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AN HEIR TO JOSEPH ADDISON : THÉODULE PAILLARD-FERNEL

In memory of Prof. dr. David Morgan (+ 2013)

Pygmaeo sanguine gaudet avis.
(Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, v. 176)

In the first half of the 19th century, a long-established tradition, evidence of the unrivalled prestige of Latin, was still alive in some renowned French secondary schools : they would invite the pupil's parents as well as the local élite, members of the clergy and the public administration, to attend literary happenings organized at least once a year, where the best senior pupils would recite selected Latin poems or orations of their own invention. Quite often, these texts were gathered in booklets, no doubt with the intention to add to the esteem of the school that had produced these. These little brochures survive, enabling us to appreciate the level of active knowledge and creativity achieved in Latin by the most talented students of the 19th century as well as to get an idea of the topics they liked to expand on or considered suitable for an audience of schooled adults ; but as yet they have hardly been studied¹. In this article, I would like to present an example of such pieces of Latin verse, read aloud during a traditional academic session that took place in Paris on Monday 26 April 1824 ; exactly like many other samples we still can read, it is an amusing and witty poem reflecting the mentality of a youngster, but also showing off his familiarity with a lofty Latin style and his understanding of particular literary traditions.

In the « rue de Reims » at Paris, in the famous Collège (in this period also called « Institution ») de Sainte-Barbe², there were at least two such literary sessions a year during the first decades of the 19th century. At the feast of the school's patron, Sainte-Barbe, in the first days of December, an *exercice littéraire* took place during which Latin poems were recited³. For the senior pupils, another such *exercice littéraire annuel* was organized on the occasion of the Easter exams ; at the end of the year, a similar session must have taken place frequently. The

¹ The tradition survived at least until the 1880s, though by then, Latin poems had for the most part been eclipsed by French verse. See, for example, Lycée impérial Louis-le-Grand, *Vers lus au banquet de la Saint-Charlemagne*, Paris, 1870, or Lycée Fontanes, *Vers lus au banquet de la Saint-Charlemagne*, Paris, 1881 ; with R. Jalabert, D. Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire des poètes et versificateurs latins en France au XIXe siècle », *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 59, 2010, p. 223-304, p. 235-236 and p. 238.

² For the eventful history of this Institution in the last years of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, see J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe, Collège, Communauté, Institution*, Paris, 1864, t. III. The new Sainte-Barbe in the rue de Reims started under Pierre-Antoine-Victor de Lanneau (1758-1830) in 1798 ; from September 1823 on, it was led by Adolphe de Lanneau, who retired in 1838. It suffered from the fierce competition of other institutions claiming to be the true heirs to the ancient Sainte-Barbe. Fundamentally, the Institution at the time was a private boarding school, the pupils of which had only limited courses given within Sainte-Barbe and followed most lessons in other colleges. The courses given within the boarding school varied almost from year to year, since the legislation changed continually in the late-18th and the early-19th c. For the literary events organized by the *Institution* in the 1820s, see Quicherat, *Histoire*, p. 202-204.

³ Apart from these, French poems and Latin or French orations were also delivered and sometimes found their way into the booklets. Occasionally, works that had not been read during the session were published as well (see note 125).

number of poems read aloud during these sessions varied constantly : they oscillate between two and nine with an average of four or five performances for each session. Contrary to the so-called *Concours généraux*, the better known general competition for Latin verse, meant for the pupils of the highest class and organized on a regional base by the university, which were individual contests, pupils were allowed to collaborate for these *exercices* and *séances* : often verses were declaimed that had been composed by two or three, sometimes even more, youngsters. Also in opposition to the *Concours généraux de l'Université*, the subject matters were not imposed, but chosen freely. Therefore we find a large variety of themes developed in hexameters or other Latin metres. They often concerned college life, ancient or contemporary history, and recent inventions ; an important portion was occasional poetry, while translations and imitations of vernacular poetry or prose were also recited. Humorous poetry was better represented in these festive school sessions than in the *Concours généraux*. Thus (to give only a few examples from the same Paris college) three pupils wrote a delightful mock-epic on the death – actually on the execution – of a cat in their college (1826) – « *heros infelix, morti devotus acerbae* » (l. 93)⁴ ; another pupil composed a piece on the very recent death of king Louis XVIII (September 1824) and the accession of the latter's brother Charles X⁵ ; another youth wrote on the death of Agrippina (1824)⁶ ; a pupil coming from Jamaica rendered part of an ode by Alphonse de Lamartine in Latin verse⁷ ; as a student at Sainte-Barbe, Désiré Nisard (1806-1888), who would become an important literary critic, classical scholar and politician, produced some excellent pieces of Latin verse, among which an interesting, solid and ingenious poem *Sur le gaz hydrogène*⁸. In it, he contrasts the modern gas lighting in the French capital with the outmoded oil lamps, and succeeds in introducing witty allusions to the ancient poets in his poem on progress. Among other things, he states he cannot invoke the goddess Minerva at the start of his poem, since she is the discoverer of oil and therefore is inimical to gas (the Latin name of which is still under question) ; he thus turns to Vulcan, the god of fire :

*Tune, Minerva, mihi praesentem in carmina venam
Sufficies ? Vatem refugis Musamque recusas
Inventrix oleae. Nec te mea mitigat aetas.
Carmen ego invita faciam dicamque Minerva.
Adsis o melior nondumque in vota vocatus,
Mulciber ; ignigenam versu da pingere lucem,
Ignipotens ; faveas primum tua sacra colenti.
Aggrediamur opus. Sed iam haeret Musa mororque
Nondum ingressus iter : quo te, lux splendida, dicam
Nomine ? Nequiquam veteres interrogo ; Flaccus*

⁴ D. Sacré, « *Infremuere ollae gemitumque dedere patellae : de catto supplicio affecto carmen iocosum* (1826) », *Melissa*, 162 (2011), p. 7-10 ; 163, 2011, p. 4-8. Latin poetry on (the deaths of) pets and other animals remained immensely popular during the 19th century.

⁵ J.-C. Dolffus, « Sur la mort de Louis XVIII et sur l'avènement de Sa Majesté Charles X », *Séance littéraire annuelle de l'Institution, Maison de Sainte-Barbe*, Paris, 1824, p. 27-29.

⁶ L. Alloury, « Mort d'Agrippine », in *Institution de l'Université, maison de Sainte-Barbe dirigée par M. Lanneau fils. Exercice littéraire annuel pour les hautes classes à l'occasion des examens de Pâques*, Paris, 1824, p. 15-17.

⁷ É. Meynard, « Traduction du commencement de l'ode à Lord Byron par M. de Lamartine », *Séance littéraire annuelle*, Paris, 1823, p. 38-39.

⁸ *Recueil de pièces de vers lues dans l'exercice littéraire qui a eu lieu au Collège de Sainte-Barbe*, Paris, 1823, 13-17. On Nisard, whose numerous Latin poems have not attracted the attention of modern scholars, see, for example, *Redécouvrir Nisard. Un critique humaniste dans la tourmente romantique*, M. Bury, ed., Paris, Klincksieck, col. « Circare », 2009. I am preparing a contribution on Nisard's Latin.

*Vergiliusque silent. Mibi num « ficticius aether »
 An « vapor undigena », an Graeco de nomine « gazum »
 Dicere « hydrogenes » ? Nova iussit Horatius olim,
 Cum res ipsa foret, proferre vocabula rerum.
 Haereat in verbis, si quis velit ; unde coruscas
 Ducat opes Gazum, qua splendeat arte docebo. (l. 12-27)*

It is unclear if the printed booklets containing these Latin poems reached a wide audience⁹. Although Latin versification was a compulsory subject in secondary education and thus could interest a fair number of youngsters, one is inclined to consider them as rather ephemeral and marginal publications serving primarily as publicity for a school. Now and then, however, poems judged remarkable in some way were diffused through other channels as well. Pierre Auguste Lemaire's *Athenarum panorama seu Graeciae veteris encomium*¹⁰, a poem playing on with the romantic fascination for Greece, its political turmoil and glorious history, was issued first in the brochure containing the texts of the verses recited at Sainte-Barbe's feast of 9 December 1821¹¹, but was reissued (with the same title) separately in Paris, 1822. There was moreover a periodical press that looked with attentiveness and admiration at these schoolroom or academic products. The most momentous journal was the *Hermes Romanus, ou Mercure latin*, issued in Paris from June 1816 to June 1819 by a former pupil of Sainte-Barbe's, Joseph-Nicolas Barbier-Vémars (°1775)¹²; it was followed by similar projects, such as the *Apis Romana, journal de littérature latine* (Paris, 1821-1823) and the *Almanach des Muses latines* (Paris-Lyon, 1817 ; Paris, 1818-1819)¹³, edited by Pierre Servan de Sugny (1796-1831), all of which were important in keeping the Neo-Latin tradition alive during a period that tended to pay attention to the ancients exclusively and to overlook humanistic and modern Latin, in spite of the fact that, until then, pupils were obliged to compose Latin verse : for indeed, each of these periodicals reissued Neo-Latin prose and poetry written from the dawn of Humanism until the contemporary age – the title of an offspring of the original *Apis Romana* is eloquent in this respect : *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta. Novae seriei tomus 1*, Montlieu, 1866¹⁴. Thus, the Paris editor of the *Hermes*

⁹ Some of the poems awarded a prize at the *Concours généraux*, however, were gathered in anthologies and enjoyed a certain success : see the examples in Jalabert-Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire », p. 228-229 : *Annales des concours généraux*, Paris, 1825 ; p. 229-231 : M. Belin, M. Roche, *Annales des concours généraux*, Paris, 1827 ; p. 232-233 : N. A. Dubois, *Concours généraux*, Paris, 1847-1856. Distinguished poems resulting from school assignments were also assembled with success : thus a large and a bit heterogeneous selection made by A. Chardin and enlarged by two of his former pupils was published three times (*Choix de matières et de pièces de vers latins recueillies par M. Achille Chardin et publiées par ses anciens élèves MM. Deltour et Marcou*, Paris, 1864 ; 1868 ; 1876) ; the full names of the poets one finds in the third edition ; the two first ones contain their initials only. As long as Latin poems had to be written at school, teachers and probably some pupils as well will have used the work as a kind of source book or a collection of models.

¹⁰ Pierre-Auguste Lemaire (1802-1887) was a nephew of Nicolas-Eloi (1767-1832) and in 1832 became the head of the famous *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, Paris, 1819-1838 : see the entry on him by S. Moledina in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris, 2011, t. XX, col. 1447-1448.

¹¹ *Vers latins récités dans l'exercice littéraire qui a eu lieu le jour de la fête de Sainte-Barbe, à l'Association des anciens élèves de cette communauté*, Paris, 1821, p. 22-32.

¹² For a short introduction to this journal, see D. Sacré, « De commentariis mensuris ineunte saeculo XIX° Parisiis Latine editis, q.t. *Hermes Romanus* », *Vita Latina*, 105, 1987, p. 10-16 ; *id.*, « La poésie néo-latine en France au XIX^e siècle », *La Réception du latin du XIX^e siècle à nos jours. Actes du colloque d'Angers des 23 et 24 septembre 1994*, G. Cesbron, L. Richer, eds., Angers, 1996, p. 67-77. Cf. also the entry on Barbier-Vémars by M. Prevost in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris, 1951, t. V, col. 348.

¹³ Actually there followed a third volume : see appendix 5 to this article.

¹⁴ Cf. appendix 5 to this article.

Romanus in 1819 even managed to lay his hand on, and to publish, a Latin poem on hot air balloons, awarded a prize at an Oxford University contest in 1784 and written by Charles Abbott (1762-1832), who in 1819 was a judge at the Court of King's Bench¹⁵; in the same year its editor also proposed to the public part of *Rhenus*, an Oxford prize poem dating from the very last years of the 18th century, composed by one of the most prolific Latin poets of the 19th century, William Herbert (1778-1847)¹⁶. Not surprisingly, then, Lemaire's aforementioned poem *Athenarum panorama* was printed for the third time in the journal *Apis Romana*¹⁷. All this suggests that we should not underestimate the possible diffusion of such Neo-Latin poems emanating from a school or university context.

The annual literary exercise at Sainte-Barbe admitted only compositions submitted by the pupils of the highest classes – or to be more precise, only these were issued in the commemorative booklets¹⁸. A note in the commemorative volume containing our text, dated 4 May 1824, suggests that the poems were not only solicited from the best students, but also offered spontaneously by enthusiastic youngsters; for this session the board had also received poems from younger pupils, whose contributions had to be eliminated automatically, but whose zealous endeavors deserved a special mention in the booklet.

One of the most striking poems we find in this 1824 collection had been recited by a certain Théodule Fernel. This young man is to be identified with Théodule Paillard-Fernel from Neufchâtel-en-Bray in Normandy, where he was born on 24 March 1808; hence our pupil of the « classe de seconde » was aged sixteen when he saw his Latin verses published in 1824. His talent for Latin verses at Saint-Barbe becomes clear if one realizes that he was the author of two other published poems as well, both of which date from 1823 and 1824: he contributed a poem with the title *Prise du Trocadéro par le duc d'Angoulême et l'armée française* to the 1823 *Séance littéraire annuelle*¹⁹ and, together with his fellow pupil Auguste Flobert, composed Latin verses entitled *Visite de Sa Majesté Charles X à l'Hôtel royal des Invalides, le 20 octobre 1824*, published in the *Séance littéraire annuelle* of 1824²⁰. Having completed secondary school, he studied law and began a successful career as a *conseiller* (magistrate) at various courts of justice in Neufchâtel, Dieppe and Caen. He was promoted to the rank of *chevalier* in the *Légion d'honneur* in 1873 and died on 3 November 1877²¹. As far as we know, he did not write any Latin after he completed secondary school.

Our poem is entitled *Combat mémorable entre les pygmées et les grues*; it contains 127 hexameter lines²². An introductory note states that this is a fragment from an Indian-language manuscript

¹⁵ « Le Ballon, ou l'invention des Aérostats », *Hermes Romanus*, 6, 1819, p. 1600-1604. Cf. the entry on Abbott by M. Lobban in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 1, Oxford, 2004, 38-41. He is not mentioned by Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae. A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, New York, 1940; 1966.

¹⁶ « Le Rhin à César; extrait d'une pièce couronnée à l'université d'Oxford, en Angleterre », *Hermes Romanus*, 6, 1819, p. 1555-1558; Cf. William Herbert, *Rhenus et carmina quadragesimalia*, [s. l.], 1797, and on Herbert, Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 309-314.

¹⁷ *Apis Romana, Journal de littérature latine*, 2, 1822, p. 145-153.

¹⁸ There are but a few exceptions. Thus, the *Séance littéraire annuelle* of 1823 (see Jalabert-Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire », 227-228) contained (51-52) a poem written by L. Alloury, « composée après la séance ».

¹⁹ Paris, 1823, p. 32-34. See appendix 3 to this article.

²⁰ Paris, 1824, p. 17-19.

²¹ Cf. *Index biographique français*, Tommaso Nappo, ed., 3rd ed., München, 2003, t. III, p. 1655; t. VI, p. 3257; N. Noire-Oursel, *Nouvelle biographie normande. Second supplément*, Paris – Rouen, 1912, p. 362.

²² *Institution de l'Université, Maison de Sainte-Barbe, dirigée par M. de Lanneau fils. Exercice littéraire annuel pour les hautes classes, à l'occasion des examens de Pâques*, Paris, 1824, p. 52-57. The meeting took place under the direction of De Lanneau; among those present were the pupils' parents and a fair number of teachers of the *Collège royal de Louis-le-Grand* and professors of the Faculty of Letters, says the introduction (1). Fernel's poem was the last one to be recited in public. For the full text of the poem, see appendix 1 to this article.

poem found among the ruins of a city called Pygméopolis, a fragment translated into Latin verse by Théodule Fernel. Literally, the note presents these poetic lines not as an original creation, but as a translation (and this is not unimportant) ; but no reader will have missed the made-up topos of the rediscovery of a lost manuscript²³ ; the hint at the knowledge of the Indian language by the Paris schoolboy and the reference to a fictitious city called Pygméopolis will have made the audience smile and expect a light-hearted and humorous poem ; on the basis of the title of the poem, the most literate listeners will have assumed that they were going to give ear to a mock-heroic poem, a kind of Latin imitation or remake of the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, the battle of frogs and mice.

The poet opens in a typically epic way with the subject matter of the poem : he is going to sing the terrible battle of the cranes and the Pygmies which led to the extermination of the latter (l. 1-6). A traditional invocation of the Muse (l. 7-9) follows. Then, the poet dismisses the traditional subjects of epic poetry – there are more than enough poems inspired by, for instance, Homer, he says – and stresses the novelty of his subject which he is the first to sing in verse (l. 10-16). We then (l. 17-34) move to the scene of the action : the author situates the former empire of the Pygmies in the hills near the river Ganges, in India, where the fortified cities of that renowned and redoubtable population once rose ; now alas, these cities are destroyed, the country is uninhabited and desolate ; only some fallen brick walls, overgrown with weeds, and white bones of dead Pygmies, scattered throughout the valleys, bear witness to their former realm ; the country has been taken in by their enemies, the arrogant and disrespectful cranes. The next section of the poem (l. 35-48) sketches the origins of the animosity between the courageous and vigorous Pygmies and the cranes : for many years, no enemy would have attacked the dwarfs with impunity ; whenever the cranes, always a threat to that people, would invade their territory, the Pygmies would kill them, or, if a Pygmy were to go down to defeat against the cranes, he would have killed a number of enemies before being killed himself – « *Non ibat Stygias saltem incomitatus ad umbras* » (l. 43) ; quite often, the Pygmies would weaken their natural enemies by killing young cranes in their nests. Hence the massive invasion of the cranes and the total war between Pygmies and the impious birds, described in the rest of the poem (l. 49-127), which in its turn is divisible into several sections. The raids of the Pygmies against the chicks of the cranes and the cranes' repeated losses during attacks of the Pygmies account for the birds' deeply rooted hatred and thus for their massive offensive (l. 49-50). The poet announces combats more violent than the ones between the frogs and the mice, as narrated by Homer (l. 51-55). The decisive day has dawned. At the command of Ornithagé, queen of the cranes, the birds gather on the banks of the Strymon, says a French note allegedly summarizing the contents of the original, « Indian », passage ; the cranes prepare themselves for the battle by sharpening their beaks and claws (l. 56-58). The first reaction of the Pygmies at the news of the enemies' offensive is again given in a French summary : the pygmies gather in their capital Pygméopolis to defend their king Geranomisus. In the meantime, the cranes are approaching with an immense army, thousands of birds causing the sky to turn black. The Pygmies' king then addresses his generals ; with his speech he tries to encourage his officers, pretending to believe in the final victory over the birds, and

²³ The topos of the rediscovered manuscript must have been quite common in this type of occasional poetry. As late as 1876, a certain Alexandre, pupil of the highest class at the *Lycée de Versailles*, started his French poem (« Saint-Charlemagne 1876 ») like this : « Dans des rayons poudreux, l'an dernier j'ai trouvé / Un manuscrit fort vieux, mais fort bien conservé. / Ses feuillets exhalaient une odeur vénérable : / Je mis à le traduire un temps considérable ; / Voici quelques extraits (un jour, entièrement / je prétends publier un si beau document) », *Saint-Charlemagne 1876 (Samedi 29 janvier). Pièces de vers composées pour cette solennité*, Versailles, 1876, 6. The poem is an amusing piece on Charlemagne and Alcuin with references to the Franco-Germans wars of the 19th century.

to stir their hate of the winged creatures, who, should they be victorious, would treat the Pygmies' gods and temples sacrilegiously, batter their wives, kill their children and their king ; but the monarch and his people will be invincible if his officers defend him valiantly (l. 59-75) :

*Ite, mei decus imperii et tutela, sodales :
Pygmeadam turmis stipatus nescio vinci !* (l. 74-75)

The first struggles are again described in a French sentence, which names the commander-in-chief of the Pygmies' army and underlines the violence of the combats, with very important losses on both sides, and describes the battlefield in these powerful lines (l. 76-77) :

*Mixtae mucronibus alae
Sparguntur digitisque ungues et rostra lacertis.*

The final section (l. 78-127) concentrates on the crushing defeat of the Pygmies through the terrible, but unequal duel between Micromegas, their commander-in-chief, and a gigantic crane. Micromegas has killed many hundreds of enemies, when suddenly an enormous crane shows up, seizes the general by the neck and lifts him up in the air. There the supreme commander hangs, unable to free himself from the bird's grasp. He vainly raises his arms (for he is unable to raise his eyes, which the crane had cut out with its beak) to implore the gods for help – for Jupiter is enraged with the Pygmies, whose ancestors had dared to assault his beloved son Hercules while the latter was asleep, and therefore wishes for nothing better than for the extermination of the entire Pygmean race. After a while, Micromegas, while still hovering in the air, succumbs to his wounds ; the giant bird then flings him down on the ground. His death is a blow to the Pygmies, hundreds of whom desperately seek to protect the commander's corpse from further mutilation ; therefore, the battlefield moves to the dead body of the general, where tremendous fights take place, while, time and again, Pygmies are lifted up, wounded and killed by cranes against whose nose dives the Pygmies have almost no defence. Their losses are terrible, their extermination at hand, suggest the last lines :

*Non, si mille forent linguae totidemque sonarent
Labra mihi, possem clades memorare canendo
Pygmaeadum, laceros artus, discerpta referre
Ora manusque solo sparsas perfractaque crura
Atque exundantes generoso sanguine campos²⁴...
Hei mihi, quot Ganges tepidis correpta sub undis
Arma virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit !²⁵* (l. 121-127)

At first sight the poem seems a charming and funny, but umpteenth Latin imitation of the *Batrachomyomachia* : a mock-epic written in a lofty style about creatures almost as tiny or insignificant as the pseudo-Homeric frogs and mice. The plan of the poem, too, seemingly follows that of the Greek model to some degree : there too we find an invocation of the Muses, the origins of the animosity between the mice and the frogs are explained, we can read a speech by the king of one of the parties, exhorting his soldiers to take arms against the enemy, we hear about peculiar weapons adapted to the belligerent parties, there is a god who

²⁴ Cf. Petronius, Bücheler and Müller, ed., frgm. 30, 8 : « atque exundantes profuso sanguine campos ».

²⁵ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, v. 100-101 : « ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis / scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit ».

hates one of the parties, we assist at various duels and particular attention is given to the heroic achievements of one of the most fearsome warriors of one of the parties, and the decisive war is fought in the space of a day. But there are some differences between the two poems as well : in our Latin poem, there is no council of the gods ; and whereas the *Batrachomyomachia* ends with a decisive intervention by Jupiter, preventing the frogs from being exterminated, there is no such divine intrusion in the Latin poem, which ends with the total extermination of the Pygmies. Anyhow, the explicit reference to the pseudo-Homeric poem in lines 51-55 and the presence of whimsical names given to kings and commanders (Ornithag  as the queen of the cranes is « she who leads the birds » ; the Pygmies' king name Geranom sus refers to one who « hates the cranes » ; the commander's oxymoronic name Micromegas suggests a giant among dwarfs) add more touches of that Greek poem to Paillard-Fernel's composition ; the fancy mention of an Indian language original read and translated into Latin by our pupil is consonant with the humorous effect of the poem. It is beyond doubt that the *Batrachomyomachia* was quite popular during the Renaissance ; over and over again, pupils and students translated the poem into Latin or used it as an exemplar for imitation ; they could even hide a political message in their adaptations of it. Thus, the pupils of Brussels Jesuit College in 1652 composed a *Melissomachia* or a battle of two bee nations, which was also inspired by Virgil's fourth book of the *Georgics* ; the good bees stood for the Spaniards – then ruling the Southern Netherlands –, the bad ones for their enemies, the French.²⁶ The popularity of the Greek poem remained unchallenged during succeeding centuries. As late as 1829, a few years after Paillard-Fernel's poem had come out, a new Latin hexameter translation of the pseudo-Homeric poem was issued by Fleury (de) L cluse (1774-1845), a professor at Toulouse²⁷. Outside France, a new Latin verse translation was even produced more than thirty years later (1862) by the Swedish Neo-Latin poet Christian Alfred Fahlcrantz (1835-1911), who was a lecturer at Upsala University²⁸. The reasons for the success of the *Batrachomyomachia* in Greek and Latin schooling are obvious. The mock-heroic enabled the schoolboys to display their control over epic language and style in a small, but self-contained unit ; the humour arising from the contrast between a lofty style and a ludicrous subject certainly gave satisfaction to their juvenile minds and compensated so to speak for the grand, exalted contents they had dinned into them through their daily Latin readings of the classical poets.

Furthermore, Paillard-Fernel might give the impression of having put together well the materials of his poem : he was familiar, it seems, with the occasional mentions of animosities between Pygmies and cranes in ancient literature (starting from Homer's *Iliad*, III, 3-6) and did some research into the Pygmies and their dwellings according to ancient sources. Indeed, the reader might have the sensation that young Th odule had read Aristotle's report on the cranes, coming from the Scythian plains, and the real existence of the Pygmies (*History of Animals*, 7, 12), and had perused the scattered information provided by Roman writers,

²⁶ Cf. D. Sacr , « *Melissomachia* : an Unpublished Epic Poem from the Brussels Jesuit College (1652) », *Myrica. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef Ijzenijm*, D. Sacr , G. Tournoy, ed., in *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 16, Leuven, 2000, p. 523-536. See also Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 7, who states that the *Batrachomyomachia* « was often translated into Latin as an exercise by young poets in the Renaissance » ; and J. W. Binns, « Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The Latin Writings of the Age », *Arca*, 24, Leeds, 1990, p. 229-230.

²⁷ *La Batrachomyomachie, ou le combat des rats et des grenouilles, en quatre langues, grecque ancienne et moderne, latine et fran aise, publi e par Fl. L cluse*, Toulouse, 1829. L cluse wanted to offer a very faithful translation, p. 5 : « Notre traduction latine suit l'original pas   pas, et vers pour vers ». See appendix 5 to this article.

²⁸ « *Batrachomyomachia* », *Samlada latinska originaldikter och  vers ttningar till latinske vers*, Stockholm, 1949, p. 29-38.

especially Pliny's *Natural History*²⁹, Juvenal (who had a Pygmy warrior carried away by a *saeva grus*, *Satires*, 13, 167-170), and Aulus Gellius (who also mentioned Pygmies living in India)³⁰, or had found some information on the Pygmies and the cranes in such popular works as Noël's *Dictionnaire de la fable*³¹ or Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*.³²

Such impressions would, however, be erroneous. There was a particular model Paillard-Fernel followed in detail, obviously not the Indian poem he farcically hinted at in his introduction, but one that, though utterly unmentioned, stands beyond doubt as his source. Nor was this model the now entirely forgotten³³ mock-epic entitled *Pygmaeidos libri VIII. Poëtica classicae juventutis paegnina*, composed at the age of twenty two³⁴ by the French Oratorian Jacques Moireau (1622-1666) and published posthumously in Vendôme in 1676 : admittedly this long (168 pages !), burlesque poem has some features that seem to foreshadow Paillard-Fernel's piece – especially the *topos* of the rediscovered manuscript,³⁵ the episode of a crane carrying a Pygmy away into the air,³⁶ the death of the leader of the Pygmies giving rise to even more bloody hostilities,³⁷ and such details as the mentions of kings or queens of the two opposed

²⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, VII, 26, which contains the basic information on the dwarfs (their dwellings in India's mountains, at a certain distance from the source of the Ganges ; their living in caves ; their stature ; their struggles with the cranes and the raids they often make to kill young birds so as to avoid uncontrollable invasions of the cranes ; furthermore their mud huts). Paillard-Fernel does not allude to the further origins of the animosities between the Pygmies and the cranes, that are hinted at in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, v. 90-92 : Juno was angry at Oenoe, a Pygmy woman, for not having respected her, and had her changed into a crane who attacked her own (former) people.

³⁰ For the ancient sources, see the entry « Pygmaioi' » by Ernst Wüst in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa, fortgeführt von Wilhelm Kroll und Karl Mittelhaus, 46, München, 1959, col. 2064-2074.

³¹ « Pygmées », *Dictionnaire de la fable ou Mythologie grecque, latine, égyptienne [...] par Fr. Noël [...]*, Paris, 1803, t. II, p. 438-439.

³² Buffon, « La grue », *Histoire naturelle*, 1780, t. XXII, 287-312 (Cf. www.buffon.cnrs.fr). For Buffon's popularity in 19th-century Europe, see e.g. Paul Thoen, « Gezelle op zoek naar de universele cultuur : over bronnen, bouw en boodschap van *Loquela* III 4-5, 25-40, 'Krane kranekke krake' », *Gezelliana*, 23, 2011, p. 25-77.

³³ It is not even mentioned in Ludwig Braun, « Ancilla Calliopeae. Ein Repertorium der neulateinischen Epik Frankreichs (1500-1700) », *Mittelateinische Studien und Texte*, 38, Leiden – Boston, 2007.

³⁴ [Moireau], « Praefatio », *Pygmaeidos libri VIII. Poëtica classicae juventutis paegnina*, Vindocini, 1676 : « *annos duos supra vigesimum natus* » ; in the final verses of the poem, p. 168 : « *Vicenum supra duo vix elapsus in annos* ». On Moireau, see Augustin Ingold, *Essai de bibliographie oratorienne suivi du Supplément*, Paris, 1880-1882, Genève, 1972. Compare also the *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature, par M. De Vigneul-Marville. Quatrième édition [...] par M.*** [Abbé Banier]*, Paris, 1725, t. IV, p. 146-148, where it is said that Moireau was a teacher of Scarron. A second edition of the *Pygmaeidos* came out in Angers in 1682 (Cf. Gérard Oberlé, *Amoenitates poeticae Latinae modernae, sive Catalogus librorum poetar. latinor. sec. XI-XX, Cercy-la-Tour*, 1988, p. 323)

³⁵ *Pygmaeidos*, p. 22 : « *Quin etiam codex, quem me legisse recorder / exhibuitque mihi lectu bene sanus amicus, / inductus squalet variis hinc inde lituris / ac maculis, saeculi quas aut iniuria passim / aut librarioli respersi incuria sivit. / Totum perlegi ; tergique ac marginis oras / intuitus, sensum potui comprehendere nullum : / nec vir inexplicitae docuit glossemata linguae ; / omisos huc adde apices, huc adde lacunas / blattarum horrentes a morsibus : inde fit ut nos / innumerabilium fugiat pars maxima rerum* » .

³⁶ *Pygmaeidos*, p. 140-141 : « *Una gruum numero ex omni selegerat unum / Alcinoe, soli instabat, cui nomen Amyntbae. / Hunc super illa vagos flexus orbemque volutum / implicat ac facili pennarum verbere curvum / assequitur torrente sitim dum fonte levaret, / apprennditque comam rostro complexa tenaci / cervices inter medias umerumque sinistrum, / ambabusque alis artus involvit eique / intima transversis eviscerat unguibus exta / exiliensque levi perrumpit in aera saltu, / et volat arma virumque ferens. [an unfinished verse, as there many in this poem] / Garrula tum caelo crocitat, modo nube sub atra / eripit ex oculis, nunc aethere reddit aperto / suspensumque diu media regione virum grus / circumfert, leve pondus, et excutit aera circum / magnanimae insultans genti, mutilatque voratis / auribus (indignum fatu), tum sanguine coram / Pygmaeo fauces avidas ac viscera pascit / omentumque comest. Spumat sub dente cerebrum, / ilia labuntur caelo, pluit aethere sanguis. / Ingluvie expleta taboque natantibus atro / unguibus, in partes corpus breve diffidit aequas / spirantemque viri pulvram semesaque frustra / lingit et in nasum magni spargebat Iolae [Iolas is the chief of the troops of the Pygmies]* ». This is an amplification of the aforementioned passage in Juvenal, XIII, p. 167-170.

³⁷ *Pygmaeidos*, p. 165-166.

nations³⁸, and of the capital city « Pygmopolis »³⁹. In most cases, however, classical sources and the *Batrachomyomachia* in particular account for these similarities. As a matter of fact, Moireau's at times highly comical *Pygmaeis* with its almost endless descriptions of battles is entirely different in tone, displays utterly unepic behaviour on the part of the main characters⁴⁰ and of the gods⁴¹, inserts anachronisms on purpose⁴², accumulates jokes⁴³, perverts classical descriptions⁴⁴, and other components of epic poetry, inserts funny comparisons⁴⁵, amasses

³⁸ E.g., *Pygmaeidos*, p. 7 for the cranes : « [...] multisque legunt garrilibus ultro / reginam, quae prae reliquis pia mater anusque / esse solet, cuius legem lex una subire est », and 12 for the Pygmies (« At domus una domos longe supereminet omnes / regis Agenoridae, primaeva ab Agenore dicti »).

³⁹ *Pygmaeidos*, p. 143, on Cicero [I], a Pygmy warrior : « Praeque metu generosus eques, quo consule ficta / Pygmopolis vigit ». The realm of the Pygmies, however, is located in a « pays de Cocagne » (« *Caucania* »), 3. Their houses are made out of, i. a., sugar (a variation on Pliny, VII, 26, who says their huts are constructed with mud, feathers and eggshells).

⁴⁰ More than once, the male warriors are described as cowardly, the female ones as intrepid (e.g. *Pygmaeidos*, p. 113).

⁴¹ E.g. *Pygmaeidos*, p. 166, where Jupiter is called « *ventripotens autem soricum regnator* » ; in the same context, Jupiter sends terrible storms on earth in an attempt at stopping the hostilities, and he does it like this, p. 166-167 : « *arrectaque micans madidos cervice capillos / excutit inclusos laxatque e vertice mucos, / queis quam longe patet gremium telluris opacat* » ; Saturn, traditionally an aged god, cannot discern the war on earth from heaven because his glasses are broken, p. 123 : « *At pater effractis maerens ocularibus aegre / castra pusilla videt summo Saturnus ab arce* » ; and the great amount of gods is described thus, p. 124 : « *Di tot enim caelo, patula quot in ilice glandes, / quot catulo pulices, quot sunt in stercore muscae* ».

⁴² Thus, Jupiter in heaven has Swiss guards around him, *Pygmaeidos*, p. 127 : « *mediusque micat regnator Olympi, / incinctus clipeo et caelestibus undique saeptus / Helvetiis* » ; and the auxiliaries of the Pygmies are also constituted by Swiss troops, *Pygmaeidos*, p. 77 ; the realm of the Pygmies is absent from the maps of Abraham Ortelius, *ibid.*, p. 3 : « *Omisit graphice prudens haec arva tabellis / Ortelius, ne tota illuc Europa coiret* » ; the truth of a fact is asserted this way, *ibid.*, p. 20 : « *Vera loquor ; Musa nam sunt cantata recenti / Parisiis in Ponte Novo, qua Sequana serpit, / Henrici victoris equum prope regis abenum* ». For a greater part, however, humour arises from the insertion of historical persons from Antiquity and modern times (not seldom grammarians and authors of schoolbooks), who are presented as Pygmy warriors with a doubtful courage : these include, among others, Aldus Manutius Jr. and the printer Christophorus Plantinus (p. 45), Iohannes Despauterius (p. 86), Henricus Smetius (p. 108), and Dionysius Lambinus (p. 110). Most hilarious is the episode on Cicero (p. 142-145), who is riding a goat [this corresponds to Pliny's *Natural history* VII, 26, where Pygmies are said to sit on « *arrietum caprarumque dorsis* »], falls from his « horse », is helped by Roscius Amerinus, Rabirius and Asconius Pedianus, then climbs on a boar-pig (*verres* !), but is thrown off by that animal as well, and dies : « *Sic miser orator, ringens insueta, cerebro / sulcat humum linguaque rubos ac stercora lingit* ». Especially these parts suggest that Moireau read fragments of his poem with his pupils.

⁴³ E.g. *Pygmaeidos*, p. 27 : « *His visis Atamas, irarum percitus oestro / in flammis rapitur (naso nam forte sinapi / repererat)* » ; one of the soldiers of the Pygmies is Galileo Galilei, who uses a kind of telescope to observe the cranes, *ib.*, p. 24 : « *Tu quoque tum vitrea prudens, Galilaeae, dioptra / perspecularis aves* » ; Charon, too, uses a kind of « Dutch spyglass », *ibid.*, p. 150 : « *Prospectans longe e cymba tum portitor Orci (utitur ipse senex tubulo plerumque Batavo)* » ; *ibid.*, p. 47 (the king to chief Iolas) : « *Cras, nisi ninget, eris magni moderator in hostes / imperii* ». Very remarkable is the long description of a warrior who takes a seat on a cat and is carried away by it, when the cat has noticed a mouse (p. 96-98).

⁴⁴ One of the funniest descriptions is that of sunset in *Pygmaeidos*, p. 167 : « [...] donec ab occasu contra nox caeca tenebras / advehit ac serus gelida venit Hesper ab Oeta. / Exiit hic caligas Titan petasumque diurnum, / nocturnumque capit thalamoque infixus aquoso / bis sreat ac somno duo lumina claudit amoeno ». Furthermore, the semigoddess Fama is compared to a « *gazetta* » (p. 119-120). The traditional invocations to the gods at the start of the books are parodied ; thus one can read on 129 the poet's invocation of the nymphs accompanying Apollo (who is invoked at the start of the poem, p. 2) : « *Ungite nectareo violae mea labra cirupo, / Pharmacides nymphae* ». And an epic speech of the cranes, defying the dwarfs, sounds like this (*ibid.*, p. 112) : « *Pygmalione sati culices vilisque propago / Myrmonidum pulicumque, grues insistere contra / fidentis, o blattae imbelles, o ludicra mundi / propudia, aestivis vix aequiperanda locustis ? / Ponite, Pygmaei, fastus atque arma, pepones !* ».

⁴⁵ E.g. *Pygmaeidos*, p. 13 (on a soldier, who is satisfied with simple food) : « *laetus, uti verres mingens in furfuris obbam* » ; p. 140 : « *Fervet opus belli, pingui ceu coctus in olla / gallus* ».

grotesque exaggerations⁴⁶, occasionally admits remarks standing outside the story⁴⁷, and uses a language indebted to the macaronic tradition : some expressions are risible, literal translations from French⁴⁸, while truisms are not lacking⁴⁹. The work resembles in many ways to a travesty.

In reality, the work that had spurred Paillard-Fernel's poem had not been written in France, but in Britain by the renowned Neo-Latin and English poet Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and was entitled *Pugmaio-geranomachia* – a title perfectly equivalent to Fernel's *Combat mémorable entre les Pygmées et les grues*⁵⁰. It is unclear when exactly the *Pugmaio-geranomachia* was written, but it seems reasonable to assume that it dates from shortly after 1690⁵¹; it was first published in London in an unauthorized edition in 1698⁵²; the first authorized edition, brought about by Addison himself and offering a text with substantial variants in comparison with the first one, followed approximately half a year later, in Oxford, 1699⁵³.

Addison announces the theme of his poem, the war between Pygmies and cranes, and invokes the Muse; he then repudiates the conventional subjects of epic poetry, referring to Greek and Latin epic poets, and puts the accent on the originality of his own subject matter, viz. tiny warriors. In the first scene of his poem, we are given a description of the former realm of the Pygmies, which was situated in India, where that nation assiduously worked the fields. Now, however, almost no traces of their empire are left, except for some abandoned dwellings and white bones of the dead; the cranes have taken the place. But in the past, the vigorous Pygmies would have killed assaulting cranes and would have eaten them; they would also have attacked the cranes in their nests, especially the young ones, destroying the eggs containing the chicks. These raids of the Pygmies against the cranes explain the violent hatred of the birds and their final confrontation with the dwarfs. The poet signals combats more brutal and destructive than the ones Homer had described in his battle of mice and frogs. This

⁴⁶ When Pygmy warriors make the travel to the underworld, some of them become seasick on Charon's sloop (*Pygmaeidos*, p. 154) : « *Ut subiere ratem proceres, dat euntibus ultro / unda locum, salsi fit ponti nausea ; plures / exta per ora vomunt* ». And when Iolas, the commander of the Pygmies, dies, he lies in state in a scooped little gourd (p. 166) : « *Involvuntque virum strophio totumque cavatae / ventre cucurbitulae tumulant* ».

⁴⁷ E.g. *Pygmaeidos*, p. 109 : « *Nec plura locutus / orator brevitatis amans, non qualis Aristeus / largiloquus (pedibus nequeo rem claudere senis)* ».

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47 : « *caules servare capramque / cogitat* », and p. 63 : « *Nos Martem iuvenes in carne et in osse furentem / vidimus* ».

⁴⁹ For instance : « *Primi praecedunt, postremi pone sequuntur* », *Pygmaeidos*, p. 106.

⁵⁰ See the entry on Addison by Pat Rogers in H.C.G. Matthew – Brian Harrison, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [...], 1 : *Aaron-Amory* (Oxford, 2004), p. 321-329. On his Latin poetry (including the texts of the poems) : Estelle Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus : Studies in Joseph Addison's Latin Poetry*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 95, 2, Philadelphia, 2005 ; Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 218-225 ; Leicester Bradner, « The Composition and Publication of Addison's Latin Poems », *Modern Philology*, 35, 1938, p. 359-367 ; critical edition by Dana Sutton, *The Latin Prose and Poetry of Joseph Addison*, The Philological Museum, Library of Hypertext Critical Editions (Irvine, 1997-2005?) (on Internet, with translations and notes). For the *Batrachomyomachia* (Addison's main model) in England, see also Friedrich Wild, *Die Batrachomyomachia in England*, Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 48, Wien – Leipzig, 1918 (mentions Addison's poem and several English translations of it on p. 37-38), and Susanna Braund, « Translation as a Battlefield : Dryden, Pope and the frogs and mice », *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 18, 2011, p. 547-568.

⁵¹ Cf. Bradner, « The Composition », p. 363 ; Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus*, p. 5.

⁵² *Examen Poeticum Duplex : sive Musarum Anglicanarum Delectus Alter ; Cui subijcitur Epigrammatum seu Poematum Minorum Specimen Novum*, Londini, 1698, p. 158-165. It is unknown who was the compiler of that Neo-Latin anthology. The variants of this edition are listed in Sutton, *The Latin Prose and Poetry*, « Textual Notes ». Add that the 1698 edition has in line 65 *complausis (concusis, 1699)* ; in line 85 *distrinxerat (destrinxerat, 1699)* ; in line 87 « *quot adultis [quae nudis, 1699]* » ; in line 89 *Iam procul auditur sonitus [Iamque procul sonus auditur, 1699]* ; in line 115 « *rex ; illum [ductor quem, 1699]* ».

⁵³ *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta : Sive, Poemata quaedam melioris notae, seu hactenus Inedita, seu sparsim Edita, In duo volumina congesta. Vol. II*, Oxon., 1699, p. 56-63. This is the classical edition of Addison's Latin poems, on which the modern editions listed in note 49 are based.

decisive day now dawns. The cranes mobilize their entire population from distant regions such as the banks of the Strymon, Lake Mareotis, and so on. They have prepared their arms, their beaks and claws, and in endless number move from the North to India. The Pygmies, too, prepare themselves and form a large squadron. Their general,⁵⁴ a terrifying sight with scars testifying to his numerous battles with cranes, towers over his troops. Then thick clouds of cranes fill the airs above the Pygmies. After the first assaults of the birds, the war is left undecided, with losses on both sides. The fierce general of the Pygmies causes carnage among the birds ; but – so the gods wished – he is suddenly seized by a gigantic crane who lifts him into the air, surrounded by a dense group of birds rejoicing in their future dinner ; the Pygmies mourn over their king. After this terrible loss, the battle breaks out again ; the poet describes the terrible death of one of the Pygmies. In the end, defeat is near for the dwarfs, who try to escape, but are followed by the birds who are determined to extirpate them. Thus there came an end to the empire of the Pygmies, as an historical law has decided : for the Assyrian, Persian and great Roman empires have also ceased to exist. Now, the shades of the dead Pygmies either reside in the valleys of Elysium or, if old wives' tales are trustworthy, they have become fairies that are unaware of their hatred of the cranes and of their own past, and are dancing cheerfully at night, as some shepherds who have witnessed them declare.

This survey of Addison's poem leaves no doubt about the source of Paillard-Fernel's poem and makes clear to what extent the French schoolboy found his inspiration in Addison's poem. Actually, in the areas of *inventio* and *dispositio*, almost everything derives from the 17th-century Neo-Latin poem ; even in the parts which are summarized in French, the youngster tracked the order of events as told by Addison. There are only a few, though significant, divergences from the original poem in Paillard-Fernel's remake of it ; these will be discussed below. In fact, comparing the two pieces, the reader will notice that the *elocutio*, too, of the French poet was much influenced by that of his model, though it would definitely be an exaggeration to state that Fernel was plagiarizing Addison. The most striking examples may suffice here, for I think a juxtaposition of some passages will be eloquent in itself.

1. *Quis lectos Graium iuvenes et torva tuentem
Thesea, quis pedibus velocem ignorat Achillem ?* (Addison, l. 9-10)

*Quis nescit Achillem ?
Thesea quis nescit [...]* ? (Paillard-Fernel, l. 11-12)

2. *Primus ego intactas acies gracilemque tubarum
Carmine depingam sonitum...* (Addison, l. 14-15)

*Primus ego, inceptis faveat si doctus Apollo,
Insolitas acies latis extendere campis
Aggrediar...* (Paillard-Fernel, l. 13-15)

3. *Qua solis tepet ortu primitiisque diei
India laeta rubet, medium inter inhospita saxa*

⁵⁴ There is a slight inconsistency here in Addison's text, at least from the second, authorized, version on. In the first edition there appeared a « *ductor* » (l. 76), who was then identified with a « *rex* » (l. 115 and 126). In the authorized edition, Addison changed « *rex* » into « *ductor* » in line 115, but kept the « *rex* » of l. 126, while the same person was meant. In his imitation, Paillard-Fernel introduced two different prominent persons, the king (Geranomus) and a general (Micromegas).

(per placidam vallem et paucis accessa vireta)
Pygmaeum quondam steterat, dum fata sinebant,
Imperium... (Addison, l. 19-22)

Hic, ubi nascentis Phoebi tepet India flammis,
Praeruptos inter montes et inhospita saxa
Pygmaeum quondam imperium, Pygmaea vigebat
Gloria [...]. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 17-20)

4. *Nunc si quis dura evadat per saxa viator,*
Desertosque lares et valles ossibus albas
Exiguus videt et vestigia parva stupescit.
Desolata tenet victrix impune volucris
Regna... (Addison, l. 24-28)

Silentes

Nunc squalent campi, cecidere a culmine tures...
Gens Pygmaea fuit. Si forte obstantia saxa
Horrentesque agros dumis litusque sinistrum,
Triste viator iter superaverit, omnia muta,
*Omnia desolata videt.*⁵⁵ (Paillard-Fernel, l. 24-29)

5. *Non sic, dum multos stetit insuperabilis annos*
Parvula progenies. Tum siquis comminus ales... (Addison, l. 29-30)

Non, ita, Pygmaei donec stetit integra regni
Gloria et intactis respública floruit armis.
Tum siquis vigilem auderet temerarius urbem [...]. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 35-37)

6. *Hinc causae irarum, bella hinc, fatalia bella*
Atque acies leto intentae... (Addison, l. 43-44)

Hinc memor ira gruum, hinc ingentia bella duellumque
*Infandum [...]*⁵⁶. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 49-50)

7. *Non tantos motus nec tam memorabile bellum*
Maeonius quondam sublimi carmine vates
Lusit ubi totam strepituque armisque paludem
Miscuit... (Addison, l. 46-49)

Nec motus quondam tantos celebravit Homerus,
*Belligero fremitu cum stagna loquacia miscens [...]*⁵⁷. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 51-52)

8. *Iamque dies Pygmaeo aderat quo tempore...* (Addison, l. 53)

⁵⁵ Cf. also Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, v. 24 sqq. ; Catullus, 64, v. 186-187.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Silvius Italicus, *Punica*, X, v. 482.

⁵⁷ Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI, v. 458.

*Iamque dies miseranda aderat, lacrimabile tempus...*⁵⁸ (Paillard-Fernel, l. 56)

9. *sparguntur gladii, sparguntur et alae*
Unguesque et digiti commixta rostra lacertis. (Addison, 112-13)

Mixtae mucronibus alae
Sparguntur digitisque ungues et rostra lacertis. (Paillard-Fernel, 76-77)

10. *Pygmeadum saevit mediisque in milibus ardet*
Ductor quem late hinc atque hinc pereuntia cingunt
Corpora fusa gruuum... (Addison, l. 114-116)

Interea saevit mediis in milibus ardens
Micromegas, tepida quem fusa cadavera terra
*Stratarum cinxere gruuum*⁵⁹. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 78-80)

11. [...] *cum subito appulsus (sic di voluere) tumultu*
Ex inopino ingens et formidabilis ales
Comprendit pedibus pugnantem et (triste relatu)
Sustulit in caelum... (Addison, l. 120-123)

[...] *cum subito properans magnis clangoribus ales*
Ingens, terribilis [...]
Correptum cervice virum frustra que ululantem
In caelum rapit [...]. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 84-85, 87-88)

12. *Iamque recrudescit bellum ; grus desuper urget*
Pygmaeum rostro atque hostem petit ardua morsu ;
Tum fugit alta volans ; is sursum bracchia iactat
Vulneris impatiens et inanes saevit in auras. (Addison, l. 128-131)

Bella recrudescunt atque armorum ingruit horror.
Improvisa etenim incautum grus desuper hostem
Urget hians celerique fugit sub sidera penna.
Ille indignantes iactat per inane lacertos
*Nequicquam vanasque minax diverberat auras*⁶⁰. (Paillard-Fernel, l. 116-120)

How Paillard-Fernel came to know Addison and what edition of the *Pugmaio-geranomachia* was accessible to him are difficult questions to answer. Generally speaking, during the first half of the 19th century, and especially in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, the French literary public fell under the spell of early modern and contemporary English literature ; the works of, for instance, Lord Byron (1788-1824), Coleridge (1772-1834), Southey (1774-1843), Walter Scott (1771-1832) and many others were highly admired in France and eagerly translated, while some

⁵⁸ Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, v. 132.

⁵⁹ Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, v. 491 (and XII, v. 125).

⁶⁰ Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, v. 301 ; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, v. 555 and IX, v. 223 ; Virgil, *Aeneid*, V, v. 503.

important French writers sang the praises of their English colleagues' works⁶¹. Older English works shared in this favor : Milton was considered a genius who equaled Homer and Virgil, Shakespeare a dramatist who measured up to the three tragedians from ancient Greece. Parts of Addison's English oeuvre were also translated into French by Nicolas Le Déist de Kérivalant (1750-1815)⁶².

Not illogically, the vogue of English poetry and prose in France had some influence on the microcosm of Neo-Latin literature and the field of Latin in French schools and universities. In the early 19th century, it became fashionable to have Latin poems written by British authors included in Neo-Latin anthologies or periodicals issued in France. The fact strikes one as soon as one reflects that although at the period Neo-Latin poetry written by Germans was certainly as important, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as the production in England, Neo-Latin journals published in France did not pay a great deal of attention to German products, while undeniably favoring English ones. Latin translations of fragments of English poems found a place in journals and anthologies, too ; and at school, exercises in Latin versification based on English models were regularly assigned to pupils.

A few examples may illustrate the point. Magloire Thévenot's *Anthologia poetica* (1811) contained almost no Neo-Latin from Germany, but included no less than nine Latin poems of John Milton⁶³. In the Paris journal *Hermes Romanus, ou Mercure latin*, which flourished for only three years (from 1816 to 1819) we find another Latin poem of Milton⁶⁴, and, furthermore, fragments chosen from the famous supplement to Lucan's *Pharsalia* composed by Thomas May (1595-1650)⁶⁵, samples of the well-known versifications of the psalms by Arthur Johnston (1577-1641)⁶⁶, epigrams taken from the modern Martial John Owen (1564-1622)⁶⁷, as well as contemporary Latin poems written by, for instance, John Vause (d. 1835)⁶⁸, William

⁶¹ An encyclopaedic survey is offered by Eric Partridge, *The French Romantics' knowledge of English literature (1820-1848) according to contemporary French memoirs, letters and periodicals*, Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée, 14, Paris, 1924. I would like to thank R. Jalabert, who drew my attention on this book.

⁶² Cf. Partridge, *The French Romantics' Knowledge*, p. 30.

⁶³ *Anthologia poetica Latina ex probatissimis recentioribus poetis excerpta, auctore M. Thévenot*, Parisiis, 1811, t. II, p. 58-60 and p. 346-369.

⁶⁴ « *Naturam non pati senium* », *Hermes Romanus*, 6, 1819, p. 1507-1509. The introductory remark says i.a. : « Ceux de nos Lecteurs qui ne comprennent point l'anglais, et qui ne connaissent Milton que par des traductions, pourront, par les poésies latines qui nous restent de lui, se faire quelque idée de cette vigueur d'expression qu'il a su donner à sa propre langue ».

⁶⁵ « Le serpent de Bagrada », *Hermes Romanus*, 5, 1818, p. 1441-1443. On May, see e.g. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 71-72, and Birger Backhaus, *Das Supplementum Lucani von Thomas May. Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 65, Trier, 2005.

⁶⁶ « Psalme 42 », *Hermes Romanus*, 4, 1818, p. 1151-1152. On Johnston, see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 172-183 ; and R. H. Green, « On not being Buchanan : Arthur Johnston's *magnum opus* », *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis. Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, A. Steiner-Weber (general ed.), A. Coroleu, D. Defilippis, R. Green, F. Rädle, V. Rees, D. Sacré, M. Woods and M. Wulf, ed., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini*, 14, Leiden - Boston, 2012, t. I, p. 443-453.

⁶⁷ The journal now and then proposed some verses by Owen ; in *Hermes Romanus*, 3, 1817, p. 863-864, thirteen epigrams of Owen were reissued together. On this poet, see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 86-90 ; J. Jansen, « The Microcosmos of the Baroque Epigram : John Owen and Julien Waudré », *The Neo-Latin Epigram. A Learned and Witty Genre*, Susanna de Beer – K. A. E. Enenkel – D. Rijser, ed., in *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 25, Leuven, 2009, p. 275-299.

⁶⁸ « À Louis XVIII, pour le nouvel an », *Hermes Romanus*, 6, 1819, p. 1549-1550. J. Vause was educated at Eton and King's College in Cambridge, where he obtained his M A in 1796 ; he was an incumbent of Christ Church, Liverpool, from 1800 until his death in December 1835. Cf. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 5, 1836, p. 439 (among the « Obituary – Clergy deceased »). His name is absent from Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*.

Herbert (1778-1847)⁶⁹, G. Cole⁷⁰, George Canning (1770-1827)⁷¹, the Irish poet Duany⁷², and judge Charles Abbott, 1st Baron of Tenterden (1762-1832)⁷³. Widely used *Gradus ad Parnassum* published in France, which were an indispensable aid to Latin verse composition and almost a Bible for youngsters studying Latin, contained examples taken from Neo-Latin poets as well, among which such English authors as George Buchanan and John Owen were not forgotten⁷⁴. The same applies to a rich anthology of Neo-Latin poetry, the *Leçons latines modernes*, the first edition of which came out in Paris in 1818, and which contains Latin verses by John Barclay (1582-1621), George Buchanan (1506-1582), Robert Lowth (1710-1787) and Thomas May⁷⁵.

English poems were also proposed for translation into Latin in the French schools⁷⁶; in this case, however, the pupils would receive either a French translation or some kind of a reduction or even summary of the texts in Latin or in French prose as a starting point for their poetical assignments or exams; this was the so-called « matière⁷⁷ ». Thus, a certain Joseph de G. had to be satisfied with a brief summary of twenty lines in Latin prose to rework in Latin verse part of John Milton's epic; another pupil received a slightly longer résumé when he had to write Latin hexameters on Ossian's songs by the immensely popular James Macpherson (1736-1796)⁷⁸. In 1825, Edmond Jaubert (in Paris) based his Latin translation of a « chant

⁶⁹ « Le Rhin à César », *Hermes Romanus*, 6, 1819, p. 1555-1558 (Cf. supra, note 16). On W. Herbert, see, for example, Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 309-314.

⁷⁰ « Mola juventutis restauratrix », *Hermes Romanus*, 5, 1818, p. 1299-1302, a poem on a machine helping people to become young again. I could not find more information on this man, « un poète Anglais, Mr G. Cole, de Cambridge ». His name is absent from Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*.

⁷¹ « [Carmen] », *Hermes Romanus*, 1, 1816, p. 204-205, a poem « sur cette manie de médire qui est universelle chez les vieilles filles ». On Canning, who became a prime minister in 1827, see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 301 and 308.

⁷² « Le temple de la mort. Traduit par M. Duany, Irlandais », *Hermes Romanus*, 3, 1817, p. 701-702; « Le cerf-volant », *Hermes Romanus*, 5, 1818, p. 1249. No poet with the name Duany appears in Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, or in the current biographical dictionaries. However, the introduction to the second poem states that it was awarded a prize by the « Ancienne université de Paris »: Duany will have studied in Paris shortly before 1792-1793.

⁷³ Cf. note 15.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Gradus ad Parnassum, ou Nouveau dictionnaire poétique latin-français, enrichi d'exemples et de citations tirés des meilleurs poètes latins anciens et modernes; par Fr. Noël [...]. Nouvelle édition [...], revue, corrigée et augmentée*, Paris, 1826, LIX (Buchanan) and LXIJ (Owen).

⁷⁵ *Leçons latines modernes de littérature et de morale, ou recueil, en prose et en vers, des plus beaux morceaux des auteurs les plus estimés, qui ont écrit en cette langue, depuis la Renaissance des lettres, par M. Noël et M. De la Place, 2: Poésie*, Paris, 1818: Barclay, p. 196-197, p. 209-211, p. 411-413; Buchanan, p. 1-3, p. 164-166, p. 225, p. 241-242, p. 307-308, p. 368-369, p. 371-372, p. 377-378, p. 395-396, p. 435-436, p. 490-491; Lowth, p. 373-375; May, p. 140-142, p. 400-401). This first edition is absent from Jalabert-Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire »; see appendix 5 to this article.

⁷⁶ Needless to say, poems by English poets had been translated in Latin before 1800 as well; Charles Lebeau (1701-1778), for instance, one of the most important Latin poets of 18th-century France, had translated Pope: Cf. *Carmina D. Caroli Lebeau in Collegio olim Grassinaeo eloquentiae necnon in Regio professoris, Parisiis, 1782*, p. 32-35: « *Isaias de Messia. Ex anglico Popi carmine* ».

⁷⁷ Quite often, we do not know how the wording of the assignments and only have the pupils' (published) products. To quote an example taken from Goethe – one of the rare German poets whose works enjoyed some popularity in early-19th-century France, though he was judged to have been surpassed by Byron: in the *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, novae seriei*, Montlieu, 1866, t. I, p. 205, we find « *Rex alnorum* », a Latin verse translation of Goethe's *Erlkönig* by L. Rettmeyer, a pupil from Montpellier. The introduction states that « [n]ous ignorons si le traducteur a travaillé sur le texte allemand ou sur une traduction française; nous empruntons celle de Gérard de Nerval ».

⁷⁸ Cf. *Souvenirs littéraires du Petit Séminaire de Paris ou choix de devoirs en prose et en poésie latines, faits par les élèves de Troisième et de Seconde au Petit Séminaire de Paris, 1838-1849, recueillis et mis en ordre par M. l'abbé G. Cathelin*, Paris,

guerrier » by the Scottish poet Robert Burns (1759-1796) on a French reduction of the text⁷⁹. In contrast, the pupils Albert Arnoul and Étienne-Émile Bourgeat, both *barbistes* in 1828, had at their disposal an extensive French translation of a short story taken from the very recently issued *Chronicles of Canongate* of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) for their paraphrase of this prose work into Latin verse⁸⁰.

Quite naturally, Joseph Addison's poetry, too, enjoyed some success in 19th-century France. Once in a while, an existing Latin translation of an English poem of his was saved from oblivion. Thus the Latin paraphrase Addison's friend and collaborator Richard Steele (1672-1729) had made of the former's English poem on Cato Uticensis's last words, was reissued in the *Hermes Romanus* in 1818⁸¹ and, in the same year, in Noël and De la Place's anthology, the *Leçons latines modernes*⁸². But Addison's own original Latin poems were also reissued for the French public with much enthusiasm and words of high approval. In fact almost the entire (admittedly small) corpus of his Latin poetry, or fragments taken from it, reappeared in Paris in these decades. Once again, the *Hermes Romanus* was pivotal in this respect : the journal reprinted, in 1817, Addison's poem on the barometer⁸³, on the puppet show⁸⁴ and part of the poem on the peace in Europe⁸⁵ ; in 1818, his poem on the bowling green⁸⁶ and a fragment taken from his poetical description of a picture of the Resurrection⁸⁷. The *Puppet show* was also included in the two editions (1818 and 1836) of Noël's and De la Place's *Leçons latines modernes*⁸⁸. Most importantly, the *Pugnaio-geranomachia*, Paillard-Fernel's direct model, was also

1849, 22-28 : « Ossian. Imité de Macpherson » ; « matière », p. 22-24 ; « Vers [by an anonymous pupil] », p. 24-28 ; and p. 54-56 : « L'ange rebelle. Imité de Milton » ; « matière », p. 54 ; « Vers [by 'Joseph de G.'] », p. 55-56]. A fragment from Macpherson was also translated into Latin by Servan de Sugny, the editor of the journal *Almanach des Muses latines*, Paris – Lyons, 1817-1819 : see 1, 1817, p. 24 : « Traduction d'un fragment d'Ossian (Poème de Cathula) ». The same Servan de Sugny also made a Latin translation from James Thomson (1700-1748) : « Fragment de Thompson, en vers latins. Le printemps », *Almanach des Muses latines*, 1, 1817, p. 100-101 ; this time, the original text was added.

⁷⁹ « Traduction », *Séance littéraire annuelle de l'Institution, Maison de Sainte-Barbe*, Paris, 1825, p. 28-31.

⁸⁰ Cf. « Fragment de Sir Walter Scott, tiré de son ouvrage intitulé : La Chronique de la Canongate », *Institution de Lanneau (Ancien Collège Sainte-Barbe, rue de Reims). Exercice littéraire annuel, à l'occasion des examens de Pâques*, Paris, 1828, p. 26-31 [French prose translation of Scott on p. 26, p. 28, p. 30 ; Latin verse rendering on p. 27, p. 29 and p. 31]. This volume is absent from Jalabert-Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire » ; see appendix 5 to this article. The tradition to compose Latin translations of English poems continued later on : see, for instance, an anonymous translator's « Berceuse de la vierge », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, E Seminario Montis-Leonis vulgo Montlieu, 1866, t. I, p. 366 [see appendix 5 to this article], based on a poem by Coleridge (with the English text) ; C. (a pupil), « Création de la lumière. (Traduit de Milton) », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea*, 1867, t. II, p. 336.

⁸¹ « Discours de Caton à ses derniers moments », *Hermes Romanus*, 4, 1818, p. 1149-1151, with this introductory note : « Ce fameux discours 'It must be so, Plato : Oui, Platon, tu dis vrai, notre âme est immortelle' » ; ce morceau sublime d'Addisson [sic], a été rendu en latin par Steele avec une énergie bien propre à consoler ceux de nos lecteurs qui n'entendent point l'original anglais » .

⁸² *Leçons latines modernes*, p. 401-403.

⁸³ « Description du baromètre, par Addisson [sic] », *Hermes Romanus*, 2, 1817, p. 494-496. The introductory note says : « Cette pièce est digne de cet anglais célèbre qui, après avoir été honoré de ses contemporains, a mérité de voir tous ses titres à la gloire confirmés par la postérité » .

⁸⁴ « Les marionnettes ; par Addisson [sic] », *ibid.*, p. 496-498.

⁸⁵ « Les prémices de la paix ; par Addisson [sic] », *ibid.*, 3, 1817, p. 810-811.

⁸⁶ « Le jeu de boules », *ibid.*, 5, 1818, p. 1350-1351.

⁸⁷ « Sur un beau tableau représentant un incendie », *ibid.*, p. 1406. The poem contains only lines 93-96 of Addison's poem, which are presented as an autonomous epigram, not as part of Addison's long poem *Resurrectio delineata ad altare Col. Magd. Oxon.*

⁸⁸ « Les Marionnettes. Jo. Addisson [sic] », *Leçons latines modernes*, 1st ed., p. 200-202 ; 2nd ed., p. 205-207.

included in Barbier-Vémars's *Hermes Romanus* in 1817, again with an encomium of its qualities⁸⁹.

The conclusion seems incontrovertible : since the *Hermes Romanus* (the first two volumes of which received a second edition in 1817) was directed and composed by a former *barbiste* and also included Latin verses written by students from that school, the periodical must have been fairly well-known among the pupils of Sainte-Barbe in the immediately following years ; Paillard-Fernel will have found the poem in that Latin journal. And yet, this conclusion proves to be untenable. What is remarkable is that the poems of Addison were mutilated, often severely mutilated, in the form in which they were reissued in the Paris journal. This is not the place to present in great detail the « mutilations » of all of Addison's poems in the *Hermes*⁹⁰, nor to speculate why this was done – my guess is that Joseph Nicolas Barbier-Vémars, being an accomplished Latin poet himself, did not object, in spite of his admiration for the English poet, to rewriting a late-17th-century poet and to adapting him to his own taste ; still, it would be interesting to examine if other Neo-Latin poems or prose texts included in the Paris journal met with the same fate⁹¹. Let us also not forget that this practice of cutting, adding, rewriting was allowed when schoolboy Latin poems were prepared for the press, as the case of the *Choix de matières et de pièces de vers latins recueillies par M. Ach. Chardin*, Paris, 1864-1876, proves⁹². These publications, edited for a broad audience, were traditionally seen as fundamentally different from critical editions of individual classical or humanistic authors. Be that as it may, Addison's poem was reduced from 159 hexameters to 109, no doubt by Barbier-Vémars himself. Again, this does not seem to contradict the hypothesis of this version having been the source for our Paris pupil : the latter's 127 lines lay in between the 109 lines of the *Hermes Romanus*, his possible source, and the 159 of the original text, and this number of verses could be in agreement with a general tendency according to which imitations are longer than the original ; furthermore, neither the Paris version of Addison nor Paillard-Fernel, who follows the line of thought of the English poet, retain the conclusion of the poem, which suggests (l. 151-158) that the Pygmies, having been exterminated, had become fairy-like creatures indulging in dancing and pleasure at night. A closer scrutiny, however, of the Paris version of Addison's poem on the one hand and Paillard-Fernel's on the other shows clearly that the latter imitates lines which had disappeared from the *Hermes Romanus* edition of Addison. To give only two examples here : after the death of their leader, the Pygmies did not suspend hostilities, says the English poet, but continued fighting grimly, though time and again some warriors were carried away into the air by cranes :

Iamque recrudescit bellum : grus desuper urget

⁸⁹ *Hermes Romanus*, 2, 1817, p. 543-546 : « La Pygméogéranomachie ou le combat des Pygmées contre les Grues. Dans cette pièce où brille une foule de beaux vers, Addison [*sic*] a imité la Batrachomyomachie d'Homère, c'est-à-dire son ingénieux badinage sur le combat des Rats contre les Grenouilles » .

⁹⁰ Cf. appendix 2.

⁹¹ I think they did. To give only one additional example : during many months, the journal reissued John Barclays's famous Latin novel *Argenis*, but its text was changed and butchered quite severely.

⁹² See, for instance, the « Avertissement » to the first edition (1864), p. V : « Ces pièces sont donc pour l'ensemble une reproduction exacte des devoirs des élèves ; mais on a cherché à faire disparaître les incorrections principales, les faiblesses qui les déparaient. Quelquefois, suivant une habitude de l'enseignement de M. Chardin, plusieurs compositions ont été fondues en une seule ». See also the « Avertissement de la seconde édition » (1868), p. IX : « quelques fautes ont été corrigées, quelques vers reconstruits, quelques pièces remaniées ». Another example one can find in my article « *De fele ocreata* » sive de Caroli Perrault apologo Latine quem vertit Franciscus Andrieux (1759-1833) », *Melissa*, 164, 2011, p. 4-9, from which it becomes clear that François Andrieux' Latin rendering, 1816 of *Le Chat botté* was rewritten by an anonymous teacher for the use of schools in 1910.

*Pygmaeum rostro atque hostem petit ardua morsu ;
Tum fugit alta volans. Is sursum brachia iactat
Vulneris impatiens et inanes saevit in auras.* (Addison, l. 128-131)

Paillard-Fernel undoubtedly trod in the footsteps of his model when he wrote :

*Bella recrudescunt atque armorum ingruit horror.
Improvisa etenim incautum grus desuper hostem
Urget hians celerique fugit sub sidera penna.
Ille indignantes iactat per inane lacertos
Nequicquam vanasque minax diverberat auras.* (l. 116-120)

Now, Addison's lines 128-131 had been left out in the *Hermes Romanus*, which excludes the possibility of the French schoolboy having worked with the expurgated text as it stood in Barbier-Vémars's periodical. Likewise, Paillard-Fernel's lines 51-52 imitate Addison's lines 46-49 – the two sections have been quoted above –, but these Addisonian verses were absent from the edition in the Paris periodical. Therefore, our Paris pupil must have seen another, a full text of Addison's poem⁹³. Even though Barbier's edition in the Paris periodical did not contain any warning about his strong interventions in the original text, our youngster, though he might well have seen the *Hermes Romanus*, must have had access to another, better edition – it is impossible to establish which one he had to hand – ; I would suspect that his teacher may have guided him here...

The question then remains : how are we to assess young Théodule's work⁹⁴. As we have seen, his poem depends heavily on Addison with regard to the basic categories of *inventio* and *dispositio*, while his language, too, reveals the influence of his model. Until the present day, we are not too familiar with Neo-Latin poets imitating previous Neo-Latin poets⁹⁵, and might be tempted to speak of theft too unreflectively, especially when the work in question belongs to a period of so-called decline of Neo-Latin letters, the 19th century, and its model to post-humanistic literature – the end of the 17th century –, which is hardly known by today's readers of Neo-Latin. Admittedly, there remains some ambiguity in our author's mode of operation, an ambiguity which would not have subsisted if Paillard-Fernel had added a footnote such as « imité du poème latin d'Addison (or probably *Addisson*) ». The author gives a clue to his reliance on a model by presenting his poem as a Latin translation of parts of an Indian original poem – but nobody will have taken that preface seriously ; the large majority of the audience will have regarded it as an original poem⁹⁶ ; perhaps a few connoisseurs will have realized its indebtedness to Addison's poem, if they remembered having read it in the *Hermes Romanus*. Just like we, these happy few, if they took the effort to leaf through the Latin journal, will have noticed that the young Latinist found his inspiration almost entirely in another Latin poem written on exactly the same subject. But even then, I do not think they would have labeled

⁹³ For instance, *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, a New Edition, with Notes by Richard Hurd, D. D. Lord Bishop of Worcester*, 1, London, 1811, p. 309-334 (Latin poems).

⁹⁴ A very helpful article for problems as this one is Minna Skafte Jensen's « Interpretation of Neo-Latin Poetry : Some Questions », *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, Steiner-Weber ed., t. II, p. 1005-1013 ; see also, in the same volume, Ludwig Braun, « Rezeption als Grenzfall : Innovation oder Plagiat ? », p. 257-266, who notices that poets generally avoid to copy more than two entire lines from an earlier author in one passage.

⁹⁵ For another example of a late poem drawing on a much earlier (this time humanistic) model, see D. Sacré, « An imitator of Fracastorius's *Syphilis* : Gadso Coopmans (1746-1810) and his *Varis* », *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45, 1996, p. 520-538. There too, it would be wrong to speak about plagiarism.

⁹⁶ Cf. note 23.

Paillard-Fernel's product as a *furtum litterarium* or *plagium* : there was no reason to accuse the adolescent of having recycled tacitly large portions taken from an obscure poem : almost no full lines had been copied from the original. A modern judge, then, will add that a comparison with the other products of young Paillard-Fernel – the texts are given in appendix 3 – does not suggest that our Paris student was such a clumsy versifier that he would have needed plagiarism to put together a decent poem. In fact, even those listeners or readers who were familiar with Addison's original poem would have enjoyed its imitation. Indeed, one notices in Paillard-Fernel's divertimento a fair number of places where he markedly altered the original by omission or by addition, thus giving a somewhat different tone or import to his remake. The variations in wording and style, too, contribute to creating an atmosphere that, to my eyes, differs considerably from that of the source poem.

Let us consider for a moment the most striking differences between the two poems. A noticeable addition we find in Paillard-Fernel concerns a passage about the Pygmies attacking Hercules (l. 99-103) ; the story is known from a rather obscure source, Philostratus's *Icones*, but Paillard-Fernel will have found it either in Noël's *Dictionnaire de la fable*⁹⁷, or in a Neo-Latin poem written on that theme, Nicolaus Grudius's *In Herculem [...] dormientem et a Pygmaeis oppugnatum [...]* : that poem had been selected for inclusion in the well-known anthology *Leçons latines modernes* from 1818⁹⁸. Anyhow, the added episode, which has no concrete counterpart in Addison⁹⁹, adds a further characteristically epic touch to the poem and, as a matter of fact, brings it closer to the mock-heroic *Batrachomyomachia*¹⁰⁰, for it explains the reason why the Gods, angry with the Pygmies for the latter's assault on Hercules, refuse to intervene in the conflict between the Pygmies and the cranes, and why they do not take action to prevent the Pygmies from being exterminated ; the diction of Théodule's verses here is highly reminiscent of the famous lines in the *Aeneid* (I, 25-28) where Juno's rejection by the Trojan Paris is given as a reason for her enmity to Aeneas. This epic touch, which is clearly enhanced by Paillard-Fernel's addition, also accounts for a conspicuous omission at the end of the poem : Addison had expounded on the shadows of the dead pygmies taking pleasure at night in their dances (l. 151-159), thus adding a non-epic, rather folkloristic element to his poem ; Paillard-Fernel omitted this remarkable epilogue to keep his poem within the tenor of epic or mock-heroic poetry. Idiosyncratic also was Addison's general remark on the occasion of the extirpation of the Pygmean population (l. 144-150), where the English poet had given it an Horatian twist and had added that even the Roman empire had collapsed : our Théodule decided not to imitate this passage, especially because in his fictional framework the Indian-language poem he was partly translating dated from a period that knew Greek culture but came before the rise of Roman civilization¹⁰¹. Similarly, Addison's lines (l. 41-42) on the stunted cranes in their warm eggs, which are rather georgic than epic in nature, have been completely omitted by the French poet. Another georgic element, Addison's note on the various skills and lifestyles of the Pygmies, who are moreover doing agricultural work industriously (l. 22-23), has disappeared from Paillard-Fernel's remake : the latter concentrates on the martial virtues of the Pygmies that have become proverbial (« *Pygmaeum imperium, Pygmaea gloria, famosa bellis*

⁹⁷ *Dictionnaire de la fable*, p. 438-439.

⁹⁸ « Hercule endormi, et attaqué par les Pygmées », *Leçons latines modernes*, t. II, p. 83-84 : On Grudius's poem, see J.-P. Guépin, *De Drie Dichtende Broers Grudius, Marius, Secundus in brieven, reisverslagen en gedichten. Met bijdragen van Tynman*, Groningen, 2000, t. I, p. 369-381 and t. II, p. 686.

⁹⁹ Where we only read « *sic di volvere* » (l. 120) at the moment when the general of the Pygmies is carried into the air by a gigantic crane.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Batrachomyomachia*, l. 168-198, where the gods decide not to intervene in the battle of frogs and mice.

¹⁰¹ For the same reason, Fernel (l. 10-13) in his imitation of Addison's lines 6-13 decided to strike every allusion the latter had made to Roman epic poems, such as the *Aeneid*, Statius' *Thebaid* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

oppida, nunc etiam narratur», l. 19-23) and, when he says that « *Gangetica magno / terra colebatur populo* » (l. 21-22), *colere* does not refer to agricultural work, but means *incolere, habitare*. Furthermore, the aggressiveness of the cranes against the Pygmies is related in Addison as a series of individual attacks of cranes against Pygmies (l. 29-34), whereas Paillard-Fernel refers to military raids against the Pygmean state, attempts at occupying their houses and cities, and thus to organized attacks aiming at destroying the « *integra regni gloria* » (l. 35-36) of the Pygmean nation (l. 35-43). The names given to « citizens » of both realms add to the epic color of the poem and recall the *Batrachomyomachia*, as does the emotional and bellicose speech of the Pygmies' king Geranomus (l. 59-75), for which there is no equivalent in Addison, but which is a counterpart to the frog king's speech in the *Batrachomyomachia* (l. 144-159). As a matter of fact, in Fernel's poem the birds are depicted much more in human terms than in Addison, and thus come closer to the epic style of the *Batrachomyomachia*. No doubt for the same reason, the multiple references to the tiny bodies of the Pygmies in Addison (« *parvas cohortes* », l. 2 ; « *gracilem tubarum sonitum* », l. 14-15 ; « *exiguos pugiles* », l. 16 ; « *popello* », l. 23 ; « *ossibus exiguis* », l. 25-26 ; « *parvula progenies* », l. 30 ; « *feroculus* », l. 32 ; « *homuncio* », l. 72 ; « *mediamque assurgit in ulnam* », l. 78 ; « *pedibusque pusillis* », l. 109 ; « *voce exigua* », l. 140-141 ; « *populus cubitalis* », l. 141 ; « *plebs parva* », l. 153) have entirely disappeared in Fernel's poem : the French student wants the minuscule stature of the warriors to be implicit only and thus conforms to his epic standard, the pseudo-Homeric poem¹⁰².

Finally, in the realm of *elocutio*, there is no solid ground for blaming the youngster for having copied word for word his model, as I argued before : he imitated it and borrowed some *iuncturae verborum* from it, but certainly did not plagiarize it ; he expressed almost the same ideas and facts as Addison with the alterations we have noticed, but made sure to add variation in his linguistic articulation vis-à-vis Addison. The method Paillard-Fernel follows is rather one that we know from another genre and that was perfectly legitimate in and outside the schools : the *paraphrasis poetica*, consisting in giving a paraphrase of a poem in other words. The only remarkable feature here is the fact that this paraphrase of hexameter lines is carried out in the same metre (and, again, that the source of the paraphrase is not indicated). Such poetical restatements, based on original texts (or reductions in prose) were indeed a matter of course since the Renaissance ; they would normally yield a result in which part of the original wording shines through, as here. This type of exercise was still very common in 19th-century schools, as some manuals prove¹⁰³. It was appreciated by contemporary poets outside the classroom. Thus Servan de Sugny, the editor of the *Almanach des Muses latines*, proposed his own paraphrase of Janus Secundus' ode XI (« *In choreas ab se spectatas* »), which starts with these lines

Curru Diones vectus eburneo
Vidi modo heic, iam nescio quo loco
Calente cursitare mixtas
Cum iuvenum serie puellas,

¹⁰² Therefore, too, the Pygmies have « normal » houses, cities and strongholds, not miniature huts made out of mud, feathers and eggshells, as in Pliny's *Natural history* (Cf. note 39) – Addison did not say anything about their dwellings, using only the vague *desertos lares* (l. 25).

¹⁰³ See, e.g., Thévenot's *Anthologia poetica Latina*, vol. 1, where one finds the « matière », dictated to the pupils, on the left pages, the « solution » on the right pages. To obtain the result « *Quae mea sors ? Audite, canes, audite, catelli, / natum ad blanditias et genus omne canum* », p. 141, the teacher would have dictated : « *Quae mea est condicio ? Canes, catellique audite, et quodlibet genus canum ad blandimenta genitum* », p. 140.

into hexameter verses :

*Idaliae curru Matris subvectus eburno,
Cum iuvenum serie vidi flagrante puellas
Miscere alterno festiva tripudia saltu*¹⁰⁴.

Similarly, a certain Louis Crébillon rendered Sarbievius's ode IV, 23 (*Ad cicadam*) into elegiac couplets. The original poem opens thus :

*O quae, populea summa sedens coma,
Caeli roriferis ebria lacrimis,
Et te voce, cicada,
Et mutum recreas nemus ;*

the paraphrase goes like this :

*O tu roriferis quae fletibus ebria caeli,
E ramo recreas, laeta cicada, nemus [...]*¹⁰⁵

When we take a closer look at the way Paillard-Fernel rewrites Addison, we can discern a similar kind of paraphrase, in which one recognizes the original text and can spot some repeated words or groups of words, but which avoids too many literal or close borrowings from Addison. The list of parallel passages I quoted above makes this abundantly clear. Let us look in more detail at a couple of examples. First of all the place of the action : India, where the former empire of the Pygmies was situated ; obviously, Paillard-Fernel (l. 17-23) followed Addison (l. 18-23). In both cases, India is described as a warm, eastern country, where the Pygmies once had their reign in the midst of rocky hills. In the Frenchman's imitation, only three tags reappear, two of which are innocent (the Virgilian « *inhospita saxa* », and « *Pygmaeum quondam* »), the third one is more conspicuous (« *tepet India* »). And Paillard-Fernel added some new elements : in the East, the former empire of the Pygmies still lives on in the memories of men, he mentions in passing, and he inserts a reference to the immense forts of the Pygmies and their lost cities, once renowned because of the battles that had been won there by the inhabitants. The French youth also dropped some elements from the Addisonian description : the quiet valleys and isolated greenery where the Pygmies lived and cultivated their farmlands. Obviously, the changes Paillard-Fernel introduced correspond to what we noticed above : they entailed the erasure of georgic touches and the stressing of heroic greatness. In one of the next sections, too, while describing the victorious expeditions undertaken by the Pygmies, the source of the immortal hatred of the cranes towards them, the Frenchman (l. 35-48) adhered closely to the development of Addison's exposition (l. 29-42) : in both poets, the sentences are articulated in the same way (Addison, l. 29 : « *Non sic, dum stetit* » ; Paillard-Fernel, l. 35 : « *Non ita, donec stetit* » ; Addison, l. 30-33 : « *Tum si quis auderet, miles sumptis armis sternit humi* » ; Paillard-Fernel, l. 37-40 : « *Tum si quis auderet, miles arma rapiebat et sternebat humo* »), but the French pupil avoided accumulating too many close or literal borrowings ; and, again, some significant modifications can be observed in the imitator's work, for he changed the small race

¹⁰⁴ Jules Servan de Sugny, *Almanach des Muses latines*, 1, 1817, p. 103 [no title].

¹⁰⁵ *Almanach des Muses latines*, 1, 1817, p. 74 : « La cigale (Imitation de Sarbiévius) ». As everybody knows, such poetical reworkings were often valued as autonomous works of art : such was the case of, e.g., the *Paraphrases Horatianae* of the Jesuit Neo-Latin poet Jacobus Wallius (1599-1690).

of Pygmies into the glory of the Pygmean empire, the bird (« *ales* », « *volucris* ») into an enemy (« *hostis* »), the personal duel between a Pygmy and a crane into an attack of the cranes on the alert city of the Pygmies with their houses and sacred lares and penates ; the carrying of the defeated crane upon the Pygmy's shoulder into the putting up of the crane's feathers on the Pygmy's helmet as a sign of triumph ; furthermore, Paillard-Fernel, who expanded his model here, added another example of the military bravery of the Pygmies (l. 42-43). Manifestly, there is more at stake here than a concern for variation¹⁰⁶ : Paillard-Fernel's rewording reveals the same tendencies we noticed in his adaptations of the general contents and structure of Addison's poem. Indeed, he is inclined towards giving a more exclusively epic (let us say, *Batrachomyomachian*) colour to the story and towards stressing the grand style, whereas Addison had added georgic elements and had established connections between his miniature epic and the society of the bees as depicted at the end of Vergil's *Georgics*¹⁰⁷. In fact, from the start of the poem on, one can observe how Paillard-Fernel restyled Addison's story in the direction of epic poetry in general and the *Batrachomyomachia* in particular.

Addison had started with an announcement of his theme, which by its mere conciseness stood apart from the epic tradition :

*Pennatas acies et lamentabile bellum
Pygmeadum refero.* (Addison, l. 1-2)

Paillard-Fernel developed this into a sentence of six lines, coming close to the traditional seven lines of Homer and Vergil ; the first half line echoes the opening of the *Aeneid*, whereas the rest of this part of the poem, accumulating the afflictions of war, stands in the Homeric tradition we also find in Latin, for instance in Lucan :

*Arma gruesque cano Pygmaeorumque phalanges
Intrepidus bellumque atrox gentemque sepultam
Aequatosque solo muro ; ut stragis acervis
Defecere agri et Stygias detrusit ad umbras
Heroum tantorum animas lacrimabile fatum
Corporaque immixtis laceravit fortia corvis.* (Paillard-Fernel, l. 1-6)

The ensuing apostrophe to the Muse (l. 7-9) also recalls the *Aeneid* (« *Musa mihi pugnas memora* », l. 7 ; cf. *Aeneid*, l. 8) and thus differs considerably from the corresponding Addisonian verse (« *Parvas tu, Musa, cohortes / instrue* », l. 2-3). Finally, the speech of the king of the Pygmies (l. 59-75), which, as we have seen, is absent in Addison but was meant to balance the *Batrachomyomachia*, is an eminently epic exhortation, which recalls the orations given by Caesar and Curio in the first book of Lucan : the king identifies himself flatteringly with his soldiers, alludes to the support he has from Mars and other Gods, touches upon earlier victories against the enemy, whose wickedness is stressed, suggests that after this final battle the soldiers will have repose forever, and further exhorts them by portraying the damages that

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also Paillard-Fernel, l. 84-108, who follows Addison, l. 120-127, but seems to invite the reader to compare his version with the original one : in Addison, the Pygmy was lifted up in the air with his feet, in Paillard with his neck (Juvenal, XIII, 167-170, Addison's source, had not mentioned how exactly the Pygmy warrior had been lifted up) ; besides, the Frenchman not only added some details (how the Pygmy upheaved his arms to the gods, since he was unable to lift up his eyes, cut out by the crane ; the passivity of Jupiter), but also appended a new end to the tale : in Addison, we see the Pygmy disappear high in the air, while the cranes are rejoicing in their imminent food ; in Paillard-Fernel, the blood-covered Pygmy is thrown down on earth by the crane.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus*, p. 55-62.

would befall their temples, wives, children and monarch if the enemy were to be victorious. This exhortation depicts the enemies not as birds, but as full human beings and evil persons, and into it Paillard-Fernel incorporates epic tags from Vergil and other classical poets :

*Bellorum o socii, quos afflat numine Mavors*¹⁰⁸
Et quorum infensae gladios sensere cohortes,
En vobis toties truncata renascitur Hydra !
Si qua fides oculis, hostes trans aera cerno,
*Milia quot Getico numquam venere paludi*¹⁰⁹.
Solvo tamen superis grates : lux illa videbit
Perniciem totam volucrum vestrosque triumphos.
Ultimus hic labor est, haec ultima praelia. Posthac
Vos secura manet requies, secura senectus...
*At si degeneres animi virtutis avitae*¹¹⁰
Hostis ad aspectum male provida terga daretis,
Cernite templa deum passu temerata profano,
Uxores volucris ludibrio cernite vestras !
Progenies rostro victoris inulta peribit,
*Ipse ego... Sed nimium me turbida terret imago*¹¹¹ ;
*Ite, mei decus imperii et tutela, sodales*¹¹² :
*Pygmaeadum turmis stipatus nescio vinci !*¹¹³

To sum up : Paillard-Fernel found his inspiration to a very large degree in Addison, but he avoided any possible accusation of plagiarism because he added new episodes and cut others, altered some significant details and moreover paraphrased his model in different words ; in this careful and steady process, he managed to turn his remake into a poem that looks much like a clever adaptation of the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* and, contrary to Addison's *Pygmaio-geranomachia*, presents no elements that are unexpected within the grandiloquent style of epic and mock-epic. To some extent, the complexity of Addison's poem has been scaled back, and Paillard-Fernel's epic merely aimed at producing a comic poem in which tiny creatures were described as the most lion-hearted combatants ; the inappropriately grandiloquent style was the main means to achieving a humorous effect.

Paillard-Fernel's juvenile poem produces evidence of the popularity of Addison's Latin poetry. Most probably, there must have been more imitations of the English poet's Neo-Latin production, both in England and on the continent, but, to my knowledge, Addison's influence has not been studied hitherto. One wonders if some Latin poems on the barometer – there are quite a few in 19th-century Europe – have been inspired by Addison's *Barometri descriptio*¹¹⁴ or by the didactic poem on the same subject Loup Thomas (1719-1792) published in his

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Lucan, I, v. 299 : « *Bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis* ».

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2, v. 331 : « *milia quot magnis unquam venere Mycenis* ».

¹¹⁰ Cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica*, X, v. 68-69 : « *ipsi ferre Iovi valeat. Pro degener altae / virtutis patrum ! Quando certamen inire* » ; Virgil, *Aeneid*, X, v. 752 : « *quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae* ».

¹¹¹ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, v. 353 : « *admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago* ».

¹¹² Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, v. 612-613 : « *Iam timor ille Phrygum, decus et tutela Pelasgi / nominis, Aeacidis caput insuperabile bello* ».

¹¹³ Cf. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 122, line 176 : « *Inter tot fortes armatus nescio vinci* ».

¹¹⁴ On which see, for instance, Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus*, p. 30-49.

Barometrum (Paris, 1749)¹¹⁵. Addison's remarkable poem entitled *Machinae gesticulantes* or *Puppet Show*, a subject matter which, as far as I can see, is quite unique in Neo-Latin poetry, undoubtedly caught the attention of many a reader. At least one imitation of it is to be found in England : it is an anonymous poem that stands in the second volume of *Selecta poemata Anglorum Latina, seu sparsim edita, seu hactenus inedita*, Bath, 1774, compiled by Edward Popham¹¹⁶, and is entitled *Pupae gesticulantes*¹¹⁷. Quite a few lines in the first half of this poem derive from Addison's poem written on the same subject, from the announcement of the theme – Addison's [...] « *cano / exiguam gentem* » (l. 1-2) has become « *exiguae gentis mores [...] / cano* » (l. 1-3) – to the mention of the money one has to pay for the show – Addison wrote « *nec confusus bonos : nummo subsellia cedunt* » (l. 9) ; this poet « *totoque ut semper in orbe, / hic etiam sedis dat primae nummus honorem* » (l. 8-9) – and the description of a peculiar puppet, not identified by name in Addison¹¹⁸, but pinpointed as Punch (« *Punchius* ») in this poem – Addison, l. 19-30 : « [...] *incedit bomuncio rauca / voce strepens [...] ; / in ventrem tumet imodicum ; pone eminet ingens / a tergo gibbus ; [...] / et risu importunus adest atque omnia turbat* » ; our imitator has these lines (20-25) : « *Ridiculus vultu procedit bomuncio, tergum / cui riget in gibbum, immensusque protruditur alvus. / Punchius huic nomen [...] ; / importunus adest [...] / [...] atque omnia turbat* ».

Finally, I would draw attention to the fact that later *barbistes* have perused their predecessors' published poems with due attention and sometimes have not scrupled to borrow heavily from them. Our poem offers a proof of this. At the *séance littéraire* of December 1825, a year and a half after Paillard-Fernel's poem had come out, two Paris pupils presented a very pleasant verse adaptation of an episode taken from Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (II, 26)¹¹⁹, describing how the Spanish knight carried on like a madman in a puppet theatre. Towards the end of the poem, one reads the following, seemingly original, lines (they are absent from Cervantes) :

*Non, si mille forent linguae totidemque sonarent
Labra mihi, possem clades aequare canendo ;
Vulnera luxatosque artus perfractaque crura,
Tristia non memorem dispersae funera gentis ! (l. 121-124)¹²⁰*

Obviously, these hexameters have been copied from the final section of Paillard-Fernel's *Combat mémorable* :

¹¹⁵ On Thomas's *Barometrum* see Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees. Idology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry*, Oxford, 2003, p. 157-164. Other poems on the barometer include an anonymous « *Ascensus et descensus Mercurii in barometro pendent ex gravitate aeris et vi eius elastica* », *Selecta poemata Anglorum*, Popham, ed., Bathoniae, 1774, t. II, p. 192-195 ; and de Rivarol's « *Le baromètre* », *Almanach des Muses latines*, 1, Paris-Lyon, 1817, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ See on this anthology Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 292-296 ; David K. Money, *The English Horace. Anthony Askop and the Tradition of British Latin Verse*, Oxford, 1998, p. 227-228.

¹¹⁷ « *Pupae gesticulantes* », *Selecta poemata Anglorum*, p. 65-67.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 223 ; Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus*, p. 77.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Jules-François Cornu, César-René-Julien Malibert, « *Les marionnettes de Maître Pierre* », *Séance littéraire annuelle*, Paris, 1825, p. 38-42 : This adaptation of Cervantes also contains some vague echos, but (in my opinion) no unquestionable imitations from Addison's *Machinae gesticulantes*.

¹²⁰ This Latin paraphrase of Cervantes is unknown to the specialists of the adaptations and translations of the Spanish writer (Juan Suñé Benages, Juan Suñé Fonbuena, *Bibliografía crítica de ediciones del Quijote desde 1605 hasta 1917*, Barcelona, 1917, who mention two partial Latin translations ; Jeremiah D.M. Ford, Ruth Lansing, Cervantes. *A tentative bibliography of his works and of the biographical and critical material concerning him*, Cambridge, MA., 1931, who mention six partial translations and adaptations in Latin). There are in fact quite a few more Latin renderings of Cervantes than these bibliographers have itemized.

*Non, si mille forent linguae totidemque sonarent
Labra mihi, possem clades memorare canendo
Pygmaeadum, laceros artus, discerpta referre
Ora manusque solo sparsas perfractaque crura [...]. (l. 121-124)*

APPENDIX 1 : PAILLARD-FERNEL, COMBAT MEMORABLE ENTRE LES PYGMEES ET LES GRUES

(Fragment d'un poème manuscrit en langue indienne, trouvé sous les ruines de Pygméopolis, et traduit en vers latins par Théodule Fernel, de Neufchâtel)¹²¹

*Arma gruesque cano Pygmaeorumque phalanges
Intrepidus bellumque atrox gentemque sepultam
Aequatosque solo muro ; ut stragis acervis
Defecere agri et Stygias detrusit ad umbras
Heroum tantorum animas lacrimabile fatum
Corporaque immixtis laceravit fortia corvis.
Musa, mihi pugnas memora aerasque cohortes,
Ingentem cane militiam, fatalia bella,
Atque animos acue et memorandi suffice vires.
Iam satis et nimium unanimes cecinere poetae
Antiqua de gente viros. Quis nescit Achillem ?
Thesea quis nescit Diomedeosque labores
Erroresque domum tarde remeantis Ulysssei ?¹²²
Primus ego, inceptis faveat si doctus Apollo,
Insolitas acies latis extendere campis
Aggrediar, rigido accendens nova proelia cantu.
Hic, ubi nascentis Phoebi tepet India flammis,
Praeruptos inter montes et inhospita saxa
Pygmaeum quondam imperium, Pygmaea vigebat
Gloria – nunc etiam extremis narratur Eois.
Hic (sinerent utinam superi !) Gangetica magno
Terra colebatur populo, famosaque bellis
Oppida et immensis surgebant moenibus arces.
Sed quo tanta abiere virum monumenta ? Silentes
Nunc squalent campi, cecidere a culmine tures...
Gens Pygmaea fuit... Si forte obstantia saxa
Horrentesque agros dumis litusque sinistrum,
Triste viator iter superaverit, omnia muta,
Omnia desolata videt. Deformia lapsis
Tecta iacent muris ; desertos foeda penates
Herba tegit ; sparsis valles late ossibus albent.
Illic infestam mediam inter funera sedem
Victrices posuere grues gaudentque triumphis*

¹²¹ The Latin spelling and punctuation have been modernized here.

¹²² « Ulysssei » = « Ulixiei », for which see Friedrich Neue, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, C. Wagener, ed., 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1902, p. 508.

*Infandis miserique insultant manibus hostis.
Non ita, Pygmaei donec stetit integra regni
Gloria et intactis res publica floruit armis.
Tum si quis vigilem auderet temerarius urbem
Aut clausas temptare domos sanctosque penates,
Arma, arma intrepidus rapiebat miles et hostem
Sanguinea sternebat humo atque insignia victi
Plumas aptabat galeae, monumenta triumphi.
Aut si quem numero oppressum mors saeva maneret,
Non ibat Stygias saltem incommitatus ad umbras...
Grus etiam quoties implumia pignora nido
Crediderat, spirans animo furialiter iram
Pygmaeus ferro instructus taedisque volabat
Otiisque invisae turbabat dulcia gentis
Spemque hostis blandam maturaque vota ruebat.
Hinc memor ira gruuum, hinc ingentia bella duellumque
Infandum serisque diu memorabile saeculis.
Nec motus quondam tantos celebravit Homerus,
Belligero fremitu cum stagna loquacia miscens
Sanguine bellantum nigram maculavit arenam,
Reliquiae et tristes murum et Meridarpacis aegre
Se claudo lapsu ranae traxere sub undis.*

Iamque dies miseranda aderat, lacrimabile tempus...

Le jour de la vengeance était arrivé pour les Grues. A la voix d'Ornithagé, leur reine, elles se rassemblent en foule sur les bords du Strymon : la guerre est résolue. Les Grues préparent leurs armes pour le combat :

*... Novaque ad certamina rostrum
Terribilesque parent unguis magnosque furores.*

À la nouvelle de cet armement redoutable, les Pygmées accourent de tous côtés dans la ville, pour y défendre leur roi, le vénérable Geranomusis,¹²³ le Nestor des Pygmées. Cependant l'ennemi s'approche ; la terre s'obscurcit au loin sous leurs bataillons nombreux... Le roi rassemble le conseil de ses généraux, et, montrant sur son visage un espoir qui est loin de son cœur, il leur parle en ces termes :

*« Bellorum o socii, quos afflat numine Mavors
Et quorum infensae gladios sensere cohortes,
En vobis toties truncata renascitur Hydra !
Si qua fides oculis, hostes trans aera cerno,
Milia quot Getico numquam venere paludi.
Solve tamen superis grates : lux illa videbit
Perniciem totam volucrum vestrosque triumphos.
Ultimus hic labor est, haec ultima praelia. Posthac*

¹²³ Poet's note : « Ennemi des Grues (géranos – misos) » .

*Vos securae manet requies, securae senectus...
At si degeneres animi virtutis avitae
Hostis ad aspectum male provida terga daretis,
Cernite templa deum passu temerata profano,
Uxores volucris ludibrio cernite vestras !
Progenies rostro victoris inulta peribit,
Ipse ego... Sed nimium me turbida terret imago ;
Ite, mei decus imperii et tutela, sodales :
Pygmaeadum turmis stipatus nescio vinci ! »*

Ce discours enflamma le courage des Pygmées ; de toutes parts, ils se précipitent au combat sous la conduite du valeureux Micromégas, leur général en chef. La victoire est long-temps incertaine ; mais le carnage est grand dans les deux armées : la terre est inondée de sang...

*... Mixtae mucronibus alae
Sparguntur digitisque unguis et rostra lacertis.*

Arrive la catastrophe qui termine ce combat mémorable : l'intrépide Micromégas sera victime de sa valeur ; enlevé dans les airs par un lâche ennemi... Mais laissons parler le poète :

*Interea saevit mediis in milibus ardens
Micromegas, tepida quem fusa cadavera terra
Stratarum cinxere gruam. Furit obice magno
Magna viri virtus Martemque fatigat acerbum.
Mille manu parit ille neces et mille lacessit ;
Omnis in hoc uno versatur copia pugnae,
Cum subito properans magnis clangoribus ales
Ingens, terribilis, qualem non Strymonis umquam
Concita sacrilego genuerunt litora bello,
Corruptum cervice virum frustra que ululantem
In caelum rapit ; haud aequis nam comminus armis
Ausa ducem petiisse metu excitiabilis hastae...
Ille igitur quem non Bellona duello,
Non rigidi domuere unguis, non mille catervae,
Fraude mala victus nec tantis debitus heros
Opprobriis, medio spectandus in aere pendet
Tristiaque invisae praebebat ludibria genti.
Nequicquam ad superos attollit brachia supplex,
Brachia, nam miseri grus rostro lumina ademit ;
Numinibus queritur surdis ; stat Iuppiter aureo
Despiciens fera bello polo nec vota gementis
Suscipit ulla pater : manet alta mente repostum
Pygmaeadum facinus spretique Alcidis honores
Irrisumque impune genus dum fessa sopori
Membra daret¹²⁴, tumida ex ira nec corda resident
Ante uno gentem quam cernat funere mersam.*

¹²⁴ Poet's note : « Les mythologues s'accordent avec le poète indien sur la mésaventure qu'éprouva le grand Alcide dans un de ses voyages, lorsqu'il fut insulté par la populace de Pygméopolis » .

*Interea magno exhaustus conamine ductor
 Deficit exhalatque animam. Languescere corpus
 Sensit avis tandemque feros lassata remisit
 Amplexus caeloque hostem detrusit ab alto
 Praecipitem, lacerum plagis foedumque cruore.
 Diriguere omnes visu caecique furore
 Incluta magnanimo coniurant funere nisu
 Hostis ab opprobriis saevoque a Marte tueri.
 Haud mora, convenere omnes cinguntque iacentem.
 Tum iuxta truncum exanimem pugna aspera surgit
 Et magis atque magis, quamvis ductore perempto
 Corda animique labant virtusque infracta fatiscit,
 Bella recrudescunt atque armorum ingruit horror.
 Improvisa etenim incautum grus desuper hostem
 Urget hians celerique fugit sub sidera penna.
 Ille indignantes iactat per inane lacertos
 Nequicquam vanasque minax diverberat auras...
 Non si mille forent linguae totidemque sonarent
 Labra mihi, possem clades memorare canendo
 Pygmaeadum, laceros artus, discerpta referre
 Ora manusque solo sparsas perfractaque crura
 Atque exundantes generoso sanguine campos...
 Hei mihi, quot Ganges tepidis correpta sub undis
 Arma virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit !...*

APPENDIX 2 : ADDISON'S TEXTS IN 19TH- CENTURY FRANCE

Here I list the mutilations to Addison's poems as they reappeared in the *Hermes Romanus* (HR). Our reference text of the original versions of the English poet (A) is that procured by Dana Sutton (*cf.* note 46).

Barometri descriptio

2 *nitentia* A : *micantia* HR

15 *dum* A : *quum* HR

24 *tempestatesque futuras* A : *tempestatumque monebit* HR

25 *monet, brumamque et frigora narrat* A : *vices, brumamque et frigora dicet* HR

56-58 A : not in HR

Pugmaio-Geranomachia

4 A : not in HR

Militiam A : *carminibus* HR

11-13 A : not in HR

44-52 A : not in HR

60 A : not in HR

61 *ictum meditata futurum* A : *dum vulnera cogitat absens* HR

63 A : not in HR

68-69 A : not in HR

73-74 A : not in HR

75 *Iamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert* A : *Sese acies inter medias spectabilis infert* HR

82-88 A : not in HR

- 89 Iamque A : Ecce HR
96 A : not in HR
102-103 A : not in HR
105 *cuspidē sanguineo* A : *cuspidē sanguinea* HR
111 *strepitū tepidoque rubescit* A : not in HR
112 *sanguine sparguntur* A : not in HR
118 *Ille gruum terror* A : *Territat ille grues* HR
122 *et (triste relatu)* A : *et vana frementem* HR
128-137 A : not in HR
146 *nempe exitus omnia tandem* A : *nempe, o dolor, exitus idem* HR
147 *certus regna manet ; sunt certi denique fines* A : *omnia regna manet. Sic nobile corrui olim* HR
148 A : not in HR
151-159 A : not in HR

Machinae gesticulantes

- 31 *molles* A : *comites* HR
33 *fatigat* A : *fatigant* HR
35 *Saepe etiam gemmis rutila et spectabilis auro* A : *Nunc gemmis rutila et tenui spectabilis auro* HR
37 A : not in HR
41-50 A : not in HR
51 *saepe gravi* A : *Nunc magno* HR
52 *cient* A : *ciet* HR
60-61 A : not in HR
63 A : not in HR
65 *quos pagina sacra* A : *felicior aetas* HR
66 *suggerit atque olim peperit felicior aetas* A : *quos tulit, huc redeunt ; cano saepe ordine cernas* HR
67 A : not in HR
78-79 *crura ligat pedibus umerisque accommodat armos, / et membris membra aptat et artubus insuit artus* A : *membra aptat membris atque artubus insuit artus* HR

Sphaeristerium

- 3-8 A : not in HR
9 *percurrunt* A : *percurrit* HR
10 *uncta, nitens oleo, formae quibus esse rotundae* A : *cui ferrum artificis formae dedit esse rotundae* HR
11-17 A : not in HR
18-19 : *Postquam ideo in partes turbam distinxerat aequas / consilium aut sors, quisque suis accingitur armis* A : *Lusores postquam partes distinxit in aequas / sors aut consilium, sua quisque accingitur arma* HR
20 *cursum meta futurum* A : *cursus meta futuros* HR
24 *fesso* A : *fessa* HR
26-27 *Mox ubi funduntur late agmina crebra minorem / sparsa per orbiculum* A : *Orbiculum sed mox ubi circumfusa minorem / agmina crebra premunt* HR
31 *subito* A : *citius* HR
33-34 A : not in HR
35 *incusat* A : *incusans* HR
36-39 A : not in HR
40 *et* A : *aut* HR
48 *sphaeram* A : *certat* HR
49 *certat, luminibusque viam signantibus omnes* A : *luminibusque viam longe signantibus, omnes* HR
53 *ab* A : *in* HR

55-58 A : not in HR

59 *Si vero incursus* A : *Si sphaera incursus* HR

60 *inveniat partoque hostis spoliatur* A : *invenit partoque hostis spoliavit* HR

Resurrectio delineata

1-92 A : not in HR

93 *fingunt* et A : *Ante oculos* HR

97-114 A : not in HR

Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europae reddita

2 *aspice, Caesar* A : *excute totum*

3-5 A : not in HR

6-7 *Tristia diffugiant* : *O tandem absiste triumphis* / *Expletus, penitusque animo totum excute Martem*
A : *Martem, Europa, animo, tandemque absiste triumphis* HR

12 *invertit* A : *invenit* HR

24 *famososque Ormondi vulnere campos* A : *et innumero famosos vulnere campos* HR

26 *biscunt divortia muris* A : *divortia moenibus biscunt* HR

27-29 *Vexillum intrepidus fixit, cui tempora dudum* / *Budenses palmae, peregrinaque laurus obumbrat.*
/ *Ille ruens aciem in mediam, qua ferrea grando* A : *Bellator ruit intrepidus, qua ferrea grando* HR

34 *Maenia discedunt* A : *Discedunt muri* HR

36 *et faecundas* A : *foetas et* HR

42 *Sic postquam Enceladi dejecit* A : *Haud secus Enceladi deiectos* HR

43 et A : *ut* HR

45 *hic* A : *hinc* HR

51-109 A : *Aurea pax redit. Iam dura lege solutus* / *natalesque agros miles carosque penates* HR

110 *recentes* A : *decoras* HR

113 *Chara stupet conjux, reducisque incerta mariti* A : *Ipsa uxor stupet, et reduces male certa mariti* HR

123-124 *Serpentem, vigilesque feras, plaustroque gementes* / *Insolito tauros, et anhelos igne juvencos* A :
Serpentem immanesque feras vigilesque iuencos HR

125-184 A : not in HR

APPENDIX 3 : « PRISE DU TROCADERO PAR LE DUC D'ANGOULEME ET L'ARMEE FRANÇAISE »

*Iam Pyrenaeos, nimbose cacumina montes*¹²⁵
Vicerat ascensu Gallorum exercitus ; atri
Nec nemorum saltus nec inhospita saxa pruinis,
Anxia queis placitas natura incinxerat oras,
Fortia Francigenum potuerunt signa morari :
Ibat ovans, ibat per mille pericula miles,
Et iusto populum contundens Marte rebellem,
Venerat ad Gades, ubi quondam parte laborum
Exhausta, Tyriis egressus victor ab oris,

¹²⁵ Th. Paillard-Fernel, « Prise du Trocadéro par le duc d'Angoulême et l'armée française », *Séance littéraire annuelle de l'institution, Maison de Sainte-Barbe, dirigée par M. de Lanneau Fils*, Paris, 1823, 32-34. The session took place on 8 December 1823 ; it was chaired by De Lanneau. Several Latin poems were recited , three by pupils of the « classe de rhétorique », than four by pupils of the « classe de seconde », among whom Paillard-Fernel. Out of the ordinary, a poem composed after the session, by L. Alloury, was added to the volume (p. 51-52).

*Dicitur Alcides geminam posuisse columnam,
Ac veteres ultra vetuit procedere gentes.*

*Illic, corruptis caeli sub tractibus, aether
Cum Phoebi exardens incanduit axe, quotannis
Incumbit rediviva lues, qua terra debiscit,
Arescunt frondes, animalia languida torpent,
Perque ipsos manant contagia dira colonos.*

*Quae tamen assuetas naturae conscia leges
Numina mutarunt ? Gallis praesentibus, ecce
Florida ridet humus, ridet clementior aer,
Ultioresque suae pestis contingere terrae
Nescia, Tartareis exul se condit in antris.
Miles at ignotas avido circumspicit arces
Obtutu, ac testes quae dudum impressa per oras
Herculeos narrant vestigia magna triumphos ;
Et memores iuvat ire locos, iuvat aequora terrasque
Aspexisse novas, melioremque aethere solem,
Sparsaque fertilibus miracula cernere campis.
Sed satis est vidisse semel ; sub mentibus altis
Saerum haeret vulnus, labefacti iniuria regni,
Borbonidum violata domus, calcataque sceptri
Iura, sacrumque scelus, spretique Tonantis honores...
Certum est insanos populi cohibere furores,
Et, Marte extincto, clementes sumere poenas.*

*Surgebat moles castelli immensa per auras,
Opportuna locis, operum molimine magno,
Murorumque minis, et procurrentibus altum
In pelagum muris, praeruptaque undique fossa ;
Urbis tutamen, summis quam viribus ingens,
Hispanum contra defendere turba parabat.*

*Impigri iussere duces : stat moenia longo
Obsidio premere et sceleratam evertere turrem.
Tunc alacres properare viri, fervere labores ;
Saeva alii tormenta parant, munimine denso
Castra alii claudunt, surgunt tentoria ; fido
Milite et infestis cinguntur moenia turmis.*

*Iamque dies funesta aderat ; tonat ictibus aether,
Queis imo concussa tremunt late aequora fundo.
Omnia vastantur tellusque cruore rubescit
Strata cadaveribus. Credunt vicisse rebelles...
Artibus infaustis falsi celare triumpho
Sive velint cladem, seu iusta numinis ira
Caecatas premeret caligo miserrima mentes ;
Exercent choreas et moenia cantibus implent*

*Totaque luminibus collucent oppida festis,
Inscia, quanta suos, funesta per otia, clades
Hoc horrenda magis, quo plus inopina, maneret.*

*Ast ubi nox caelo mutas induxerat umbras,
Continuo sonus armorum clangorque tubarum
Hostibus horribilem trepidis cecinere ruinam.
Francigenum tacitae irrumpunt ad moenia turmae.
Militis infesti rapidos nil sistere gressus,
Nil terrere valet, nec saxa, impervia saxa,
Nec late plenis undantia flumina fossis ;
Immo mille neces spargentia fulmina Gallus
Horreret, scirent si quidquam horrescere Galli...
Afflatur sed enim propiori Principe virtus,
Impavidusque ruit tanto duce et auspice miles ;
Fulserat Ivriacis quondam quae candida campis
Crista, comes laudis terrorque rebellibus, ipsa
Fulget adhuc similesque iubet sperare triumphos.*

*Ergo volant avidae ad discrimina saeva cohortes ;
Terribili Gallus ruit acrior obice : virtus
Corda virum stimulis accendit fervida : caeco
Necquicquam demens Hispanus Marte resistit ;
Caeditur ad portas et aperta turre potitus
Victor inoffensa salvus tellure recedit,
Seque satis reputans ultum, dum possit inultus
Hostibus immeritam pavidis imponere pacem
Dumque, face extincta bellorum, sceptrum resumens
Borbonidum patria sanguis dominetur in ora.*

APPENDIX 4 : « VISITE DE SA MAJESTE CHARLES X A L'HOTEL ROYAL DES INVALIDES, LE 20 OCTOBRE 1824 »

*Hic ubi iam placitis prope moenibus exul amata¹²⁶
Nectit in urbe moras regnataque litora dulci
Borbonidum imperio invitus transire videtur
Sequana, iuxta oram placidam et frondentia rura,
Immensi surgit tectum sublime palati,
Religiosa domus, fundataque grandibus olim
Borbonidum auspiciis, clarae tranquilla senectae
Sedes, emeriti templum venerabile Martis :*

¹²⁶ Th. Fernel et A. Flobert, « Visite de Sa Majesté Charles X à l'hôtel royal des invalides, le 20 octobre 1824 », *Séance littéraire annuelle de l'Institution Maison de Sainte-Barbe, dirigée par M. de Lanneau fils*, Paris, 1824, by L. Alloury, p. 17-19. The session, presided by De Lanneau, took place on 7 December 1824. Paillard-Fernel was now in the « classe de rhétorique » ; *Séance littéraire annuelle*, Paris, 1825, p. V-VI : in 1825-1826, Flobert was « élève de philosophie » ; the year before he had won the first prize for Latin poetry at the Concours général des Collèges royaux de Paris et Versailles ; therefore his winning poem was read aloud during the 1825 session (but the text is absent from the brochure of that year).

*Ac licet interdum resonantia fulmine festo
Tormenta, armorum strepitus et imago superstes
Bellorum veteres solentur militis annos,
Illic magna quies et rura silentia late ;
Errat vicinis habitator rarus in agris.*

*O quantum facies hodie mutata locorum est !
Ecce manu desueta petens iterum arma trementi,
Ac disciplinae veteris memor, ordine longo
Stat senior miles sumptisque renascitur armis.
Fit sonitus, clangente tuba ; vident omnia Martem
Concipere incendique armis rutilantibus aequor,
Invalidasque animis iterum exsultare phalanges ?*

*Scilicet antiquas inviset Carolus aedes ;
Iamque omni gratum populo et venerabile nomen
Sequanica ingeminat ripis resonantibus echo...
Dum loquor, en rapido cursu provectus equorum
Augustas stetit ante fores limenque palati
Optatus princeps ac blanda voce salutat
Effusam plebem ; « Custodes », inquit, « abeste ! »
Et tantum fido stipatus amore suorum,
Per densos umeros, nato comitante, patentes
Ingreditur postes. Quo tendis, maxime princeps ?
Ecce tibi portae ingentes volvuntur abeno
Cardine et apparent templi penetralia, palmâ
Plena triumphali, captivis plena tropaeis.
Festa sacro circum fumant altaria ture
Votaque cum placitis ascendunt sidera fumis ;
Dum, Paule, innuptae, tua maxima cura, puellae,
Vestibus in niveis, inflexo poplite pronae,
Unanimes pia consociant modulamina voce.
Nec procul hinc pulchro veteranus in ordine miles
Tela ferens onerosa manu trepidante, superbus
Borbonii custos servat latus et pia figens
Ora solo, ora diu quae pallidus horruit hostis,
Fronte pavementum placida canisque capillis
Nunc solemne premit, nunc crebro fulminis ictu
Non sine honore caput foedatum ad sidera tollit.*

*Iamque ioco regis maiestas ipsa decenti
Laetior indulget ; dulci custodibus ore
Arridere novis iuvat, heroasque verendos,
Tot bellorum animas, verbis affatur amicis ;
Inchyta scitatur bella, exhaustosque labores
Gratatur, laudatque etiam diversa secutos,
Multa super Nilo rogitans, super hospite multa
Hesperia, et revocat desuetum in pectora Martem.*

*Nunc bellum sileat, pietati cedat honores
Nunc Bellona suos. Tu Gallis Henricus alter,
Carole, tu miseris senibus lacrimisque tuorum,
Proles Borbonidum, saltem solacia debes.
O quam digna parente magis quam rege locutus,
Cum pius heroum sedes intraveris aegras,
Tristis ubi pallor, luctus semperque cruentus
Angor, et omnigeni posuere cubilia morbi !
Et quae etiam pectus pertentavere paternum
Gaudia, laetitia raptus cum miles, acerbum
Te visente torum, languentia bracchia morbo
Sustulit et revocans animam vitamque fugacem :
« O me felicem ! Te vidi, Carole », dixit,
« Nunc laetus moriar. Longos tu vive per annos,
Semper adoratus Gallis, semperque beatus
Secura populos compone in pace volentes... »*

*Et iam plaudit ovans omnis tibi Gallia, miles,
Auspicioque tuo populi respondet amantis
Unanimes clamore chorus. Tu certa beatae
Fata canis plebi : plenus felicibus annis,
Rex vivet, vivet populorum plenus amore ;
Iamque novus Lodoix dictus, pater atque suorum,
Aurea pacatae meditatur saecula genti.*

APPENDIX 5 : ADDITIONS TO R. JALABERT – D. SACRE, « BIBLIOGRAPHIE INTERMEDIAIRE »

Apis Romana, Journal de littérature latine, 1822-1823 : Hitherto we knew only two volumes of this journal. A third volume, however, was published between November 1822 and October 1823. This was the end of the « ancient » *Apis Romana*, p. 283 : « *L'Abeille Romaine* cessant de paraître à compter de ce mois ».

Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei, 1866-1868 : The rebirth of *Apis Romana* was due to Antoine-Augustin Rainguet (°1809) who lead an institute (since 1848 *Petit Séminaire*) at Montlieu (now Montlieu-la-Garde, Charente Maritime). He seems to have revitalized the periodical in 1852 ; it must have existed at least until 1878 (cf. P.-M. Moreau, *La vie et les oeuvres de M. l'Abbé Rainguet* », *Oeuvres poétiques de M. l'Abbé Augustin Rainguet [...] publiées par l'association amicale des anciens élèves du Petit Séminaire de Montlieu*, 1, Montlieu, 1890, p. 20-21 : « *L'Apis Romana* fut fondée en 1852. [...] La tentative, renouvelée à plusieurs reprises, en 1852, 1866, 1878, a toujours réussi. *L'Apis Romana* comprend aujourd'hui dix volumes ». Out of these ten volumes, I could consult only the three ones mentioned above, which are available on Internet (1866, 1867, 1868 ; the last fascicle of 1868 suggests that the journal would continue to appear in 1869) - but three fascicles (6, 8, and 12) were missing for the year 1867. It is unclear if the abbreviation « A. R. » accompanying many poems, stands only for *Apis Romana*, or hints also at *Abbé Rainguet* or *Augustin Rainguet*. A sympathizer of the unreservedly catholic journal was the well-known bibliographer Gustave Brunet (1805-1896), who contributed some articles. There was also a limited international support to the journal, especially from Italy. One of the most important Neo-Latin poets at the time, Luigi Crisostomo Ferrucci (1797-1877), saw many of his poems published here and exchanged letters with the journal's editor. The periodical did not suffer from a shortage of new Latin poems (*Apis Romana sive menstrua*

litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1868, t. III, 379-380 : « À nos abonnés » : « La poésie latine a continué à abonder, ce qui nous a dispensés de puiser aux sources antérieures autant que nous en avons le projet et que nous le permettait une collection assez bien fournie de poètes latins modernes ». The structure and contents of the « new » *Apis Romana* show that the journal was profoundly inspired by the *Hermes Romanus* (1816-1819) (cf. (G. B.), « L'*Hermes Romanus* », *ARbis*, 1, 243-244) ; its existence until the 1860s and 1870s points out the remarkable continuity of European Latin periodicals and indicates that it would be wrong to suppose a rupture between the Latin journals of the early-19th century and the periodicals (such as *Alaudae* (L'Aquila, 1889-1895)) heralding, from the 1880s on, the so-called « *Latinitas viva* » – movement. See also *Bulletin du Bibliophile, revue mensuelle* [...], 11 (1854), 945 (number 3051 ; indicates 1853 as the year of the renaissance of the journal) ; « *Apis Romana* », *Bibliographie catholique, revue critique* [...], 13 (1853-1854), 107-109. I hope the other volumes of the « new » *Apis Romana* will show up in some library. It seems that the *Apis Romana* inspired a similar journal in Spain, entitled *La abeja romana* and published from November 1871 on (cf. *Cronica de los Cervantistas, periodico literario, unica publicación que existe en el mundo dedicada al píncipe de los ingenios*, 1 (Cádiz, 1871-1872), num. 2 (Dec. 1871), 33-72, p. 70 (« Noticias varias ») : « Nuestro amigo el cervantista D. José M.a Leon y Dominguez, ha empezado á publicar desde el 20 de Noviembre una Revista Mensual que se intitula *La Abeja Romana*, y está redactada en latín y otros idiomas. El primer número que tenemos á la vista es notable, y muy ameno. Todas las composiciones que se insertan en la referida Revista particularmente las escritas en el idioma de Cicerón y Virgilio, son dignas de elogio por la pureza clásica de su castiza frase¹²⁷ ».

Leçons latines modernes de littérature et de morale, ou recueil, en prose et en vers, des plus beaux morceaux des auteurs les plus estimés, qui ont écrit en cette langue, depuis la Renaissance des lettres, par M. Noël et M. De la Place, 2 : *Poésie*, Paris, 1818. The second edition, published in Paris, in 1836, is almost identical to the first one (see Jalabert-Sacré, « Bibliographie intermédiaire », p. 231), but contains thirteen additional poems, written by Nic. Lloydius, p. 1-12, probably an Englishman (not in Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*), Cossart, J. Ant. Bernard, Savastanus, F. N., Georgius Ferrius, Jo. Casp. Machius, Ulr. Schroberus, Dan. Heinsius, Andreas Alciatus, the Scottish poet Alexander Rossaeus (see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 196), Jac. Mosant Biosius and Henr. Collot d'Escury, none of which was a 19th-century French poet.

Institution de Lanneau (Ancien Collège Sainte-Barbe, rue de Reims). Exercice littéraire annuel, à l'occasion des examens de Pâques, Paris, 1828 [Albert Arnoul, Étienne-Émile Bourgeat, « Fragment de Sir Walter Scott, tiré de son ouvrage intitulé : La Chronique de la Canongate », p. 26-31 ; Pierre-Eugène Languillon - J.-Zach. Lemoine, « Sur la bataille de Navarin », p. 13-15 ; François-Jules Cornet - Jules-Joseph Arnoux - Alexandre-Napoléon Sauvage, « Le sansonnet », p. 50-55].

[A. R.], « 1867-1868 », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1868, t. III, p. 1-2.

« Abdication de Sylla [tragédie de *Sylla*, acte V, sc. IV] », *Apis Romana, Journal de littérature latine*, Paris, Renard, 1822-1823, t. III, p. 34-35.

¹²⁷ I want to thank my colleague J. M. Maestre Maestre (Cádiz) who was so kind as to look in Cádiz and Madrid for this journal.

- [A. R.], « *Ad Al. Chr. Ferruccium, v. cl., respondet Apis* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, E Seminario Montis-Leonis vulgo Montlieu, 1866, t. I, p. 165.
- « *Ad Apem Romanam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1867, t. II, p. 2.
- [L. C.], « *Ad Apem Romanam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1867, t. II, p. 99-100.
- [A. P.], « *Ad Apem Romanam nocturni versiculi* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1868, t. III, p. 304.
- « *Ad bibulum poetam praenomine Thalem, prosa jocularis* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1868, t. III, p. 83.
- « *Ad divam Germanam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1868, t. III, p. 197-199.
- [P. C.], « *Ad Eucharistiam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1867, t. II, p. 34-35.
- [L. M.], « *Ad Eucharistiam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1867, t. II, p. 35-36.
- [E. B.], « *Ad Eucharistiam* », *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta, Novae seriei*, Parisiis, Ern. Thorin, 1867, t. II, p. 36-37.
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CHIVOT, D., see Jalabert-Sacré, « *Bibliographie intermédiaire* », p. 267, on his *De inventione sermonis*. The translation of this poem, published in 1830, which is accompanied by notes, does not say a word about the author ; there is no « D. Chivot » in French biographical lexica to be found ; yet, the poem is of an outstanding quality and to me seems to belong to an earlier period. I wonder if the real author of this poem was not Marie-Antoine-François Chivot (1752-1786), a professor at the Paris Collège de Montaigu, who after all spent his admittedly short life working on languages and their relationships to each other ; to my knowledge, he published at least one excellent Latin poem, which one can read in *Carmina D. Caroli Lebeau, in Collegio olim Grassinaeo Eloquentiae nec non in Regio professoris*, Parisiis, 1782, p. XXI-XXIV. More importantly, Marie-Antoine-François Chivot is indicated as the author of *De inventione sermonis* in Grégoire-d'Essigny, *Histoire de la ville de Roye, Département de la Somme*, Noyon, 1818, p. 393-399 (p. 395, where an earlier posthumous edition, Paris, 1807, is mentioned) ; on Chivot, see also the short entry by M. Prevost in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris, 1959, t. VIII, col. 1173.

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¹²⁸ This is the first edition (unknown to Giampietro Marconi) of this poem, thus confirming the date (1822) of its composition ; in this edition, one reads in line 14 *extremis*, whereas the other editions have *externis*.

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¹²⁹ I would like to thank Dr. William McCuaig, who corrected my English.