

Instructions for learning Italian in two early-modern Dutch travel guides *Delitiae Italiae* (1602) and *Delitiae Urbis Romae* (1625)

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The first decades of the seventeenth century saw the publication of two travel guides specifically aimed at inhabitants of the Low Countries intending to travel to Italy. The *Delitiae Italiae* was first published in 1602 in Arnhem, to be reprinted in 1609² and 1620³.¹ The book is an adaptation in Dutch by Caspar Ens of a travel guide originally written in German, published only shortly before in Cologne on the occasion of the Jubilee year 1600. Two decades later, in 1625, a second guidebook appeared in Amsterdam, the *Delitiae Urbis Romae*,² offering a description of the places of interest in Rome and including a series of illustrations. This guide also turns out to be an adaptation in Dutch of a German work originally written in Latin, published by Domenicus Custodi in Augsburg in the Jubilee year 1600.

These two Dutch-Italian travel guides are no isolated cases. They are part of a corpus of travel texts produced from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Texts of this kind emanated from a new humanistic ideal that propagated traveling as part of an educational program. It was thought that by traveling a young man – notably someone with an aristocratic or patrician background – would become acquainted with other cultures and forms of government and often also with international trade. This was seen as a good preparation for a later career as a merchant, civil servant, governor or diplomat. In particular a journey to Italy as the finishing touch to the education of well-connected young men had become a cultural phenomenon on a European scale in the course of the seventeenth century. These journeys might result in so-called travel accounts, notes recorded by a young man during his journey that were elaborated at a later stage – with the addition of interesting facts – into a coherent account. In addition, usually detailed prescriptive

¹ *Delitiae Italiae. Dat is: Eyghentlijcke beschrijvinge wat door gantz Italien in elcke stadt ende plaets te zien is* [...], door Caspar Ens. Nu ten tweedenmael, van nieuw oversien, ende verbeterd, tot Arnhem, ghedruckt by Jan Janszen, 1609 (in-8); Nu ten derdenmael, van nieuw oversien, ende verbeterd, tot Arnhem, ghedruckt by Jan Jansz., 1620; format: in-8; extent: [8], 158, [72] p. Cfr. A. Luijtdjens, 'Chronologische lijst van beschrijvingen van Italië en Rome tot 1900 in de Nederlanden geschreven of verschenen' in: *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, series II, vol 1, 1931, p. 207; A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour. Tekening van de educatieve reis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1983, p. 368.

² *Delitiae urbis Romae. Dat is Eygentlycke beschrijvinge van alle de schoone gebouwen* [...], T Amsterdam by Harmen Janssen Brouwer, 1625; format: in-4 obl.; extent: [5], 59 p.; 29 plates. Cfr. Luijtdjens, 'Chronologische lijst', cit., p. 207; Frank-van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour*, cit., p. 368.

travel publications or treatises circulated, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³

Apart from detailed works that aimed to provide information on all facets of Italy, both the country and its inhabitants, compact travel guides were also published from 1600 onwards. They might be considered to be of a hybrid character: they describe not just the sights worth seeing for their beauty or interest, but aim to provide also practical information, including advice that may be of use during the journey. This kind of information had already been available earlier in so-called merchant manuals,⁴ but it also is to be found in guides that were for sale everywhere in the seventeenth century, and which for that reason might be compared to modern *Lonely Planet* guides.⁵ These small booklets, published in convenient octavo or duodecimo format, contain a wealth of information about itineraries, places to stay, means of transport, local rates of exchange, as well as geographical points of interest, sights, historical excursions, religion, folklore and the political situation.

The two *Delitiae* discussed in this article clearly fit the category of practical travel guide, having been written in the vernacular and meant in the first instance for a non-Italian, particularly Dutch, readership. In addition both guides contain – as part of their aim to be of practical use – a guide to the Italian language in the form of a series of Dutch-Italian dialogues. In this article these dialogues will be investigated in more detail. After a short introduction to the two *Delitiae*, the language manual that was added at the end of the two works as an appendix will be discussed. The following subjects will be considered: content and analysis of the bilingual dialogues, the origin of the linguistic material from sixteenth-century mercantile circles in Antwerp, as well as the (strategic) motivation of the publishers to re-issue and reposition existing late-medieval linguistic material in a new early-modern context: the (Dutch) foreigner visiting Italy, guided by a vernacular guide for country or city.

Delitiae Italiae

Delitiae Italiae was first published in 1602 with Jan Janszoon in Arnhem.⁶ Copies of this first edition are extremely rare, but the second (1609) and third editions (1620) have survived in larger numbers [Fig. 1].⁷ The subtitle runs: '*Delitiae Italiae. Dat is: eyghentlijcke beschrijvinghe wat door gantsch Italien in elcke Stadt ende plaets te zien is van Antiquiteyten, Palleyzen, Pyramyden, Lust-hoven begraffenissen en andere gedenck-weerdige dingen. / Met eene onderrichtinghe wat voor gheldt in gantsch Italien ganghbaer is. / Item noch sommige Dialogen oft tsamen-sprekinghen,*

³ The first travel guide of this kind is the *Itinerarii Italiae rerumque Romanarum libri tres* (Antwerp, Plantijn-Moretus, 1600) by Franz Schott. See also L. Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien-München, Schroll, 1959, pp. 18-25 and the Introduction of this special issue of *Incontri*.

⁴ Cfr. P. Jeannin, 'Guides de voyages et manuels pour marchands', in: J. Céard, J.-C. Margolin (eds), *Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque de Tours 1983*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987, pp. 159-169. A telling example is a passage concerning an itinerary in Southern Italy, documented in a bilingual merchant manual that originated in Venice in the early sixteenth century: 'E de là va' a Berletta, / Ende van dar gaet te Berlette, // che nonn-è pyù che dodege mila, / dat niet meer en es dan xij milen, // passando per mare de altro banda. / overtreckende die zee ter ander syden' (lines 1210-12); J. de Bruijn-van der Helm e.a. (eds), *Een koopman in Venetië. Een Italiaans-Nederlands gespreksboekje uit de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum, Verloren, 2001, p. 280.

⁵ Schudt, *Italienreisen*, cit., p. 22 defines guides of this kind as 'Postkursbuch'; Frank-van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour*, cit., p. 75; A. Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale dal XVI al XIX secolo*, Milano, Silvana, 1989, pp. 116-125.

⁶ Jan Jansz., also known as Janssen, was the founder of an influential family of printers who worked in Arnhem for more than a hundred years.

⁷ A copy of the first edition from 1602 is in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome (18.1.A.20).

daer wt de Italiaensche sprake tot nootdruft kan gheleert worden'.⁸ The author was Caspar Ens (ca 1570-1650), a prolific author and translator established in Cologne, who had earlier lived in Delft where he was the vice principal of the Latin School.⁹ He is known for his play about the Prince of Orange.¹⁰ In addition he is the author of travel guides.¹¹ The title page also reveals that *Delitiae Italiae* is an adaptation of a guide of the same name, originally written in German and compiled by Georg Kranitz von Wertheim, printed in Cologne on the occasion of the Jubilee year 1600.¹² Apart from an occasional specifically protestant slant on the material, the Dutch adaptation is a reasonably faithful reproduction of the German original.¹³

In the guide the following cities are described: Venice, Ancona, Loreto, Ferrara, Bologna, Pratolino, Florence, Siena, Montefiascone, Viterbo, Caprarola, Rome, Tivoli, Gaeta, Pozzuoli and Naples. Among the 'memorable things' there we usually find, according to the conventions of the travel methods mentioned earlier, a brief account of the origin of the city in question and an enumeration of the buildings and works of art of the city.¹⁴ For example, it states with regard to Siena the following:

Dit is een gheweldighe schoon Stadt ende leydt op een hoochte daer van men sien can in eenen schoonen groenen Dal, ronsom met Mueren seer wel versien. Van *Gallis* ende *Senonibus* is sy gheboudt gheworden, ende ghefondeert voor Christi geboorte 382 Jaer. [...] Gaet dan na

⁸ '*Delitiae Italiae*. That is: a realistic description of what may be seen throughout Italy in every city and town in the way of antiquities, palaces, pyramids, parks and gardens, funerary tombs and other memorable things. / With an explanation what kind of money is current throughout Italy. / *Ibidem* also some dialogues or conversations from which the Italian language may be learned to advantage'. All citations are taken from the third edition of the *Delitiae Italiae* (Arnhem, Jansz., 1620).

⁹ Also known as Caspar Casparius or Caspar Casparsen. W. Kühlmann, 'Ens, Caspar', in: W. Killy (ed.), *Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, vol. 3, München, Bertelsmann, 1989, p. 266. Cfr. also J. Groenland, 'Toneel als pamflet? De *Princeps Auriacus sive Libertas Defensa* (1599) van Caspar Ens', in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 25 (2009), pp. 26-30.

¹⁰ C. Ens, *Princeps Auriacus, sive libertas defensa*, ed. J. Bloemendal, Voorthuizen, Florivallis, 1998, pp. 9-11.

¹¹ Such as *Delitiae Galliae & Anglie ofte Lustigheden van Vranckrijck en Engheland*, Amsterdam, Dirck Pietersz Pers, 1619 and *Deliciarum Germaniae*, Cologne, Wilhelm Lutzenkirchen, 1609. Caspar Ens also wrote *Deliciae Italiae et Index Viatorius ab urbe roma as omnes in Italia*. This work, written in Latin and published in Cologne by Wilhelm Lutzenkirchen in 1609 describes major roads in Italy leading away from Rome. Although bibliographical information (Picarta) suggests otherwise, this work did not serve as a source for the *Delitiae Italiae* described here.

¹² At the bottom of the title page the following is stated: 'Beschreven door G.K.V.W. [= Georg Kranitz von Wertheim] in Hoochduytscher sprake ende nu den ghemeynen Man tot dienste in onse Nederlantsche sprake overgheset. (Described by G.K.V.W. [= Georg Kranitz von Wertheim] in the High German language and now for use of the common man translated into the Dutch language.)' From 1599 various German editions were published, of which the editions Leipzig, 1599, and Frankfurt am Main, 1609, are available online. Cfr. *Auch ich in Arcadien. Kunstreisen nach Italien 1600-1900*, Marbach, Schiller Nationalmuseum, 1966, pp. 12-13; L. Tresoldi, *Viaggiatori tedeschi in Italia 1452-1870*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1975, pp. 20-21.

¹³ In the preface to the Dutch edition discussed here (Arnhem, 1620³), the adaptor, Caspar Ens, apologizes for possible Roman Catholic matters included in the original German version, such as miracles, relics and pilgrimages. He states that he has been reluctant to remove such material, as he considers it not offensive to those who have a sound grounding in the Christian (= protestant) religion.

¹⁴ E. Verbaan, *Woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek*, Hilversum, Verloren, 2011, pp. 43-207, describes the way in which city guides form an amalgamation of different genres and disciplines: the chorography, a description of a region or specific place; the urban praises, long poems aiming to paint as positive a picture of a particular city as possible; the travel methods or arts of travel, based on urban praises, but also providing - according to the *ars apodemica* - practical information; evidence from trustworthy sources, incorporating information on the city's chronological history and the workings of the municipal government.

de Marckt, daer sult ghy sien een schoone groote plaets ende een fonteyn daer op dese fonteyn ghelijckt seer wel een S. Jacobs Schulp.¹⁵

These facts are not just listed with the intention of focusing the traveler's attention during his visit, but also to retain 'the pleasure and to refresh the memory of the persons who had been there'. Practical tips are also provided: which inn to visit, where, how and at what price to arrange transport, etc. Another example from the city of Siena: 'Als ghy inde Stadt [= Siena] coemt, so logiert inden gulden Engel, daer sult ghy wel ghetraecteert worden, so ghy daer peerden begheert, contse daer oock becomeen'.¹⁶

In other words, *Delitiae Italiae* not only aims at providing information on local sights, but also wishes to be a practical guide, made 'to be useful for those wishing to travel there' and meant to enable the traveler 'to travel there with as little expense as possible and in the best way and to return within a short space of time'; a guide which, due to its convenient octavo format, might be taken along on the journey and may for that reason be considered a reference work.

On the very first pages, even before the actual informative part about Italy, a so-called 'Guide through all Italy' has been included: a list of the age-old mail coach routes in Italy with 169 stopping places: 'Den wech van Venegen na Loreta: 1. Venetia 2. Chiozza stadt 5 mijlen 3. Fornari een herberge 13 mijlen [...] 8. Ravenna stadt 10 mijlen'.¹⁷ Within the same practical concept a table has been included at the end of the book, comparing Dutch and Italian currencies with the title 'With an explanation of what kind of money is in common use throughout Italy': 'Goude munten zijn *Zechini*, doet een 9. *libras* ende 12. *Solidos* [...] In somma, daer en is geen gelt daermen beter met can te recht comen als *Pistolet Croonen*, want die selve zijn door gantsch Italien gangbaer'.¹⁸ The travel guide concludes with a language manual consisting of Dutch-Italian 'dialogues or conversations' from which 'the Italian language may be learned as required'. These dialogues had also been included in the original German publication, but in that case in the order Italian-German.

Delitiae Urbis Romae

Delitiae Urbis Romae was published in Amsterdam in 1625 by Harmen Janssen Brouwer. The subtitle runs: 'Dat is: Eygentlycke beschrijvinge van alle de schoone gebouwen van Paleysen, Kercken, Bruggen, Pyramiden, die binnen en buyten Romen te sien syn. Alles met schoonen figueren afgebeeld. / Hier is noch by gevoecht een dialogue oft tsamensprekinge daer wt men lichtelick, de Italiaensche spraeck, by sich selven can leeren. / Mede wat Gelt in Italien ganckbaer is'.¹⁹ It is a city guide of

¹⁵ 'This is a wonderfully fine city and [it] lies on a rise from where one can see into a beautiful green Valley, very well provided with Walls round about. It was built by *Gallis* and *Senonibus*, and founded 382 years before the Incarnation. [...] Then go to the Market, there you will see a beautiful large open place and a fountain on it/ this fountain closely resembles a St. James' Shell'. *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., ff. 23v-24r.

¹⁶ 'When you arrive in the city [= Siena], stay then in the golden Angel, there you will be treated well, if you should desire horses, you can also get them there'. *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., f. 23v.

¹⁷ 'The road from Venice to Loreto: 1. Venice 2. city of Chioggia 5 miles 3. Fornari an inn 13 miles [...] 8 City of Ravenna 10 miles'. *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., f. A2v.

¹⁸ 'Gold coins are *Zechini*, equivalent to 9. *libras* and 12. *Solidos* [...] In sum, there is no money that one can use more conveniently than *Pistolet Crowns*, as they are in common use throughout Italy'. *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., f. 36r.

¹⁹ 'That is a realistic description of all fine buildings of Palaces, Churches, Bridges, Pyramids, that may be seen within and outside Rome. Everything illustrated by fine pictures. / Here a dialogue or conversation has been added by means of which one may easily learn the Italian language on one's own. / Also which money is in current use in Italy'.

Rome, in quarto oblong format, describing the 'noteworthy works', with illustrations, in that city. It is an anonymous Dutch adaptation of a work originally written in Latin, *Deliciae urbis Romae divinae et humanae*, published by Domenicus Custodi of Augsburg in 1600.²⁰ The guide was intended as a publication that would remind German pilgrims to visit the seven main churches in Rome in the Jubilee year 1600.²¹ In his preface to the work, the publisher states that he has used in particular the *Itinerarium* by Franz Schott, mentioned earlier.²² Apart from the illustrations (with accompanying text) of the churches, among which *S. Joannis in Laterano*, *S. Maria Maioris*, *S. Petri*, it includes similar information about the *Forum Romanum*, the Capitol, as well as a number of bridges, obelisks and columns (such as the *Columna Traianî*) [Fig. 2].

On a number of points the Dutch publication of 1625 deviates from the original German publication in Latin. The description of the seven main churches (including illustrations in mirror image as compared to the original publication) has been retained, but the focus has moved to other 'Antiquities. As may to this day be found in Rome'. For example, a short list of 18 'antiques and other notable works' has been added; these are non-Christian artefacts that can be seen in the Pope's Belvedere Garden: '1. Het beelt vanden *Laocoon*, den sone van *Priamus*, van marmer-steen gemaakt. [...] 3. Het beelt van *Apollo*, van marmer-steen, van een konstigh meester gemaect'.²³ Mention is also made of the expenses of the Holy See, among which the stipends for nuncios and the papal guard.

Another new feature is the 'Description of the first foundation of ancient Rome' (the Romulus and Remus legend) and the prominent presence – at the beginning of the work – of two urban odes celebrating the city of Rome: 'Homily concerning the maid of Rome' and an 'Ode to the presentation of the Roman Antiquities'. Both are based on conventional urban praises, written notably for local purposes (i.e. the city's inhabitants) and very popular in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century.²⁴ Apart from the description of the monuments, practical information is also included in this revised Dutch version, such as the amount of toll to be paid in certain places and commonly used currency (the same table as in *Delitiae Italiae*). At the end a concise Dutch-Italian language manual, from which 'the Italian language may be learned easily by yourself', has been added.

The Dutch-Italian dialogues and their sources

In accordance with their aim to be of practical use, the two *Delitiae* here presented both include an appendix featuring a language manual that consists mainly of a series of Dutch-Italian dialogues. The short introduction that prefaces both editions informs us – though with some slight variations – that the 'merry dialogi' or 'conversations' about all kinds of situations likely to occur in daily life are intended to help the user to learn Italian autonomously. They aim to enable him to 'speak and answer in good Italian in every contingency'. The goal, therefore, is self-study: the Dutch users may learn the Italian sample sentences – words in context – by heart and apply them

²⁰ Schudt, *Le guide di Roma*, cit., p. 347; cfr. also p. 127; Luijdjens, 'Chronologische lijst', cit., pp. 208-9; H. Jedin, *Die deutsche Romfahrt von Bonifatius bis Winckelmann*, Bonn, Krefeld, 1951, pp. 40-41.

²¹ In 1613 also a translation into High German was published.

²² See note 3. It concerns in particular Schott's *Itinerarii Italiae pars secunda. Roma eiusq. admiranda, cum divina, tum humana*, a little known separate publication of the section on Rome, which was published as a separate item in Vicenza in 1600. It is remarkable that this guide appeared in the same year as *Deliciae Urbis Romae*.

²³ '1. The statue of the *Laocoon*, the son of *Priamus*, made of marble. [...] 3. The statue of *Apollo*, of marble, made by a talented master'. *Delitiae urbis Romae*, cit., f. A1v.

²⁴ Although later adapted to the author's own time, form and content are rooted in ancient rhetorical principles, cfr. Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, cit., pp. 85-126.

when appropriate. The dialogues have been ranged into eight short thematic chapters:²⁵

1. A meal for ten people
2. Learning to buy and sell
3. Calling in a debt
4. Asking the way and other general matters
5. Conversation in the inn
6. Conversation on rising
7. Essay on mercantile matters; counting; the days of the week
8. How to draw up obligations and receipts.

Especially the themes in chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 will have proved to be useful to the users of our *Delitiae*. By way of an example, we will take the beginning of chapter 5: a conversation in the inn with a number of different speakers [Fig. 3].²⁶

Robrecht, Symon, den Weert, ende andere.

A Godt beware u voor ongeluck heer weert.

B Zijt willecome mijn heeren.

A Sullen wij hier wel herbergen voor desen nacht?

B Ja, ghy trouwens mijn heeren, hoe veel zijdy?

A Wy zijn ons sessen te hoope.

B Wy hebben logijs genoeg voor driemael soo vele. Sidt af, alst u belieft.

A Hebdy goede stallinghe, goet hoy, goede haver ende goeden legher? Hebdy goeden wijn?

B Den besten van der stadt: ghy sult er af proeven.

A Hebdy wat t'eten?

B Ja ick, mijn heeren, sidt slechts af, want ghy en sult niet gebreck hebben.

A Tracteer ons wel, want wy zijn moede ende half doot van honger ende dorst.

B Mijn heeren, ghy sult wel ghetraecteert worden ende u peerden oock.

Roberto, Simone, l'Hoste, & altri

A Dio vi guardi di male, messer l'hoste.

B Siate i ben venuti, signori miei.

A Allogieremo noi qui dentro questa notte?

B Mai di sì, signor mio: quanti siete voi?

A Siamo noi sei di compagnia.

B Abbiamo allogiamento assai per tre volte tanto. Smontate, quando vi piace.

A Havete voi buona stalla, bon feno, buona biada, buona lettiera? Havete del buon vino?

B Il migliore di questa terra: voi ne proverete.

A Havete qualche cosa da mangiare?

B Signor sì, smontate solamente, perché non vi mancherà nulla.

A Trattate bene, perché siamo stanchi & mezzo morti di fame & di sete.

B Signori, voi sarete ben trattati & vostri cavalli ancora.

Here is another passage from chapter 6: a conversation with three speakers on rising:²⁷

Symon, Robrecht, Aertus

A Hou sullen wy opstaen? En is 't niet tijdt op te staen?

B Wat ure is 't?

Symon, Roberto, Artus

A Hola, ci levaremme noi, non è ancor tempo de levarse?

B Che hora è?

²⁵ The *Delitiae Urbis Romae* lacks chapters 2, 3 and 4 as well as the section on numbers and days of the week in chapter 7. The *Delitiae Italiae* (1620³) counts 79 folios (f. 1r – f. 36r); the appendix, including the Dutch-Italian dialogues (36 folios), is numbered (in pencil) by a later hand: f. 1r-f. 36r. The *Delitiae Urbis Romae* counts 59 folios including the Dutch-Italian dialogues (f. 40r-f. 59r).

²⁶ *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., 'dialogi', ff. 20v-21r. Editorial policy: abbreviations are expanded silently and are represented by means of italics; obvious errors have been corrected and are enclosed by < >; capital letters and punctuation have been used according to modern practice; the spelling of *u* and *v* and of *i* and *j* has been modernized; accents and apostrophes have been added according to modern usage.

²⁷ *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., 'dialogi', ff. 24v-25r.

A Het is twee uren, het is drie uren. Jonghen, brengt hier licht, ende maeckt vyer dat wy moghen opstaen.
B Roept luyder, hy en hoort u niet.

A Due hore son sonate, egli è tre hore. Garzone porta qui lume, e fa del fueco, che si leveamo.
B. Gridatte più forte, perché non vi ode.

Finally a passage from chapter 2: learning to buy and sell, in which a buyer is trying to lower the price: ²⁸

Lijntken, Grietken, Daniel

L Vrient, wat wildy coopen? [...] Coemt binnen, ick heb hier goet laken, goet lijnen laken van alle soorte, goet zijden laken, camelot, damast, fluweel. Ick heb oock goet vlessch, goeden visch ende goede haringhen.
[...]

D Wat sal ick gheven daer voor? Maer en verloves my niet!

L Neen, ick seker, ick en salt u niet verloven. Ick sal 't u segghen met eenen worde: ghy sult er afbetalen seventhien stuyvers ende eenen halven, ist dat u belieft.

D Het is veel te veel.

[...]

L Ick en kan u niet helpen, ghy zijt te vroet.

D Dat ben ick seker.

L Men mach aen u niet winnen: dat een yegelijck ware soo vroet als ghy zijt, ick soude wel moghen mijnen winckel sluyten, want ick en soude 't broot niet winnen dat ick eten soude.

D. Dat belieft u te seggen.

L 'T is seker waer.

Catarina, Margarita, Daniello

C Amico, che volete comprare? [...] Intrate, ho qui buon panno, bona tela, d'ogni sorte: buon panni di seta, ciambellotto, damasco, veluto. Ho anche buona carne, buon pesce & buone renghe.

[...]

D Che pa<ger>ò per questo ? Ma non chiedet<e> troppo!

C Non per certo, non ve ne domandarò troppo. Ve 'l dir<ò> in una parola: voi <me 'l> pagherete diciasette piachi & mezzo, se vi piace.

D Egli è troppo

[...]

C Non vi posso aiutare, voi siete troppo avevo.

D. Sì son certo.

C. Non si può con voi guadagnar nulla: se ciascuno fosse tanto misero come voi, ben potrei serrar la bottega, perché non guadagnereè il pane da mangiare.

D. Questo vi piace a dire.

C. Egli così certo.

A striking feature of the text is the recurrent presence of variations: 'Do you have good stabling, good hay, good oats and a good place to sleep? Do you have good wine' (chapter 5); 'It is two o'clock, three o'clock' (chapter 6). 'Good woollen cloth and linen of all kinds, silks, damask and velvet' (chapter 2). The information is repeated – with a didactic purpose – in a slightly different form, so that the user may learn to vary sentences from the context.

At first sight the dialogues appear to have been compiled for the users of the *Delitiae*: both the choice of the languages and the order in which they are presented (Dutch-Italian) and the themes addressed (asking the way, haggling, how to conduct a conversation at table or in the inn) provide help specifically for the Dutch early modern traveler who has to find his way in Italy. However, this is not the case. Earlier research has shown that these eight dialogues, or parts of them, originate already in the late medieval Southern Low Countries. With regard to contents and language they reproduce a selection of material published earlier in so-called practical dictionaries. Dictionaries of this type are integrated works containing not only lists of words, but also sample sentences and dialogues, based on living language use. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century these so-called conversation guides were very popular in international mercantile circles. As a reference work and a method for foreign language teaching – in schools or for private use – this type of

²⁸ *Delitiae Italiae*, cit., 'dialogi', ff. 12v-15r.

dictionary satisfied the specific needs of a large number of people throughout Europe for two centuries, being of practical use especially for the merchant and the traveler.²⁹

The dialogues described here were derived specifically from the *Vocabulare* (1527) by Noël de Berlaimont, a schoolmaster from Antwerp. Originally bilingual (French-Dutch), this vocabulary and idiom manual developed in the course of the sixteenth century, answering contemporary demand, into books containing eight or eleven languages.³⁰ In a publication printed by Jan Verwithage in Antwerp in 1558, belonging to this family of dictionaries and incorporating four languages, Italian is added as a foreign language for the first time, beside Dutch, French and Spanish.³¹

In a preliminary greeting the reader is urged to learn foreign languages with the following arguments: 'chi á giamai potuto con un linguaggio solo acquistare l'amistà di diverse nationi?' ('who ever managed to acquire the friendship of various nations with just one single language?'); 'Quanti hanno potuto arricchire senza la cognitione di molte lingue?' ('Who has gained wealth without the knowledge of many languages?'); 'Chi á saputo governare città & provincie non sapendo altra lingua che la sua materna?' ('Who has ever managed to govern a city and provinces without knowing a language other than his mother language?'). The prologue also enables us to deduce for whom this 'taelmeester' / 'interprete' may be of use: for a merchant ('che intenda in mercantie'), a military man ('che seguiti la guerra'), a courtier ('che pratici in corte') or a traveler ('che vadi per paesi stranieri').

So the appendices attached to the *Delitiae* described here have been selected from linguistic material already in existence. More specifically they may be a re-issue of a selection of printed editions with seven or eight languages which appeared in the Northern Low Countries from the end of the sixteenth century, like the *Colloquia et Dictionarolum septem linguarum* printed in Leiden (1593) or the *Colloquia et Dictionarolum octo linguarum*, edited in Amsterdam and printed in Delft (1598).³² Apparently the context within which the dialogues are situated are interchangeable to such an extent that they may still be of use more than half a century later in a more specific context: the Dutch traveler visiting Italy.

²⁹ Two lexicographical traditions may be distinguished among these practical dictionaries: the Italian-German ones, originating in Italy, and the French-Dutch ones, originating in the Low Countries; cfr. J. van der Helm, 'Meertalige woordenboeken in het 16^{de} eeuwse Antwerpen: Italiaans naast Nederlands', in: T. van Hal, L. Isebaert, P. Swiggers (eds), *De tuin der talen. Taalstudie en taalcultuur in de Lage Landen, 1450-1750*, Leuven, Peeters, 2013, pp. 49-70.

³⁰ Between 1527 and 1759 some 150 prints or adaptations were published with different titles. For a modern edition see R. Rizza (ed.), *Colloquia, et dictionariolum octo linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Belgicae, Teutonicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, Portugallicae*, Viareggio-Lucca, Mauro Baroni, 1996.

³¹ The title runs: *Dictionarium, Colloquia sive Formulae Quatuor linguarum, Belgicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae* [...]. The printer's decision to incorporate Italian in his edition is certainly due to the fact that there was at that time a permanently established Italian community of merchants in Antwerp. Linguistic characteristics of the Italian suggest the Tuscan dialect, which evolved into the so-called 'Standard Italian', but the evidence is not systematic and hard to distinguish from the many typographical errors. These are no doubt attributable to the non-Italian origin of the various printers in the Low Countries; cfr. Rizza, *Colloquia, et dictionariolum*, cit., p. x.

³² See II, 31 and II, 38 in: J. van der Helm, 'Bibliografisch repertorium van meertalige woordenboeken uit de zestiende eeuw waarin Italiaans naast Nederlands voorkomt. Bijdrage aan de geschiedenis van de Italiaans-Nederlandse lexicografie' in: *Trefwoord, tijdschrift voor lexicografie*, 2010 www.fryske-akademy.nl/nl/fryske-akademy/utjeften/trefwoord/jaargang-2010/bibliografisch-repertorium/ (01 July 2013). Further research on the basis of an analysis of text and source text should yield a definitive answer. For a survey of works incorporating sections of Berlaimont's *Vocabulare*, see N. van der Sijs, *Wie komt daar aan op die olifant? Een zestiende-eeuws taalgidsje voor Nederland en Indië, inclusief het verhaal van de avontuurlijke gevangenschap van Frederik de Houtman in Indië*, Amsterdam, Veen, 2000, pp. 24-25.

The fact that content and background of the eight dialogues in the appendices to the *Delitiae* were situated in the Southern Low Countries and certainly not in Italy is also evident from the text itself. For example, the first dialogue refers to the 'Lombert-straet' / 'strada dei Lombardi' in Antwerp and in the fifth dialogue the city of Brussels is mentioned. In the second dialogue the currency is a 'stuver' / 'piaco' (in French: 'patarde'), a silver coin used in Picardy, Flanders and Brabant from the end of the fifteenth century. In the third dialogue specifically Flemish products are mentioned, among them 'carseyen van vlaemsche verwen' / 'cariseo, tintura de flandra'. In addition there are references to political situations dating back to well before 1600.

The Delitiae: public and commerce

The travel books described here, which were published at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Northern Low Countries, are not original. They are new versions of originally German publications, which the publishers decided to adapt in various ways. In addition to having been translated into Dutch, the subject matter has also been adapted in some respects, and they have been extended by the addition of a bilingual language guide circulating earlier. On the basis of these material details and their content, a number of conclusions may be drawn, relating to the users of the travel guides as well as the image of Italy that is presented in them.

What was the motivation for making these guides, and for whom were they meant? In view of the choice in favour of the vernacular (Dutch) and the choice of country and town it goes without saying that the targeted public was formed by Dutch visitors to Italy. But there is more: whereas traditional travel guides focus on usually well-off buyers with a humanistic background, the guides described here were not designed for these traditional buyers. Aimed at travelers who as a rule had to fend for themselves in a foreign country on their own, or in a small group, as individuals, these guides show, as it were, a different picture. The people in this picture – presenting travelers who might be characterized as 'lower middle class'³³ – demand a travel guide which answers their specific needs.

The image created in the two *Delitiae* of Italian urban and rural reality is rather bland and little distinctive in a cultural sense. Although local sights and interesting facts are listed, they are – particularly in *Delitiae Italiae* – subsumed to the main objective: providing a practical guiding that supports the traveler in his search for basic needs: where can I sleep in a particular town? How much is my money worth in the local currency? How to phrase something in a foreign language? This turns out to be information, which is broadly applicable and suitable for an international public without an overly specific orientation. The side-effect of this characteristic is that the information – both geographically and chronologically – is easily transferable: information targeted at a German public may also be useful, within the context of a travel guide on Italy, to Dutch travelers. Information essential for a merchant from the Southern Low Countries on his travels in the sixteenth century is equally applicable to a traveler from the Northern Low Countries at the end of that same century.

All this provides the publisher with the opportunity of leaving the text basically unaltered. Although a few adaptations are made to suit a Dutch public, such as a translation into Dutch and a few factual additions, the original design elaborated in a German context required very little alterations. Nor is it problematic to add an

³³ In extant scholarship up till now little attention has been paid to such socio-linguistic aspects of these texts.

existing language manual as an appendix: the pseudo-realistic dialogues, originally compiled in Antwerp and referring to that specific situation, fit a later Italian context effortlessly: where it concerns finding a place to sleep and a place for stabling the horses, international utilitarian codes of conduct apply.

The re-publication of material that had appeared earlier in a new edition, not infrequently in the form of pirated editions or reprints, offers a clear indication of the extent to which publishers at this time were keen to respond to market opportunities. After the consolidation of the art of printing the printer-publisher had become an entrepreneur who tried to limit his risk in the hope of maximum profits. Apart from reducing production costs (such as saving on the cost of expensive paper by publishing books in a smaller format), he did his best to meet the demand from potential customers. This commercial attitude is also evident from the versions of the travel guides discussed here. From an edition of a practical dictionary with seven or eight languages the Dutch sections with dialogues and the Italian equivalents are copied and incorporated. Next, the two are newly typeset in two columns and thus function as an appendix to an edition of a practical guide to the country or a city, which responds to the requirements of a new type of user: the Dutch traveler wishing to visit Italy.

Key words

Travel guides, Multilingual dictionaries, Dutch - Italian dialogues, Relations Italy - the Netherlands

José van der Helm has taught medieval Italian literature, history of the Italian language and Italian lexicography at Utrecht University until 2013. Her first published work focused on the Italian influence on the Dutch lexicon from the Middle Ages to the present. Subsequently, she included aspects of multilingualism in her research. In this context she co-edited, together with experts in Dutch, a critical edition of a bilingual (Italian-Dutch) 16th-century text (*Een koopman in Venetië. Een Italiaans-Nederlands gespreksboekje uit de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum, 2001). Recently she edited and published in print the 15th-century manuscript (bilingual: Italian-Latin): *Breve opusculum: A Latin-Italian Book of Sayings from the fifteenth century*, Brepols (series Sacris Erudiri), 2009 (in collaboration with A.P. Orbán). José van der Helm also is the author of an inventory of late medieval polyglot vocabularies that included Italian and Dutch (2010).

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RIASSUNTO

Istruzioni per imparare l'italiano in due guide di viaggio olandesi della prima età moderna: *Delitiae Italiae* (1602) e *Delitiae Urbis Romae* (1625)

I primi decenni del secolo XVII hanno visto la pubblicazione di due guide di viaggio specificamente destinate a un pubblico neerlandese che intende a viaggiare in Italia. La *Delitiae Italiae* è stata pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1602, ad Arnhem, essendo un adattamento di un'edizione tedesca pubblicata in occasione dell'anno giubilare (1600); la *Delitiae Urbis Romae* appare nel 1625 ad Amsterdam ed offre una descrizione dei luoghi di interesse di Roma includendo una serie di illustrazioni. L'ultima guida risulta anch'essa un adattamento in neerlandese di un'edizione scritta originariamente in latino e pubblicata da Domenicus Custodi ad Augusta (Germania). Le due guide non stanno a sé; esse fanno parte di un corpus di testi di viaggio prodotto dalla metà del Cinquecento in poi: lavori dettagliati che miravano a fornire informazioni su tutti gli aspetti dell'Italia accanto a guide di viaggio compatte, di carattere ibrido, che non descrivono solo i luoghi da visitare, ma vogliono fornire anche informazioni pratiche. Sono guide piccole, pubblicate nel formato comodo in ottavo o in duodecimo, e da paragonare alle guide *Lonely Planet*, riferimento moderno per i viaggiatori indipendenti. Le due *Delitiae* descritte in questo articolo entrano chiaramente nella categoria di guida pratica. Inoltre esse contengono – come parte del loro obiettivo di essere di uso pratico – delle istruzioni per imparare la lingua italiana: una serie di dialoghi in neerlandese-italiano si trova in appendice. Viene analizzato il contenuto di questi dialoghi, nonché il materiale linguistico stesso proveniente da circoli mercantili Quattro- e Cinquecenteschi di Anversa. Infine si ricerca la motivazione degli editori di ripubblicare il materiale mettendolo in un nuovo contesto secentesco: il viaggiatore neerlandese che desidera visitare l'Italia avendo in mano una guida pratica e concisa.

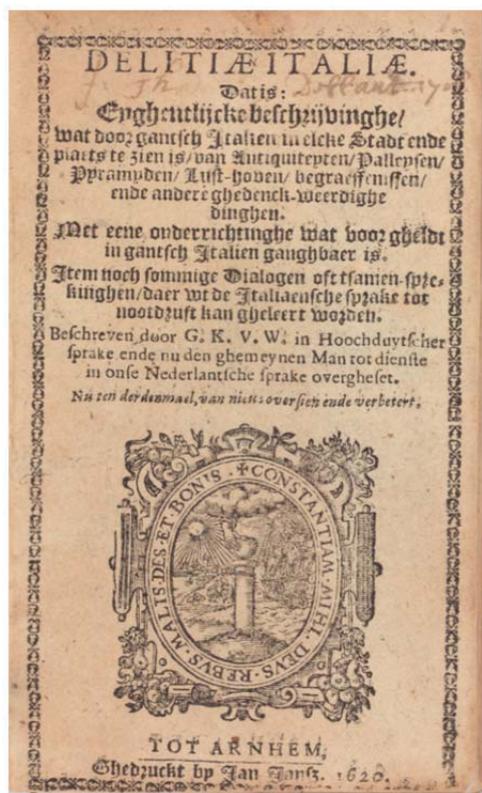


Fig. 1 *Delitiae Italiae* [...], Arnhem, Jansz, 1620³. Title page (© 2014, Library of the University of Amsterdam)



Fig. 2 *Delitiae Urbis Romae* [...], Amsterdam, Brouwer, 1625, f. 34r: Columna Traiani (© 2014, Library of the University of Amsterdam)

Fig. 3 *Delitiae Italiae* [...], Arnhem, Jansz, 1620³, 'Dialogi', f. 20v, with underlining by a later user (© 2014, Library of the University of Amsterdam)

