularly attracted readers before the last quarter of the century. Hence translations and adaptations into Turkish from authors as diverse as Xavier de Montépin, Paul de Kock and Alexandre Dumas – the popular tradition – occurred largely at the same time as the discovery of French authors who were or would later be recognized as part of the canon, such as Molière, François-René de Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo.¹⁵ Remarkably, the same authors and works were often published within a few years in all the alphabets of the various ethno-religious communities who used Turkish as their literary medium, namely Ottoman-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish and Karamanli.¹⁶ Despite their eclecticism, the Ottoman literati were conscious of the unequal literary qualities of the works they read and translated. Even

15 On translation in the pre-republican period, see Saliha Paker, ‘Turkey’, in Robin Ostle, ed., *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850–1870* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 17–32, and *idem*, ‘Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem’, *New Comparison* 1 (1986), 67–82. For an overview of the role of translation in modern Turkish literature, see Özlem Berk, *Translation and Westernisation in Turkey: from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Istanbul: Ege, 2004). Taceddin Kaya’s *Türkiye’de Tercüme Müesseseleri* offers a survey of the official translation activities of state-sponsored institutes such as the above-mentioned *Encümen-i Daniş*, the *Tercüme Cemiyeti* and others from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

16 On the literary exchanges and the cultural intercourse between the various ethno-religious communities in late Ottoman Istanbul, see Johann Strauss, ‘Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?’ *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6/1 (2003), 39–76.

though Namık Kemal's heart might have been on the side of the French popular novel, he was only too aware, as he wrote in a letter to the poet and playwright Abdülhak Hamid [Tarhan], that 'when it comes to the matter of intellectual depth and literary truth it is not possible to put [Alexandre Dumas] before [Victor] Hugo and Alfred de Musset or even to consider him as their equal'.¹⁷

It is also interesting to note that references to French poets and novelists in the Turkish novels of the time were not infrequent. Such references, which are of great use to scholars wishing to reconstitute the map of the readings of reformist Ottoman intellectuals, communicate important information about the relationship between authors and the French and western traditions. Hovsep Vartanyan's *Akabi Hikayesi* [*Story of Akabi*] (1851), the first novel in Turkish, is a good example. It is a common passion for Chateaubriand's *Atala* that brings together the fateful lovers Akabi, an Orthodox, and Hagop, a Catholic. While the lethal conclusion of their forbidden love story evokes the dramatic closing stages of *Atala's* and *Chactas's* equally fatal passion in Chateaubriand's fragment, Hovsep Vartanyan brings to the fore the issue of the division of the Armenian community, thus introducing the Mekhitarist ideal of Armenian reunification. Moreover, the implicit contrast between Father Aubry, whose fundamental goodness symbolizes Christianity as a civilizational force in Chateaubriand's novel, and Father Fasidyán, the insidious Catholic priest opposed to the rapprochement between Catholics and Orthodox in the Armeno-Turkish text, is indicative of how the author domesticates the plot. Hagop and Akabi's fateful passion incites readers to revolt against those forces and institutions which oppose their union: mainly the clergy and the patriarchal family. In other words, it is an invitation to question the hierarchical organization of traditional Ottoman Armenian society. Vartanyan's approach is not exceptional. Other authors too explored fundamental themes of contemporary Ottoman Turkish society by a subtle referential interplay with French novels which would probably have been known by their limited audience. Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, the theoretician of

17 Quoted in Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı*, 351.

Turkish neo-Parnassianism, wrote a much-admired novel *Araba Sevdası* [*The Passion for Carriages*] (1898) which could also be read as a parody of romantic literature.¹⁸ The misadventures of the main character, Bihruz Bey, are induced by his thoughtless mimicking of the romantic heroes of his readings. The novel also lampoons the clichés and conventions of French Romantic literature, at a time when the debate between Romanticism and Realism was raging in literary Istanbul. The object of criticism is thus not only the super-westernized dandy, but the Romantic tradition as a whole.

Reformist Ottoman intellectuals continuously questioned in theoretical texts their relation to the western literary forms that they were appropriating. Ahmed Midhat Efendi is one of the most prominent examples. In a series of articles and books, he explored the ways of establishing a 'local' form of the novel. In this quest he was less concerned with questions of originality than with issues of authenticity. Despite its shortcomings, his *Ahbar-ı Asara Tamim-i Enzar* [*A General Look at Literary Works*] (1890), a crash-course on the history of the western novel with a focus on France written during the controversy between advocates of Romanticism and Realism in Ottoman Turkey, is also an implicit defence of the early Ottoman Turkish novel against critics who attacked it for its failures and provocatively maintained, like the young novelist Nabizade Nazım, that the first true novel in Turkish had yet to be written.¹⁹ Little concerned with the particular socio-economic, intellectual and cultural developments that enabled the rise of the novel in the west, Ahmed Midhat argued that with diligence and hard work Ottoman novelists too would write great works of

18 *Ibid.*, 493–4. On this particular novel see also the following: Jale Parla, 'A Carriage Affair', in Franco Moretti, ed., *The Novel*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), vol. 1 (*History, Geography and Culture*), 775–80; *idem*, 'Car Narratives: A Subgenre in Turkish Novel Writing', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102/2–3 (2003), 535–50; and Nurdan Gürbilek, 'Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness and the Turkish Novel', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102/2–3 (2003), 599–628. Robert Finn's *The Early Turkish Novel 1872–1900* and Ahmet Evin's *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* both have sections which discuss this novel.

19 Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Ahbar-ı Asara Tamim-i Enzar: Edebi Eserlere Genel bir Bakış* transliterated and introduced by Nükhet Esen (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 21–2.

literature. But the inexhaustible polymath was not only responding to the emerging critical discourse on the failed novel according to western standards, he also made a case for emancipation from those very standards. His novel *Müşâbedat* [*Observations*] (1891), as noted by the critic and scholar Berna Moran, is an extraordinary narrative where 'the act of writing of the novel has become the theme of the novel'.²⁰ Furthermore, in its foreword, Ahmet Mithad clarifies his position on naturalism and offers an alternative interpretation.²¹ Unlike in earlier articles where he attacked Ottoman Turkish advocates of naturalism, here Ahmed Midhat directly took issue with Emile Zola. He questioned, with reference to Zola's cycle of novels *Les Rougon-Macquart*, whether novels could be natural and function as social history, as the subtitle of the French novelist's cycle of novels suggested. He also criticized the French novelist's biased focus on ugliness and misery as if 'those things called goodness and beauty did not exist in the world, in Europe and in Paris' any more. While the naturalists' arguably persistent interest in vice and misery was singled out for criticism by their opponents in France as well, Ahmed Midhat subverted Zola's claim to absolute realism: he even entered his novel as one of its characters, deliberately blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction. Towards the end of the introduction Ahmed Midhat Efendi spelled out the relation Ottoman Turkish novelists ought to have with French literature, promoting what could be called in post-colonial theoretical terms the 'appropriation' of the genre – writing 'in accordance with communal dispositions [*istdidât-ı milliye*], without abandoning the age of triumphant nature',²² the latter being a reference to the rise of naturalism. This call for adaptation, not only of translated works but also of the novel genre and a literary movement, led the novelist to suggest a framework for the Ottoman novel: it ought not to be foreign [*ecnebi*] and communal [*milli*], in other words relating only to the Muslim community of the Empire. Rather it should be local [*yerli*], encompassing

20 Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış I: Ahmet Mithat'tan Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'a* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 55.

21 Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Müşâbedât* (Istanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1891), 2–6.

22 *Ibid.*, 6.

all the 'colours that are the source of sophistication.' It is remarkable that the author of *Observations* chose to put the focus on the local, rather than on the communal, which would have been the closest in Ahmed Midhat Efendi's worldview to nationhood. Indeed his understanding of the local was multi-communal and multicultural, hence encompassing the great variety of Ottoman Istanbul's ethno-religious groups. With his reference to the local, he attempted to redefine the relationship between the Ottoman author and western literature, while also outlining the possibility of a realist novel, which is the product not of a national but of a culturally pluralistic and diverse reality, thus questioning theories linking the rise of the novel with nationhood. Armenian characters in the novel as well as direct references to Armeno-Turkish authors, namely Hovsep Vartanyan and Garabed Panosyan, were representative of this multi-communal 'locality' of the text.

Interestingly, Ahmed Midhat's concern for the 'authenticity' of literary texts was shared by Armeno-Turkish authors.²³ These authors, mostly Catholics, had a less conflictual relationship with the west and its religious and cultural heritage. However, they too put emphasis on the need for authenticity. In the short introduction to his novel *Hikaye-i İki Kapı Yoldaşları Yahud Hakk ü Adaletin Zuhuru* [*The Tale of Two Colleagues or the The Rise of Law and Justice*] (1885), the author Hovsep Kurban expressed his concern at the high number of literary works translated from European languages which dealt with events occurring in Europe and thus were of little use and gave no pleasure to the 'children of the nation'. Besides this advocacy of a literature that was both didactic and entertaining, to which the author of *Observations* would certainly have subscribed, Kurban maintained that there was a need to produce a literature which conveyed 'extraordinary stories which have occurred within our realm'.²⁴ There is

23 On the relation between Armeno-Turkish literature (i.e. Turkish literature in the Armenian script) and Ottoman Turkish literature, see Laurent Mignon, 'Lost in Transliteration: A Few Remarks on the Armeno-Turkish Novel and Turkish Literary Historiography', in E. Balta and M. Ölmez, eds, *Between Language and Religion* (Istanbul: Eren, 2011), 111–23.

24 Hovsep Kurban, *Hikaye-i İki Kapı Yoldaşları Yahud Hakk ü Adaletin Zuhuru* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Nişan Berberyan, 1885), page a.

a striking similarity between Ahmed Midhat Efendi's and the Armeno-Turkish novelist's argumentation and post-colonial legitimization of the appropriation of western literary genres by non-western nations. They too believed that the domesticated novel could be both a vector of progress at home and a challenge to western cultural supremacy.

Some poets too, while avid readers of French-language poetry, were convinced of the need to distance themselves from the western tradition. The poet Ahmed Haşim's flirtation with Symbolism is a case in point. His manifesto 'Şiir Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar' ['A Few Thoughts on Poetry'] (1926) is a remarkable document celebrating the primacy of musicality over meaning.²⁵ Interestingly, although he referred to Father Henri Brémond's *La poésie pure* [*Pure Poetry*] (1926) – a rare occurrence, at the time, of direct Turkish engagement with a contemporary literary debate in France – he ignored the more radical ideas of the former Jesuit and his views on poetry as 'mystery'. This was perhaps understandable, as Brémond's exploration of religious feeling in French literature and the parallels he established between prayer and poetry had a Christocentric dimension, which could have led to unease among a mainly Muslim readership. However, this partial reading, or rather voluntary misreading of Brémond, is indicative of Haşim's conscious eclecticism and desire to engage critically with the western tradition. 'A Few Thoughts on Poetry' was one in a series of theoretical texts on poetry where the Baghdad-born poet tried to define his relation to French-language symbolism. The others were biographical pieces on Symbolist poets, such as 'Emile Verhaeren' (1908),²⁶ 'Henri de Régnier' (1909)²⁷ and his study of 1927 'Sembolizmin Kıymetleri' ['The Values of Symbolism'].²⁸ This latter piece was of a particular importance: Haşim placed emphasis on the idea that Symbolism was not a western import but that there had been a long tradition of Symbolist poetry: 'By attaching so much importance to the symbol, Mallarmé did not develop

25 Ahmed Haşim, *Piyâle* (Istanbul: İlhami-Fevzi Matbaası, 1926), 3–12.

26 *Idem, Bütün Eserleri: Gurabahâne-i Laklakân, Diğer Yazılar*, ed. İnci Enginün et al. (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1991), 73–9.

27 *Ibid.*, 79–88.

28 *Ibid.*, 292–6.

a new artistic theory. All the Egyptian, Phoenician and Greek arts, all the poetries of east and west had been symbolist well before Mallarmé.²⁹ Haşım not only aimed at establishing that Symbolism had roots both in western and eastern literary traditions, but he also wanted to stress that it was legitimate to reclaim its heritage in the Ottoman Turkish context. The metaphorical nature of much of classical poetry, the idea that veiling reality was a way of reaching the truth, was akin to the principles of Symbolism. By reintroducing an oriental dimension into poetry, he broke with the Eurocentric poetics of the *Servet-i Fünun* [The Wealth of Knowledge], an earlier literary movement which promoted an autotelic conception of art.

It was not surprising that Ottoman Turkish intellectuals with a Muslim background had a complex relationship with France and French culture in the age of colonialism and imperialism. Their engagement with French intellectual culture had to be critical, especially when it came to discussing French discourses on the Ottoman Empire and Islam. In a response to Ernest Renan's famous conference 'L'Islamisme et la science' [Islam and Science] held at the Sorbonne in 1883, Namık Kemal questioned Renan's scholarly authority, thus inviting a more critical stance towards knowledge produced in France.³⁰ The romanticization of the east in French literature, one of many topics that would later be explored by Edward Said in his influential yet controversial study *Orientalism*, also provoked reactions.³¹ Pierre Loti, for instance, divided the Ottoman Turkish literary world. There were numerous attacks on Loti spearheaded by leading members of the Ottoman Turkish intelligentsia, such as the progressive poet Tevfik Fikret (a product of Galatasaray High School, incidentally, and a major influence on the young

29 *Ibid.*, 295.

30 For a discussion of Namık Kemal's *Renan Müdafanamesi* see, *inter alia*: Laurent Mignon, 'Of Moors, Jews and Gentiles', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 35/1 (June 2011), 65–83; York A. Norman, 'Disputing the "Iron Circle": Renan, Afghani, and Kemal on Islam, Science, and Modernity', *Journal of World History* 22/4 (November 2011), 659–91; and Michelangelo Guida, 'Al-Afghāni and Namık Kemal's Replies to Ernest Renan: Two Anti-Westernist Works in the Formative Stage of Islamist Thought', *Turkish Journal of Politics* 2/2 (Winter 2011), 58–70.

31 Said's book was controversial not least because it ignored the Ottomans.

Haşım) and the nationalist author Ömer Seyfeddin. These attacks would ultimately culminate in the socialist poet Nazım Hikmet [Ran]'s characterization of the French novelist and traveller as 'a French officer / who forgot his grape-eyed Aziyadé / faster than a whore' in a poem published in 1923 which referred to Loti's bestseller *Aziyadé*.³² Hikmet was thus participating in the debates on Orientalist scholarship and Islamic studies that had started half a century before. Similar debates would more rarely be witnessed among the non-Muslim communities writing in Turkish. Even so, among non-Muslim intellectuals too, irrespective of their religious denomination, the question of cultural authenticity became ever more important after the discovery and appropriation of French literature. This being said, one should beware of making generalizations that bridge divisions between ethno-religious groups when it comes to discussing the question of French influence.

Ambivalent attitudes to France among Ottoman Jewish intellectuals

The Jewish case in Ottoman Turkey serves as a further example of the rift caused by the rise of French within an ethno-religious community and the divergent responses of leading community intellectuals. The establishment

32 Nazım Hikmet, 'Piyer Loti', *Bütün Şiirleri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 36. For a general discussion of those attacks on Loti and orientalism see, 'L'orientalisme revisité', in Mario Hirsch and Roberto Pappini, eds, *L'identité européenne et les défis du dialogue interculturel* (Luxembourg: Editions Saint Paul, 2008), 219–32. The following electronic resources in Turkish give an extensive overview of the debate: İnci Enginün, 'Loti'nin Türklere Bakışı ve Edebiyatçılarımızın Yorumu', 21. *Yüzyıla Girerken Pierre Loti, Türkiye ve Avrupa: Pierre Loti'nin 150. Doğum Yıldönümünde Türkiye ve Avrupa'nın Siyasal ve Edebi İlişkileri Kolokiyumu* (5 May 2000), at <<http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/belge/1-35141/inci-engunu.html>>, and Zeynep Mennan, 'Bazı Türk Yazarlarına Göre Oryantalizm Bağlamında Pierre Loti', *ibid.*, at <<http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/belge/1-35154/zeynep-mennan.html>> (accessed on 10.07.2013).

of Alliance Israélite Universelle schools in the Ottoman Empire led to a profound transformation of the Ladino-speaking Sephardic community. Eventually the community would largely become French-speaking in the years that followed, without having ever been turcophone. If we are to believe a report by an Alliance teacher who is mentioned by the historian Stanford J. Shaw, only about 1,000 Jews were literate at the turn of the century, but about 100,000 had learned French.³³ Founded in 1860 by Adolphe Crémieux, the Alliance Israélite Universelle promoted a progressive interpretation of Judaism while defending the emancipationist principles of the French Revolution. In its early years, its focus was on the empowerment of the Jewish communities of the Near East and North Africa and on the struggle against discrimination. Despite its modernist outlook and quasi-colonialist mission-statement, which led to a patronizing attitude towards Sephardic Jews and their culture, and despite the opposition of the religious establishment which was concerned about its loss of influence, the Alliance had a major impact on the development of Jewish cultural and intellectual life in Ottoman Turkey. The establishment of schools was the main item on the agenda of the Alliance and the curriculum of those schools, which had to be centrally approved in Paris,³⁴ introduced their pupils – who, as time passed, were not exclusively Jewish – to French culture and literature. As noted by Aron Rodrigue in his ground-breaking study of the Alliance schools in Ottoman Turkey, the Alliance had a rather paternalistic approach towards eastern Jews, regarding them as children who had to be educated and purged of their bad habits and superstitious beliefs. The Alliance took part in the French ‘civilizing’ mission. Ottoman Jews thus became the objects of the civilizing endeavours of emancipated Parisian Jews. This process included the teaching of French history, geography and literature, in French.³⁵

33 Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (London: MacMillan, 1991), 165.

34 Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, 120.

35 Erol Haker, *Edirne, Its Jewish Community, and Alliance Schools 1867–1937* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2006).

That the teaching of French should be associated with an Enlightenment agenda sparked tensions between the rabbinate and Judeo-Spanish-speaking conservative parts of society, which were mostly working class, on the one hand, and the Frenchified elite, on the other. There was, however, another conflict. Despite its desire to promote a greater acceptance and better integration of Jews, the Alliance attached little importance to the teaching of Turkish. Its schools, set up in the late 1860s and 1870s, and also some religious schools, taught Turkish, but not quite with the commitment, the engagement and also the resources that were required for a truly multilingual education. This caused unease among a growing number of liberal and progressive Jewish intellectuals, including Avram Galante, the author of the monumental, but not always reliable, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul, depuis la prise de cette ville en 1453 par Fatih Mehmed II, jusqu'à nos jours* [*History of the Jews of Istanbul, from the Capture of the City in 1453 by Mehmet II to Our Own Day*] (1941–2). Galante appreciated the achievements of the schools but stressed that a more preponderant place should be given to Turkish in the syllabus. In other words, the historian underlined that the Alliance ought to be more responsive to the actual needs of the community.³⁶ Yet, just like other progressive Jewish intellectuals, he was also critical of the passivity of the community and its excessive reliance on services provided by the Alliance.³⁷

At the same time it should be said that the extent to which France was seen as an ideal for some progressive Jews is open to discussion. Unavoidably, the Dreyfus affair affected France's image, an issue well documented by the references to the affair in Judeo-Spanish literature.³⁸ Hence Jacques

36 Albert E. Kalderon, *Abraham Galante* (New York: Published by Sepher-Hermon Press for Sephardic House at Congregation Shearith Israel, 1983), 18–19, and Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, 133.

37 Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, 9 vols (Istanbul: Isis [no date]), vol. 1, 313–14, and Ísak Ferera, 'Fikr-i Teşebbüs Hakkında bir Konferansından', *Mir'at* 1 (1 Şubat 1324), 12.

38 Olga Borovaia, *Modern Ladino Culture: Press, Belles Lettres, and Theatre in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 233.

Loria, in a play which he wrote on the affair and in which he expressed deep pessimism about the possibility of eradicating anti-Semitism, reminds his audience that Dreyfus was condemned ‘al nombre del puevlo fransez’ [‘in the name of the French people’]. And though they learn that there were indeed ‘ombres de byen’ [‘good men’] in France, such as Zola and Gabriel Monod, his readers would have been all too conscious that in France too there lurked the spectre of anti-Semitism, and not only in the shadows.³⁹ The poet Ísak Ferera, for instance, compared the situation of Jews in Ottoman Turkey favourably to that of Jews in Europe, mainly in Germany, Russia and Romania.⁴⁰

Nevertheless the promotion of French among the Jewish community was highly successful, as exemplified by French-language literature written by Turkish Jews, a tradition which, unlike the Alliance schools, survived well into the republican period. According to statistics collected by Rifat Bali and shown in the following table, one third of the books published by Jewish authors between 1935 and 1996 in the Republic of Turkey were in French, a percentage that gradually went down over the decades, confirming the brutal effectiveness of the Turkification campaigns conducted by the state.⁴¹

	Ladino	French	Turkish
1935–45	4	7	3
1945–55	6	4	5
1956–65	0	7	5
1966–75	1	4	9
1976–85	0	4	16
1986–96	4	7	44

39 A transliteration into the Latin script and a translation into English by Olga Borovaia are available online at <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/jewishstudies/programs/sephardi/borovaya_texts_files/dreyfus/> (accessed on 10.07.2013).

40 Ísak Ferera, ‘İsminden Utanan Yahudiler’, *Mir’at* 2 (1909), 21–3.

41 Rifat Bali, ‘Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Edebiyatına Yahudilerin Katkıları’, *Varlık* 1074 (March 1997), 51.

Though not all of the works collected by Bali were literary, the majority were novels, drama, short-stories and poetry. Whether their quality, however, enables us to apply the epithet 'literary' to them is debatable. Be that as it may, in less than a half a century, under the impulse of the Alliance, the secular elite and the upper classes of the Jewish community had largely been Frenchified to the point that some considered French to have become their 'national' language in 1923. There is no doubt that this development was a major factor leading to the loss of prestige of Ladino.

Ottoman literature in French

French-language literature in Turkey was not a phenomenon restricted to the Jewish community or to the republican period. Although it was a wild exaggeration, to say the least, to claim that 'all young Turkish writers of the present day wrote in the French language',⁴² as maintained in a 1925 anthology of world drama, nevertheless the engagement of Ottoman intellectuals and literati with French culture and literature, irrespective of the ethnic and religious communities to which the intellectuals belonged, as well as the impact of francophone schools, did bring about the development of Ottoman literature in French. Turkish literary historiography has an uneasy relationship with the multilingual heritage of late Ottoman literary culture. The nationalist discourse which underpins much of literary historiography, and not only in Turkey, as well as concepts such as 'national literature' and the canon, have unsurprisingly proved inadequate for the exploration and analysis of the cosmopolitanism that was characteristic of the Ottoman capital and other large port-cities of the Empire. The fact that Turkish was a language that was printed in various alphabets (the Ottoman-Arabic, the Armenian, the Greek, the Rashi – a version of the Hebrew script – and

42. Frank Shay, ed., *Twenty-Five Short Plays: International* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1925), 380.

the Syriac scripts, among others, while some reformist intellectuals were starting to consider the possibility of Romanization) is one of the interesting Ottoman realities that even liberal and progressive nationalists could not easily embrace and comprehend. Likewise, the fact that one and the same alphabet, such as the Perso-Arabic script, was used to print material not only in the three great languages of Islam – Turkish, Persian and Arabic – but also in various languages of Muslim minorities, including Kurdish at a later stage, was another problem that nation-builders, and their discourses on intercommunitarian impermeability, chose to edit out of the history of culture and literature. Needless to say, in such a context the multilingual Ottoman literary heritage was marginalized or downgraded to the level of an outdated remnant of an unenlightened, pre-national past. Unsurprisingly, Ottoman-Turkish literature in French⁴³ was also condemned to the recycling bin of history.

The extent to which Ottoman literature written in French by Turks and Kurds could be defined as a ‘minor literature’ in the sense defined by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari is difficult to assess.⁴⁴ It cannot be denied that the literature produced by Ottoman Turks in French is the literature of a minority writing from the periphery of the French-speaking world. These are indeed a deterritorialized language and literature. However, the differences in background and motivations of authors writing in French and the variety of works they published make any generalization about a possible collective enunciation difficult.⁴⁵ It would even be misleading and misguided to try to discuss works such as Jacques Loria’s thriller of 1897 *Les mystères de Péra* [*The Mysteries of Péra*] and Celal Nuri [İleri]’s

43 For a comprehensive overview see *inter alia* Ekrem Aksoy, ‘Les thèmes principaux dans les oeuvres françaises d’écrivains turcs’, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 5/2 (1988), 87–114, and ‘La littérature d’expression française en Turquie’, *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France* 108/3 (2008), 633–44. Aksoy is one of the rare scholars to have published in French and Turkish on the subject. See *inter alia*, Ekrem Aksoy, ‘Fransızca Türk Şiiri’, *Frankofoni* 19 (2007), 93–102.

44 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, tr. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

45 For a discussion of the characteristics of a minor literature, see *ibid.*, 16–27.

Cauchemar? Roman des temps hamidiens [*Nightmare? A Novel of Hamidian Times*] (1911)⁴⁶ within the same theoretical framework. *Les mystères de Péra* is a page-turner 932 pages long, inspired by Eugène Sue's *Les mystères de Paris* [*The Mysteries of Paris*]. Its author is one of the most fascinating figures of late Ottoman Jewish society who authored works in three languages, including a partially published novel in Turkish *Topkapı Hazine-i Hümayunu* [*The Imperial Treasure of Topkapı*], the first instalment of which was published by the Imprimerie française [French press] of L. Mourkidès in Istanbul and distributed free of charge.⁴⁷ Celal Nuri, on the other hand, was one of the most confusing, and probably also confused, minds of early twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish intellectual history. He was known by some as an advocate of radical westernization and by others as a promoter of Islamic unity. This is not surprising because he wrote works that condone both visions. *Cauchemar?* can be read as a political novel which condemns the inhumanity of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918). Not a great work of art, it was representative of several authors' attempts to settle scores with the authoritarian sultan.

Literary works represented only a small percentage of the works published in French in the Ottoman Empire,⁴⁸ and they had little in common but the language. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the motivations of authors and poets who chose to express themselves in a language that was neither their mother tongue nor the official language of the country from which they originated. The use of French was not always merely a private choice, an act of love or a ludic experiment. The use of French could also be an act of defiance not only towards conditions at home, such as the rise of nationalism and the lack of freedom, but also towards France. In the latter case, the appropriation of French, the subversion of the language and literary tradition, gained a particular significance in a context of rising

46 An English translation and adaptation was published in 1912: Jalâl Nûrî Bey, *The Sultan: A Romance of the Harem of Abdul Hamid*, tr. Archibald de Bear (London: Cassell & Company, 1912).

47 Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?' 64.

48 See Johan Strauss, 'Le livre français d'Istanbul (1730–1908)', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87–8 (1999), 277–301.

French encroachment in Ottoman Turkey and increasing financial and economic dependency. It is easy enough to brush aside such considerations in the case of a poet such as Marine Spadaro, the daughter of a well-to-do Levantine physician, who was not unknown in the gossip columns of some of the Istanbul French-language papers. Her poetry collections are of little interest, except perhaps for her use of a religious, Catholic vocabulary to explore the theme of doomed passion and lost love. In her poems the speaker chastely loves her beloved 'like a madonna' ('ainsi qu'une madone'),⁴⁹ and sometimes meditates with him on the passing of love and life in a graveyard setting, as befits her romantic imagination: 'Mettons-nous à genoux, ici, sur l'herbe fine / Et prions à mi-voix quand sonne l'Angélus' ['Let us kneel, here, on the thin grass / And pray, in whispers, when the Angelus bells ring'].⁵⁰ Far from trying to develop a poetic idiom challenging French literary traditions, Spadaro reproduces them in her work.

Quite naturally, the attitude of intellectuals from a Muslim background towards the French language was often fundamentally different from that of intellectuals with a Christian background, the more so if they were devout francophone Catholics. However, there are authors whose choice of French and occasional deviations from standard French deserve more attention. İzzet Melih [Devrim]'s play of 1912, *Leïla*, which explores an adulterous relationship and includes a reference to financial imperialism in Ottoman Turkey, and the poetic works in French of Abdullah Cevdet are two cases in point.

İzzet Melih could be seen as the archetypal francophile and francophone Ottoman Turkish intellectual. His childhood had been of a nomadic nature because his father's senior administrative duties as a civil servant led his family from Jerusalem, where İzzet Melih was born, to Konya, the capital of the whirling dervishes in Anatolia, and, from there, to Ioannina in today's Greece. In Istanbul, Melih İzzet, a good friend of Ahmed Haşim, graduated from Galatasaray High School in 1906, and worked for various national and foreign companies and banks, including the Société de la Régie Cointeressée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman, the Régie Company which had a monopoly on the sale of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire and had

49 Marine Spadaro Pacha, *Des tisons et des cendres: Poésies* (Paris: Les Gémeaux, 1923), 36.

50 *Idem, Essais timides* (Saumur: L. Picard, 1899), 15.

been established by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. Active in literary circles, he published in a wide variety of genres in Turkish. Besides the play *Leïla*, he produced a French translation of his Turkish novel *Sermed* (1919), with a foreword by Pierre Loti, and a study, in French, on Henry Bataille (1924). In 1938, he would be awarded an honorary doctorate by the Sorbonne for his services to the French language and in 1957 he was elected a permanent member of the French Union des écrivains [Writers' Union]. After all, he had translated into Turkish Alfred de Musset's plays *Fantasio* and *Lorenzaccio* and Henry Bataille's *Les Flambeaux* [*The Torches*] as well as the play *Antar* by the francophone Lebanese writer Chekri Ganem.⁵¹ İzzet Melih's Francophilia caused concern among nationalist German Turcophiles. In a scholarly article of 1918 on literary translations from European languages into Turkish, the nationalist German Turcologist Otto Hachtmann complained about the fact that Melih's works had been translated into German even though the author was 'known to him as half-French, not in matters of blood, but in matters of attitude.'⁵² Needless to say, this was not meant as a compliment. A closer reading of *Leïla*, however, shows that İzzet Melih, far from being a naïve apologist for French culture and France's presence in Ottoman Turkey, chose to engage in a critical dialogue with French, and through French, with western European culture.

*Leïla*⁵³ is a one-act-play revolving around a scene where the adulterous relationship between Nazmi, the son of a high-flying Ottoman civil servant, and Juliette, the wife of a French banker in Istanbul, is revealed. This scene is followed by others where Leïla, Nazmi's wife, confronts the lovers one at a time. A discussion on the status of women in Ottoman Turkey and France runs through all the scenes and links them up to the opening scene where Nazmi, Juliette and her husband comment on the condition of women in the Islamic East. Leïla, however, was significantly absent from this initial

51 Murat Yalçın, ed., *Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi I* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2010), 334–5.

52 O. Hachtmann, 'Türkische Übersetzungen aus europäischen Literaturen: Ein Bibliographischer Versuch', *Die Welt des Islams* 6 (1918), 27.

53 İzzet-Mélyh, *Leïla* (Paris: Librairie théâtrale, 1912). An English translation of the play by Helen Tilden with the title 'The Disenchanted' was published in Shay, *Twenty-Five Short Plays*, 333–45.

debate. Notably, the play did not cover any topics that had not already been explored by Ottoman Turkish novelists and playwrights. Themes such as adultery and forbidden love, the status of women in Islam and the west had been at the very heart of post-Tanzimat literature in Turkish and the play was not breaking any societal taboos. The choice of French was thus not an attempt to express what was unspeakable in Turkish.

One could, however, argue that İzzet Melih had a couple of messages to communicate to a French-speaking audience, which was not necessarily Levantine, but rather Parisian. A reference at the beginning of the play to the fact that Juliette's husband wished to obtain a concession from the Ottoman government reminds the reader and theatre-goers of a context in which economic pressures were being exerted on the Ottoman state by western powers and financiers. The reference to Turkish women as 'désenchantées' ['disenchanted'] in the discussion on the condition of Muslim women was an obvious reference to Pierre Loti's novel of the same name. The very fact that both adulterous husband and the wife to whom he was unfaithful rejected such a characterization showed that the play was part of a more general debate on Orientalist characterizations of Ottoman Muslims in Turkish literature. Arguably, by a game of subtle references the play suggests the existence of links between western financial hegemony, the representation of Muslim women in western literature and western perceptions of the Islamic world and demands for women's rights. İzzet Melih was certainly not the first to make a connection between imperialism and humanitarian demands. This too was far from being uncharted territory in Ottoman Turkish and literary life. But by publishing the play in Paris, and in French, İzzet Melih was taking the debate into France and challenging the French public on home ground. It was meaningful that the denunciation of western superiority was nowhere expressed more strongly than in Leila's response to her husband's mistress: 'Votre liberté, votre civilisation et votre luxe ne sont, au fond, qu'intrigues, hypocrisie et décadence.' ['Your freedom, your civilization and your luxury are basically nothing but intrigues, hypocrisy and decadence.']⁵⁴ With this

play, İzzet Melih acted as a 'peripheral' intellectual writing back to the centre, his voice thus expressing the grievances of a nation on a highly politicized topic.

A similar ambivalence towards France and the west can be felt in Abdullah Cevdet's French-language work.⁵⁵ Cevdet, a physician by profession, is one of the most fascinating intellectuals of his generation. Categorized by scholars under the not very helpful headings 'Westernizer' and 'materialist', he was a non-conformist philosopher, a voracious writer and one of the leading thinkers of the Young Turks whose quest for new, secular ethics led him to explore various strains of progressive thought, including pacifism, Kurdish political and cultural rights and, more problematically, social Darwinism and biological materialism. His opponents were numerous and labelled him 'the eternal enemy of Islam', because of his criticism of Islamic conservatism and his sympathy for the Baha'i faith.⁵⁶ However, he was much more than that. He was a poet and translator who authored no fewer than five poetry collections in French: *Fièvre d'âme* [*Fever of the Soul*] (1901), *La lyre turque* [*The Turkish Lyre*] (1902), *Les quatrains maudits et les rêves orphelins* [*The Cursed Quatrains and Orphaned Dreams*] (1903), *Rafale de Parfum* [*Gust of Perfume*] (1905) and *Viola Semper Florens* [*The Ever Blooming Viola*] (1908). The Symbolist imagery of these collections attracted some attention in the literary salons of Paris and beyond. It is striking that all the collections were published during Cevdet's years of exile in Europe and North Africa. From a literary point of view, the poet and critic Gustave Kahn had a point when he maintained in a preface to *La lyre turque* that Cevdet sometimes neglected the essential – 'the word' – for 'cadence' and 'rhyme', which were only of secondary importance according to the

55 On Abdullah Cevdet's literary activities in French, see Ekrem Aksoy, 'Abdullah Cevdet ou la tragédie des francophones turcs occidentalistes', in Mennan, ed., *Francophonie en Turquie*, 215–22. On his intellectual and philosophical formation, see Şükrü Hanioglu, 'Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science Religion and Art', in Elisabeth Özdalga, *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 27–116.

56 Necati Alkan, "'The Eternal Enemy of Islam": Abdullah Cevdet and the Baha'i Religion', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68/1 (2005), 1–20.

inventor of *vers libre* [free verse].⁵⁷ Though perhaps slightly unexpected in the foreword of a poetry collection, Kahn's criticism was accurate and, on the whole, his preface was an enthusiastic introduction to the Kurdish poet. Indeed Kahn saw in Cevdet a kindred spirit. In 1902, in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair, when he wrote this foreword, the French Symbolist poet was more than ever conscious of his own Jewishness, and occasionally wrote in his capacity 'as an *Israelite*', a dimension of his work that has too often been ignored by scholars.⁵⁸ Though still a socialist and believer in French republican citizenship, he placed much emphasis on his oriental kinship with the Ottoman Kurdish poet. In Cevdet's verse, he discovered 'a fierce Orient, impassioned yet in despair, whence I too came, but having followed a path longer than yours.'⁵⁹ Another reference, to Heinrich Heine, reprises the theme of oriental alterity,⁶⁰ and here Kahn suggests that Cevdet, the 'Oriental', as well as Kahn and Heine, as Jews, had all, as 'others', had particular contributions to make to French literary culture.

And Cevdet agreed. Though he remained a slave to form, he occasionally imported images and references from Ottoman Turkish literature into his poetry, evoking roses and nightingales – the classical tradition – and also making historical allusions. This synthesis embraced both the French and the Ottoman Islamic literary traditions, while also representing a challenge to both, sometimes even verging on blasphemy, as in the poem 'Douleur divine' ['Divine Pain']: 'Je hais tes lois, prétendues suprêmes, / Qui se rient de nos gémissements; / Allah! Tu me blessas rudement; / Je saigne et mes blessures blasphément?' ['I hate your laws, supposedly supreme, / Which laugh at our wailing; / Allah! You have wounded me ruthlessly; / I bleed and my wounds are blasphemous.']⁶¹ While the expression of rebellion against the laws of God was not unknown in mystical poetry, in 1902

57 Gustave Kahn, 'Préface', in Abdullah Djevdet, *La lyre turque: Feux de paradis et roses d'enfer* (Vienna: Guillaume Frick, and Paris: A. and Ch. Thomas, 1902), x.

58 Marie Brunette Spire, 'Gustave Kahn et la revue *Menorah*', in Sophie Basch, ed., *Gustave Kahn 1859–1936* (Paris: Editions classiques Garnier, 2009), 483–505.

59 Kahn, 'Préface', vii.

60 *Ibid.*, x.

61 Djevdet, *La lyre turque*, 46.

such verses by a secular poet in an Islamic language would have been deemed too radical. Thus French allowed the poet to express his rejection of religious orthodoxy. Sometimes, however, Cevdet challenged the French language and deliberately estranged his readers by the use of ambiguous and therefore untranslatable neologisms such as 's'irrorer', 's'engrandeuillir', a practice also noted by Ekrem Aksoy in his study of the poet's work.⁶² Just like Kahn, Cevdet was an internationalist and a believer in the unity of mankind. His poetry in French was a challenge to his homeland, at a time when Turkish nationalism was rising, and also an attempt to produce a distinctly Ottoman voice in literature in French, to recreate in his verses what he found in the writings of Lev Tolstoy, namely 'le langage des peuples affligés' ['the language of the afflicted peoples'].⁶³

Whether Cevdet believed that French could be such a language is open to discussion. He was probably too much aware that French could be the language of the oppressor as well as the language of liberation. One thing is sure, however. In the first years of the twentieth century, and for a short period, French had become one of the languages of literary production in Ottoman Turkey, an issue that deserves an in-depth study. No less than the critical engagement of Ottoman Turkish intellectuals with French literature, Ottoman French literature represents an important dimension of literary and cultural history. French literature not only profoundly transformed those who engaged with it in Ottoman Turkey. In the last analysis, the appropriation of the French language and of French literature also left a mark on French-language literature itself.

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In less than a century, French, which had initially been the language of trade and later of diplomacy, had become as fundamental a language of access to culture and science as Persian and Arabic had been in previous centuries, though the definition of culture and science had much changed. Yet, while progressive elements within the ruling class and the intelligentsia, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, embraced French, their engagement was critical.

62 Aksoy, 'Abdullah Cevdet ou la tragédie des francophones turcs occidentalistes', 220.

63 Djevdet, *La lyre turque*, 113.

French culture was seen as both a vector of progress and also a possible cultural threat, in an age when French encroachment in the Ottoman realms was a tangible danger. The fact that a similar ambivalence towards French culture and literature was also witnessed among non-Muslim communities invites us to revise the nationalistic discourses that have permeated modern national historiographies. This is one of history's many ironies. While the very concept of 'nation' was introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the study of the cultural effects of French influence in Ottoman Turkey can contribute to the deconstruction of the myths of national histories in the region.

15 Conclusion

Geographical, historical, religious, social, political and cultural circumstances make each of the linguistic cases examined in this volume unique. Individual contributors have taken pains to establish such distinctive context, and we should not lose sight of it. Nonetheless, our collection of accounts of francophonie, over a long period and in as many as twelve different countries or regions in Europe or on the periphery of the continent, enables us, we feel, to make some cautious generalizations about the history of this phenomenon in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What general points about the domains in which French was used and about its functions and effects, then, emerge from the totality of our surveys?

Domains and functions

First, the court was generally an important agency in the spread of French in early modern Europe. This was the case from medieval England and sixteenth-century Piedmont to seventeenth-century Poland and Sweden and eighteenth-century Parma, Prussia, Russia and Wallachia. Usually, French was adopted by courts because of its association with the splendour of Versailles and the cultural life that had begun to flower in France in the age of Louis XIV. A further attraction of the language, in the eighteenth century, was its association with the Enlightenment, with which several European monarchs (Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine II of Russia, Gustav III of Sweden) wished to be identified. (It is somewhat ironic that the writings

of such major representatives of the French Enlightenment as Montesquieu, Voltaire and Diderot would serve in the long run to undermine the authority of polities once ruled by monarchs who had applauded or even courted those writers and for whom mastery of French was *de rigueur*.) Often the position of French at court – in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Piedmont and Poland, for example – was strengthened by royal marriages which at bottom reflected the rising political power of France in Europe and the consequent need to establish alliances with it. The popularity of French at courts may also have been encouraged by the political fragmentariness of the German and Italian lands and the marked differences between regional varieties of German and Italian: where no single standardized form held sway, there could be a linguistic vacuum to fill at the seat of power.

Next, francophonie came to be associated with the nobility, as well as the court, and particularly with that part of the nobility that was closest to the court, the aristocracy. Nobilities, it should be remembered, were far from uniform entities. Linguistic usage among the estate, like wealth, habits and fashion, could vary greatly – as it did in Russia, for instance – from a metropolitan elite which made up the *haut monde* and occupied high office, at one end of the spectrum, to the petty gentry who were mainly confined to provincial towns and rural estates, at the other. Besides, the higher echelons of the noble estate had resources which afforded them opportunities not available to members of the lower nobility. They possessed, in Pierre Bourdieu's terms, the economic capital needed to acquire the forms of cultural capital prized in their societies, including mastery of the French language.¹ They were able, for example, to invest in their children's education. (The teaching and learning of French have been prominent subjects in this volume, from the chapter on medieval England on; many contributors have examined, for instance, the numbers of people studying the language, what level of proficiency they attained through which teaching methods,

1 For Bourdieu's views, see e.g. 'The Forms of Capital', in J. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

and which other subjects were taught through the medium of it.) Nobles gained access to French for themselves and their children in many ways, by employing francophone private tutors, studying or travelling abroad, reading literary works in French, attending theatre performances by French troupes and even taking part in theatrical productions.

French was used by nobilities both for speaking and writing and it functioned for them both as a public language in the social sphere and a private language within the family. It could be the medium for polite conversation of a rather formal kind in the salon (a somewhat ritualized setting, despite the fact that its participants appeared to set great store by spontaneity). Equally, it might be the language of more informal domestic entertainment, in family games and charades. It could be used in the multi-purpose personal or family album, in intimate correspondence and in certain types of amateur, more or less private writing that were fashionable among nobilities, particularly various forms of ego-writing, such as the personal diary and the travel account.² As the chapters in this volume on Bohemia, the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia have shown, such texts ranged from documents intended for a sole recipient or the family circle, or even for nobody except the author herself or himself, to works designed to be widely shared in the writer's social milieu. Extant samples of ego-writing provide invaluable material for historical sociolinguistic studies, as is shown by the significant amount of scholarly literature in this area.³ Contributors' chapters in this volume exemplify all these sorts of private or social written use of French by European nobilities.

The acquisition of French by a country's social elite often resulted in the production of an indigenous public literature written in French, as well as the unpublished, relatively private literary products of noblemen and noblewomen of which we have just been speaking. As the volume reveals,

2 Elena Gretchanaia and Catherine Viollet, eds, *'Si tu lis jamais ce journal...'* *Diaristes russes francophones, 1780–1854* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2008).

3 See the overview by Stephan Elspass, 'The Use of Private Letters and Diaries in Sociolinguistic Investigation', in Juan Manuel Hernandez-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, eds, *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (London: Blackwell, 2012), 156–69.

significant bodies of public writing exist within the corpora of European national literatures (we use 'literature' in the broad sense of the term, that is to say embracing non-fictional as well as fictional writing, and scholarship and journalism as well as art). Examples of francophone writers within the period and countries or regions examined here are to be found in the literatures of medieval England (Matthew Paris, Wace and others), Bohemia (Count Maximilian Lamberg, Count Franz von Hartig, Lolo Clary-Aldringen), Italy (Vittorio Alfieri, Carlo Goldoni), the Netherlands (Isabelle de Charrière), the Romanian Lands (Dora d'Istria), Russia (Fiodor Rostopchin, Piotr Chaadaev and, in so far as *War and Peace* is a bilingual novel, Lev Tolstoi), Sweden (August Strindberg) and Turkey (İzzet Melih, Abdullah Cevdet). Spain seems to have been exceptional in its dearth of native writing in French. Non-French writers may have been more liable to write in French for certain purposes and in some genres rather than others. For instance, in Bohemia, as Ivo Cerman has shown, some authors who were capable of writing in languages other than French used French for more reflective and entertaining literary forms but German for darker artistic writings or more practical works on such matters as agriculture and ecology. Women may have resorted to French as a literary medium more readily than men (as was the case with Russian writers of fiction in the early nineteenth century), perhaps in part because writing in French was a socially accepted practice for women in the exemplary nation, France itself.

It should not be assumed, of course, that French was the only foreign language familiar to noble speakers in any European speech community. In medieval England, where the elite was bilingual in English and French after the Norman invasion, Latin was a language of literary scholarship and the written and spoken language of the Church. German was widely used by elites in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe (in Russia and Sweden, for example, as well as in the world where German was a mother tongue, which is represented in this volume by Bohemia and Prussia). However, from the seventeenth century, French carried greater prestige in Europe as a whole than any other modern language, including Italian, which had been pre-eminent in the Renaissance, as Nadia Minerva's chapter on Italy has made clear. It was in the interest of a nobility, of course, to know the language

preferred at court, but other factors similar to those which account for the predilection of courts for French may be adduced to explain the linguistic preference of nobilities as well. French was the language of refined society that cultivated *l'art de vivre* [the art of living], the elegant and comfortable way of life in which nobilities wished to partake. It was also a vehicle for an admired model of education which aimed to cultivate men and women distinguished by civility and *politesse* [politeness]. In societies where a middle class already occupied a powerful position before the nineteenth century (for instance, in the Netherlands, Prussia and Sweden, but not in the Romanian Lands, Russia or Spain), non-nobles too might acquire French as a mark of social status, although it should be added that they might also have had more obviously practical reasons for learning it. Such reasons included the desire to qualify themselves for a post as a tutor or governess in a noble family or for a career in the military (in Sweden, for example) or the usefulness of knowledge of French for commercial purposes (as in the Netherlands).

Thus the spread of French was usually, though not exclusively, associated in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe with the dissemination of an elite culture, in the broad sense of the term 'culture'. This linkage is elegantly evoked by Marc Fumaroli in his celebrated paean to the French language and the aristocratic culture of France under the *ancien régime*, to which reference has already been made in several chapters in this volume:

Until 1789 the quite relative universality of the French language, already contested in England, Italy, Germany, and Spain, benefited from the same powerful vectors that assured the pre-eminence of the French monarchy in Europe: the authority and intelligence of an excellent diplomatic network, the quality of the translations of every important European book published in French in Paris, Amsterdam, and London, the prestige of the etiquette of the premier court in the known world, the authority of the royal academies and of the Salon of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture; but also, in Paris, the attraction of the great sales of artworks and the quality of their experts, the magnetism exerted throughout the world by an urban aristocracy that had raised the pleasures of private life to the rank of a fine art of living, served by artists from the first master of the hunt to the last kennel keeper, from the chef to the gardener, from the dressmaker to the jeweller, from the wigmaker to the perfumer, from the painter to the architect, from the poet of light verse to the philosopher – director of conscience and leader of thought – from the ballerina to the great actor,

from the playwright to the novelist, from the tutor to the lady's companion, not to mention the gaiety of fairs, festivals, and the daily life of the streets of Paris, the charm and good manners of its actresses and grisettes.⁴

This elite culture, moreover, was associated with urbanity, in the literal sense of 'urban life' as well as the sense of refined courtesy or politeness.⁵ It was Paris, the city *par excellence* in the post-Renaissance, pre-industrial age in which francophonie flourished, that provided the linguistic and cultural models European elites aspired to emulate. Other national hubs of francophone society and culture to which authors in this volume have referred (Berlin, Bucharest, St Petersburg, Stockholm, Turin) were also metropolitan and their inhabitants, if they adopted the Parisian model, were likely to view their rustic provincial compatriots, and their language usage, with a feeling of superiority.

As an elite habit (albeit one which trickled down to the lower social strata), historical francophonie may be contrasted with the increasing use of English in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, beyond the period in which English spread as a colonial language to the Indian sub-continent, Africa and elsewhere. After all, contemporary English, as an international language which is used in the domains of science, medicine, technology, the arts and humanities, business, finance, sport, cinema, popular music and fashion, and latterly as the predominant language of the internet, cannot be so easily associated with a single social class or level of culture. This contrast between the ascendancy of French as an international language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the contemporary spread of English in the globalized world is one on which Fumaroli also seizes. Making clear his disdain for demotic modernity, he explicitly describes its main linguistic medium, the universal language that has supplanted French, as a mere technical vernacular devoid of style.⁶

4 We have used here the published English translation of Marc Fumaroli's book, *When the World Spoke French*, tr. Richard Howard (New York: New York Review Books, 2011), xxvi.

5 We are indebted to Anthony Lodge for this point.

6 Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2001), 18.

A further generalization that we may make about francophonie (to continue our summary of its domains and functions) is that, besides serving as a court language and a prestige language for nobilities, French had a multitude of uses in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a *lingua franca*. That is to say, it was a means of communication for people who had different mother tongues. Already in medieval England it had been used as a universal language by a court with international connections. Later, in the period with which we have been mainly concerned, it was a shared language of nobilities, who not only were conscious of their social distinction but also had a sense of international solidarity. Moreover, by the eighteenth century French had become the main European diplomatic language. (It should not be forgotten that diplomacy was principally conducted by men of noble origin.) In the realms of science and scholarship, French was supplanting Latin, although Latin did persist, and German was used too, in such bodies as the Russian Academy of Sciences. Again, French was an intermediary language for much translation; it was the language from which Alexander Pope's 'Essay on Man', for instance, was translated into both Romanian and Russian, because English was virtually unknown in the south and east of Europe in the eighteenth century. Equally important, it was the medium through which rising powers could promote themselves in the international community they aspired to join, an instrument of cultural propaganda with which to inform foreigners about a country's history and achievements. It could be a vehicle for rebuttals of foreign criticisms or appeals for international support for a national cause (such as Romanian independence from Ottoman Turkish rule) or for the airing of domestic grievances to a wider European audience (Russian intellectuals used it in this way in the nineteenth century, to express their complaints about tsarist autocracy). Nor, finally, should we overlook the existence, in many European countries, including eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, of a francophone press, though its importance, quality and function varied greatly from one place to another. This press provided an important channel of information for francophone elites, satisfying their demand for international news and sometimes serving as a propaganda tool with which to influence them.

Besides being a means of joining the wider European community and absorbing its culture, including the classical culture that Europe had rediscovered during the Renaissance, francophonie could also function as an instrument of political and cultural modernization and radicalization. This was particularly the case in the nineteenth century, towards the end of the period with which we have been concerned in this volume, for emergent nations on Europe's eastern periphery, represented here by Romania, Russia and Turkey, but also to some extent Spain at the continent's south-western tip. For members of intellectual or artistic elites from these countries, Paris could be a centre of study or exile and a place where they became familiar with ideas that were in some respect subversive in their native land. For these men and women, the French language had quite different associations from those it had had for representatives of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century aristocracies. No longer was it the language of the salon, social privilege and refined culture. It was instead the language of political revolutions (the July Revolution of 1830 and the June Days of 1848, as well as the French Revolution of 1789), radical ideas (including utopian socialism), socially engaged fiction and (in Spain, for example) the avant-garde. That is not to say that representatives of intellectual and artistic milieux regarded command of French as a desirable social goal, as their noble compatriots had done and in some cases still did. Rather, knowledge of French was crucial to their political or cultural engagements. The enthusiastic reception of George Sand in Romania, and also in Spain, is instructive in this connection.

Effects and reactions

Turning to the effects of francophonie in the European world beyond the countries and regions in which French was a mother tongue, we suggest first of all that the visibility of francophonie in a country tended to stimulate literary production in the vernacular. It is no accident, as chapters in this volume have made clear, that several European literatures (the Dutch, the

Russian and the Swedish are examples to which contributors have explicitly referred) began to flower and entered their 'golden age' or 'classical' period at the moment when francophonie was in its heyday in the countries in question. There is no doubt more than one reason for this striking coincidence. For one thing, the French high culture of the age of Louis XIV and the Enlightenment, with which elites became closely acquainted as they acquired knowledge of the French language, offered a panoply of genres – tragic and comic drama, tales, satires, fables, orations, essays, 'letters' or discourses reflecting on historical, philosophical, moral, social and political questions – for the expression of ideas and feelings. This rich literary corpus provided models for aspiring authors to emulate. Contributors to this volume have mentioned many writers who followed such models, including Carlo Goldoni in Italy, Leandro Fernández de Moratín in Spain, Johan Henric Kellgren in Sweden and Antiokh Kantemir and Aleksandr Sumarokov in Russia. At the same time, peoples' increasing consciousness of themselves as distinctive communities and their growing sense of pride during the age of nationalism encouraged resistance to foreign cultural influence, which threatened to stifle or to subjugate indigenous traditions and culture. Such resistance could take the form of literary production in the native language, which was coming to be seen as a supreme articulation of a people's character and experience.

French literature provided linguistic material, as well as generic models, for writers in emergent nations to exploit as they sought to develop indigenous literatures. It has been suggested here by Ileana Mihaila, for example, that Romanian translators were motivated as much by an intention to enrich the Romanian language as by a desire to acquaint Romanian readers with the content of French literature, which they were in any case perfectly capable of reading in the original. (We stress, incidentally, the importance of translation as a channel through which French influenced the development of European vernaculars.) Besides having lexical, syntactic or stylistic influence on vernaculars, knowledge of French on foreign soil also gave rise in many speech communities to commentary on the qualities of the vernacular and stimulated attempts to develop, standardize, protect and enhance it. Even French attitudes to language and French institutions with an interest in language could be exemplary. Not only was there a well-known

tradition of thought about the supposedly intrinsic qualities of French, a discourse about its naturalness, clarity and universality to which reference has often been made in this book; there were also institutions, notably the Académie française, that were designed to codify the language and keep it pure. Institutions charged with a similar mission, among other missions, proliferated in eighteenth-century Europe, which saw the foundation, for example, of the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences, the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, the Swedish Academy and the Russian Academy.

The urge to emulate French literary and linguistic achievement in a native literary tradition was particularly apparent in lexical borrowing, which is perhaps the most striking outward sign of foreign influence on a language. It has not been the purpose of the chapters in this volume to make a systematic study of this phenomenon, but the lexical impact of French on vernaculars has nonetheless shone through at certain points. As several contributors have shown, modern languages of various Indo-European groups (Italian, Romanian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish, for example) bear a strong trace of the historical encounters of elite speakers of those languages with French. In some cases, of course, borrowings from French are dated, either because they denote objects or social practices that are now obsolete or because in the end they did not firmly establish themselves in the language in question. In other cases, borrowings have assumed meanings or connotations different from those they had at the time when they entered a language, especially as they have seeped into social strata below those which were historically francophone, as in Piedmont, or into non-standard varieties of the vernacular, as in Prussia. French has provided calques as well as loanwords, a large stock of phrases to express the new forms of sociability, civility, sensibility, aesthetic, cultural and political norms associated with the high French culture that was being imported. It was also a common source of scientific and linguistic terminology, which in many other European languages was not yet well developed in the eighteenth century. French even yielded forenames, surnames and place names (as in Piedmont) and intimate forms of forenames (for instance, Michel, Serge, Annette and Hélène for Mikhail, Sergei, Anna and Elena among Russian nobles). That is not to say that French loanwords entered other languages only through the agency of noble speakers. Translation, which

was probably the most important means of penetration of loanwords in vernaculars, was a profession or vocation rather than an amateur pursuit, and it was therefore often the work of people of non-noble origin.

It may seem from our twenty-first-century vantage-point that the adoption of French and the culture with which French was linked in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had many positive effects in various European countries. These effects included the cultivation of polite sociability, the refinement of manners, the advance of women to a more prominent role in social life, the dissemination of a rich literature, the extension of the syntactic and lexical resources of other languages and the growth of linguistic consciousness. Nonetheless, the use of French gave rise, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to much metadiscursive debate about the relative merits of this language and others and about the effects of the use of French on other languages. In Italy, for example, such debate was to be found in grammar books, where the extreme clarity and precision of French was asserted or disputed. The question of which language, French or Italian, had closer kinship with Latin (and was therefore superior) was also a key element of Italian linguistic metadiscourse. In the Netherlands, it was claimed in a newspaper article of 1805, Dutch was on its way out and very soon the only language spoken by respectable people would be French. More often than not, the metadiscourse contained arguments about the negative effect of French on a particular language, for languages may be perceived as 'harming' each other, threatening each other's purity and integrity by interference.

Linguistic Gallophobia, as we shall call hostility to the use of the French language, was expressed in several ways.⁷ In particular, it became

7 On the subject of Gallophobia in general (that is to say, a broader phenomenon than the variety of Gallophobia that we are calling 'linguistic'), see the recent studies by Jens Häselser and Martin Meier, eds, *Gallophobie im 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der Fachtagung vom 2./3. Mai 2002 am Forschungszentrum Europäische Aufklärung* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2005); Raymond Heitz, York-Gothart Mix and Jean Mondot, eds, *Gallophilie und Gallophobie in der Literatur und den Medien in Deutschland und in Italien im 18. Jahrhundert / Gallophilie et gallophobie dans la littérature et les médias en Allemagne et en Italie au XVIIIe siècle* (Heidelberg:

in many places a stock subject in comic drama (itself a cultural importation from France). It was exploited, for example, by Sumarokov, Denis Fonvizin and many other dramatists in eighteenth-century Russia, Johan Stagnell in eighteenth-century Sweden and Vasile Alecsandri and Ion Luca Caragiale in the nineteenth-century Romanian Lands, as it had been in the Restoration comedy of late seventeenth-century England. Often – for instance, in Prussia, Russia and Sweden – writers bemoaned the pollution of the native language by seemingly grotesque or incomprehensible Gallicisms, mocked code-switching and ridiculed the provincial noble or social climber who had a poor command of French. Complaints about francophonie could be accompanied by disapproval – expressed by authors from Bohemia and Italy to Russia – of the assumed influx of teachers from various social backgrounds and parts of France who needed, it seemed, only to be French in order to obtain a post. Often too, linguistic Gallophobia was a strand, albeit an important one, in a more general critique of the French people in which an essentialist view of language was combined with a stereotype of French personality. Francophonie, it was feared, might expose nations to the alleged vices of the French, including superficiality, frivolity, dissimulation and loose morals. It was sometimes thus perceived – as shown, for example, in the chapters in this volume on the Netherlands, Poland, Russia and Sweden – as a threat to the rugged native virtues admired by such groups of cultural nationalists as advocates of Gothicism in Sweden and Sarmatism in Poland.

The very widespread nature of criticisms of francophonie and the culture and personality that supposedly found expression in the French language in different countries and at different times should perhaps make us beware of taking them entirely at face value, as if they were precise records of social and linguistic practice. We cannot exclude the possibility that linguistic Gallophobia was primarily a literary topos. However, if we bear in mind the fact that French – unlike languages that were used for more

Universitätsverlag Winter 2011); Laura Fournier-Finocchiaro and Tanja-Isabel Habicht, eds, *Gallomanie et gallophobie. Le mythe français en Europe au XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012).

practical purposes, such as commerce, and across a wider social range – was a means of social differentiation, then it may be plausible in many cases to view the metadiscourse about French as an expression of resentment of a noble habit on the part of people who felt somewhat excluded or detached from the elite. Such feelings might be due to the fact that critics of francophonie did not belong to the high echelons of the nobility or – as in the case of the literary community in nineteenth-century Russia – the fact that they were becoming alienated from its values.

Finally, it will help us to put changes in language attitudes and continuing resentments about francophonie in particular in a broader historical perspective if we bear in mind the development of cultural nationalism in early nineteenth-century Europe. As the author of the second chapter in our volume, Peter Burke, showed in his ground-breaking book first published almost four decades ago, European peoples – especially peoples on the cultural periphery of Europe – began in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to seek, or sometimes to invent, manifestations of their distinctive traditional culture in such forms of expression as folk poetry, music, custom and costume.⁸ The emergence of movements or groups mentioned in our own volume, such as the National Revival in the Czech Lands, Gothicism in Sweden and the Transylvanian School in the Romanian Lands, were signs of this national awakening. The growing self-consciousness among European peoples, which was nourished by German writers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder, represented a reaction to the francophone universalism of the Enlightenment. It was associated with the Romantic movement, which privileged feeling over reason and drew inspiration from the medieval world rather than from Greek and Roman antiquity, in which Classicism had sought its models. It found expression – especially in more backward nations – in a form of nationalism that was articulated not so much by political figures as by cultural leaders. Before this age of nationalism and Romanticism, aristocrats may have felt little incongruity in speaking French and at the same time serving a sovereign

8 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), especially chapter 1.

whose subjects for the most part spoke another language. They took patriotic pride in a 'fatherland', a *patrie*, but they also considered themselves, as we have said, part of an international elite. However, once language came to be more firmly linked with ethnicity and the culture of a nation that was not coterminous with Europe's multilingual empires or with the smaller states into which the German and the Italian Lands were parcelled, then use of a foreign tongue could smack of disloyalty and detachment from native soil, as the Russian case in particular shows.

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The ideas of linguistic patriots inspired by the cultural nationalism to which we have referred may have had a lasting impact on European notions about language. They may even have renewed appeal in an age that is wary of globalization and is inclined to separatism and localism. In such times, the language that is felt to represent the nation gains prestige and comes to be favoured over other languages, as perhaps all the chapters on individual speech communities in this volume have shown to some degree. And yet, we should not allow linguistic nationalism to obscure the fact that functional bilingualism and plurilingualism are commonplace human conditions or that they have numerous consequences we would regard as beneficial (some of which we have listed above). In particular, bilingualism and plurilingualism make possible the cultural intercourse between nations that is illustrated throughout this volume. We hope, incidentally, that our contribution to the history of European francophonie will have underlined both the cultural interdependence of the European nations and the usefulness of looking beyond the single nation as a framework for scholarship in historical sociolinguistics and in the humanities more broadly.

As for prestige, it is not something, we argue, that is fixed, stable and permanently or universally attached to a language. The various languages used in a multilingual environment have different levels of prestige in different settings and at different times, and whether their coexistence is perceived as problematic depends on the value and role that the language community ascribes to language in general and to the languages spoken in the community in question. French did not have prestige everywhere in early modern Europe, but acquired it gradually from the sixteenth century

on. Once it did have high status, its value was usually contested in some quarters (especially in literary and intellectual circles), while in other quarters (among people who used it for commerce, for example) its value remained practical rather than symbolic and social. Moreover, value could be lost or restricted as speech communities underwent social change, with the result that groups who were not francophone became more influential in them. Or again, the associations that French carried for a community might change or be perceived differently in different milieux, as when, for instance, French ceased to be valued as a vehicle for aristocratic culture and became instead the language of republicanism or a politically engaged literature or political exile. As for the reasons why exactly a language comes to be considered prestigious, we do not accept that they have to do with any permanent intrinsic qualities of the language or special characteristics of the people who have used it in the country from which it originates. (That is not to deny, of course, that the spread of a language is encouraged by a metadiscourse about its supposed qualities and also by the resources it has developed for denoting objects that have come to be widely used and for expressing new concepts.) Rather, the prestige that French enjoyed in Europe from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was due to complex sets of extra-linguistic factors, which it has been the purpose of this volume to elucidate.

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