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METHODS AND MASTERS: MULTILINGUAL TEACHING IN 16TH-CENTURY LOUVAIN

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Resumen: En el siglo XVI se hablaban y se practicaban varias lenguas en Flandes, especialmente en la ciudad universitaria de Lovaina y en Amberes, centro económico de los Países Bajos españoles. El multilingüismo que se practicaba era por un lado un multilingüismo ‘vertical’, implicando el estudio de las tres lenguas ‘sagradas’ (hebreo, griego, latín); este tipo de estudio se concretizó con la fundación del Collegium Trilingue de Lovaina (1517). Por otro lado, estaba muy difundido un multilingüismo ‘horizontal’, que implicaba las lenguas vernáculas, como el español, el francés y el italiano; este tipo de multilingüismo se explica por el ascenso de la clase comerciante. La presente contribución analiza la documentación disponible (sobre los maestros de lengua y los instrumentos didácticos) y rastrea los factores contextuales que influían en la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras en Flandes, con particular atención a Lovaina.

Palabras clave: Historia de la enseñanza de lenguas; Instrumentos didácticos; Multilingüismo (español, francés, italiano); Flandes; Collegium Trilingue de Lovaina; siglo XVI

Abstract: In 16th-century Flanders, various languages were spoken and practiced, especially in the university town of Louvain and the city of Antwerp, the economic heart of the Southern Low Countries. On the one hand, the multilingualism to be observed there was a ‘vertical’ one: it concerned the study of the three ‘sacred’ languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), and is typically exemplified by the creation of the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain (1517). On the other hand, there was a widespread ‘horizontal’ multilingualism, involving the vernaculars (e.g., French, Italian, Spanish) and serving the needs of the ascending merchant class. The present paper surveys the extant documentation (language masters, didactic tools), and investigates the contextual factors underlying the teaching and learning of foreign languages in Flanders, with a focus on Louvain.

Key words: History of language teaching; Didactic tools; Multilingualism (French, Italian, Spanish); Flanders; Collegium Trilingue of Louvain; 16th century

1. INTRODUCTION: THE MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY OF 16TH-CENTURY FLANDERS

There [in Antwerp], it is very common to encounter a girl or a boy who speaks two, three, or four languages, such as French, Italian, Spanish, apart from their [native] Dutch language.¹

Samuel Kiechel (1563–1617)

Here [in Louvain], there is the public professor Conrad Goclenius, a man most learned of all in judgment, who has made much progress with Vergil's Aeneid. There are also professors of both Hebrew and Greek, who decorate the Louvain Collegium Trilingue with their erudition. There are also those who teach by means of private lessons the still uncultivated youth in all disciplines.²

Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586)

The two passages quoted above testify to the remarkable presence of multilingualism in 16th-century Flanders. Our focus will be on Louvain, a university town since 1425, which witnessed a cultural-intellectual flourishing in the first half of the 16th century. We will also refer to Antwerp, then the rising economic center of the Southern Low Countries. The Flemish context is of particular interest because of the co-presence of two types of language teaching. On the one hand, the three “sacred” languages, viz. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, were intensively taught and studied; this “vertical multilingualism” was the quasi-monopoly of learned men (cf. *Swiggers & Van Hal in press*). On the other hand, the teaching of vernacular (mainly Romance) languages, i.e. “horizontal multilingualism”, likewise prospered (cf. *Swiggers, Szoc & Van Hal in press*). A number of elite-class foreigners even felt the need to learn the Dutch (Flemish) vernacular. This was a more widespread phenomenon: vernacular languages were also taught to girls (in boarding schools).

The multilingual environment of the Southern Low Countries was deeply marked by Humanism. As elsewhere in Western Europe, it profoundly influenced the teaching of Latin in Flanders, thanks to, among other things, the work of Johannes Custos and Johannes Despauterius.³

Although the study of Latin was embedded in the artes faculty, the teaching of (basic) Latin grammar occurred at pre-university level (at schools, in private, in boardinghouses). Humanism, together with the renovation of biblical studies, left its mark on the teaching of Greek and Hebrew (Roegiers 2001: 23), for which Louvain became a prominent center after the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue in 1517 (see Papy ed. 2017a, 2017b).

There the study of Greek flourished mainly as the result of the teaching of two pupils of Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542): Rutgerus Rescius (ca. 1495–1545) and Hadrianus Amerotius (ca. 1495–1560), who had studied with Aleandro in Paris (in 1511–13). The artes colleges—esp. the paedagogium of the Lily, the forerunner of the faculty of Arts and Letters—also played an important role. In this “pedagogy” Amerotius taught Greek from ca. 1514 onwards. Contrary to the vernacular languages, the teaching of the three “sacred” languages was mainly aimed at philological scholarship, although Latin was also important for administration and (international) politics, as well as for official and scholarly communication.

The multilingual context in Flanders triggered the production of teaching tools of various kinds (readers, grammars, dictionaries, conversation guides, etc.). These received wide distribution thanks to the efforts of prominent printers in Louvain (e.g., Thierry/Dirk Martens [Theodoricus Martinus (1446 or 1447–1534)] and the abovementioned Rutgerus Rescius), and Antwerp (mainly Christophe Plantin, but also several others). Horizontal and vertical multilingualism were linked through polyglot publications, translations, and networks in which both vernacular and “sacred” languages were involved.

2. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE DOCUMENTATION

Precise indications about how teaching took place in a school context or at the university are generally lacking. Our main sources of information are printed teaching tools⁴ as well as the correspondence of teachers and students.

Taking a look at the teaching tools for the “sacred” languages, Louvain (and Antwerp) printing houses (between which there were contacts, through the mobility of either authors or printers) produced invaluable tools, many of which would achieve immediate and even long-term success.⁵ Well known are the verses by Henri Richer (at times erroneously attributed to La Fontaine): “*Dans son college un écolier / Peu studieux et n'aimant guère / À feuilletter Clénard et Despautère / S'ennuyait d'être prisonnier* [In his college, a pupil, not very diligent and finding no joy in going through the works of Clenardus and Despauterius, felt bored, finding himself a prisoner].⁶” We will first discuss the role of Nicolaus Clenardus (1493 [or 1494/95]–1542), an *alumnus* of Louvain and a student of, among others, Rutgerus Rescius (the first professor of Greek at the Trilingue).⁷ Clenardus authored two manuals for Greek, both first published in Louvain (1530 and 1531), one intended for classroom teaching (*Institutiones in linguam Graecam* [Louvain: Rutgerus Rescius & Johannes Sturm, 1530]) and one for self-instruction (*Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam* [Louvain: Rutgerus Rescius & Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1531]).

¹Original quote [in Dutch] in Goris (1940: 45) [English translation ours]. [Traducción española: Allí <en Amberes> es muy común encontrar a una chica o a un chico que hable dos, tres, o cuatro lenguas, como el francés, el italiano o el español, además de su lengua materna, el flamenco.]

²Our English translation of a passage from an as yet unedited Latin letter by the 17-year-old Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle to his uncle Johannes Mauricius (dated January 17, 1535), preserved in Madrid, Palacio Real, Biblioteca Real, Patrimonio Nacional, ms. II/2794, fos. 7^v-8^r. [Traducción española: Aquí <en Lovaina>, está el profesor Conrad Goclenius, hombre muy erudito y juicioso, quien ha progresado mucho en el estudio de la Eneida de Virgilio. Hay también profesores de las dos lenguas hebrea y griega, que adornan el Colegio Trilingüe de Lovaina con su erudición. Están también aquellos que dando clases privadas forman a la todavía inculta juventud en todas las disciplinas.]

³On Johannes Custos' role in the Latin school of Brecht and his *Synthaxis Brechtana* (1519), see Hernalsteen (1925) and Papy (2015). On Georgius Haloins' *Restauratio linguae Latinae*, see n. 29.

⁴Printed books became important teaching instruments, although manuscript materials continued to be employed. Amerotius (*Compendium Graecae grammaticae*, 1520: a.i^v) refers to manuscript notes he used in his lessons and on which he based his grammar.

⁵We should not overlook the fact that many handbooks were imported from elsewhere (e.g., Italy and France).

⁶The verses are from Henri Richer's *Fables nouvelles mises en vers* (Paris, 1748), p. 191. Cf. Mogenet (1951). See also Lamberts & Roegiers (1990: 101–102), who attribute the verses to Molière.

⁷In the 1520s, Clenardus already taught Greek and Hebrew at the pedagogy of the Pig [*paedagogium Porci*] (Swiggers 2001a: 148).

These were to occupy a prominent place in Early Modern teaching of Greek. Clenardus was the second Louvain alumnus to produce a Greek grammar. The first one was Hadrianus Amerotius (cf. supra), who had published his Greek grammar (*Compendium Graecae grammatices, perspicua breuitate complectens, quicquid est octo partium orationis*) with Thierry Martens in 1520. His grammar (containing many schemes) had only one edition, but left its mark on the Early Modern teaching of Greek: two parts of the grammar (viz. on Greek dialects and on the number system) enjoyed dozens of reprints (cf. Hoven 1985). Amerotius' grammar probably inspired Clenardus' manual, which is shorter and better organized from a didactical point of view.⁸

For Hebrew, we have to mention Clenardus' 1529 *Tabula in grammaticen Hebraeam* (published with Thierry Martens in 1529), one of the most successful Hebrew grammars of the 16th century, which had several reprints (cf. Swiggers 2000: 105). A year earlier, Johannes Campensis (1491–1538), for some time professor of Hebrew at the *Trilingue* and teacher of Clenardus, had published his Hebrew grammar (also with Thierry Martens).⁹

A pioneering undertaking was the publication of a Syriac grammar (and dictionary) by another former student of the pedagogy of the Lily and the *Trilingue*: Andreas Masius (1514–1573). It was attached to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, a monumental work published in 1569–73 under the direction of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598); it offers the Bible text in five languages: Latin, Greek, Biblical Hebrew, Syriac, and Talmudic Hebrew.¹⁰

No major tools for the study of Latin came off from the Flemish presses. Some Flemish scholars nevertheless compiled Latin manuals which were published elsewhere in Europe (with varying success). Most successful was the grammatical work by Johannes Despauterius (ca. 1480–1520), professor at the pedagogy of the Lily. His work, based on the Latin of “classical” authors, was first printed in the form of separate treatises (all published in Paris). Later on, most of them were collected and printed as a comprehensive compendium (Paris 1537–38, published by Robert Estienne); it would enjoy countless reprints and reeditions (cf. Swiggers 2000: 100–103). Considerably less successful were Clenardus' *Institutiones grammaticae Latinae*, first published in Braga (Portugal) in 1538 with four posthumous editions (among which one in Louvain, 1550).¹¹ It was conceived as a practical syllabus supporting his lessons in Braga (with a large amount of lexicographic material).

The Louvain and Antwerp printing presses also produced several vernacular language manuals, specifically for French, Spanish, and Italian.¹² Most successful was the manual of Noël de Berlaimont/Berlemont/Barlemont (ca. 1480–1531), which combined a conversation guide with a vocabulary list; this work, which enjoyed adaptations, reeditions, expansions (combining up to eight languages), outranked the remainder of the linguistic production for several centuries (till the 19th century).¹³

Only a handful of the manuals were of a properly grammatical nature: seven editions of French grammars, three of Spanish grammars, and one of an Italian grammar. Of the seven edited grammars of French, published in Antwerp (six editions) and Louvain (one edition), five are “imported” products, viz. Flemish editions of grammars previously published in France: Pillotus's grammar (first published in Paris, 1550) had three Antwerp editions and one Louvain edition,¹⁴ and Caucius's grammar (first published in Paris, 1570) was reedited in Antwerp in 1576;¹⁵ both French grammars are written in Latin. The Italian grammar, printed in Louvain in 1555 by Bartholomaeus Gravius, was an Italian-French reedition-translation of Alberto Acarisio's (1497–1544) monolingual Italian grammar (first published in Bologna, 1536). In the preface to this grammar, the societal and cultural importance of learning Italian is stressed.¹⁶

Five grammatical products for foreign language teaching were originally published in the Southern Low Countries, in Louvain or in Antwerp:¹⁷ three grammars of Spanish—interestingly, these were the first grammars to follow Nebrija's *Gramatica [sobre la lengua castellana]* (1492), and they precede the first Spanish grammars published in France by almost half a century—, and the French grammars of Gabriel Meurier and Peeter Heyns.¹⁸

• Spanish:

1555. [Anonymous] *Util, y breve institution, para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Hespañola. Institution tresbrieue et tresutile, pour apprendre les premiers fondemens, de la langue Espagnole. Institutio brevissima et utilissima, ad discenda prima rudimenta linguae Hispanicae* (Louvain: B. Gravius)

1558. Cristóbal de Villalón, *Gramatica Castellana. Arte breve y compendiosa para saber hablar y escrevir en la lengua Castellana congrua y decentemente* (Antwerp: G. Simon)¹⁹

1559. [Anonymous] *Gramatica dela Lengua Vulgar de España* (Louvain: B. Gravius)²⁰

¹²On these teaching instruments for vernacular languages, see Swiggers (2016).

¹³Berlaimont's work principally owed its popularity to its conciseness, its handy format, and, of course, to the receptivity of a multilingual community of users interested in having basic and useful vocabulary lists as well as models for conversation in many languages. For bibliographical information on the editions and adaptations of Berlaimont's language manual, see Verdeyen (1925–36), Lindemann (1994), Knops (1985 [editions of Berlaimont's work including German and/or Dutch]), Pablo Núñez (2010: I, 91–197 & II, 202–310 [catalogue]), and Van der Helm (2013). Between 1550 and 1600 Berlaimont's work enjoyed some twenty editions in the Southern Low Countries (in Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Liège, Louvain, and Ypres): 1551, 1552, 1553, 1556, 1558 (two editions), 1560, 1561, 1562, 1565, 1568 (two editions), 1569, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1575 (?), 1576 (three editions), 1578, 1579 (two editions), 1582, 1583 (three editions), 1584, 1585, 1586, 1589, 1591, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1599, and 1600.

¹⁴We refer here to the “Flemish” editions of Johannes Pillotus's (1515–1592) *Gallicae linguae institutio*, which appeared in Antwerp (two editions printed by J. Bellerus, 1558 & 1563, and one edition by G. Sylvius, 1558) and in Louvain (by J. Bogardus, 1563).

¹⁵We refer to the 1576 Antwerp edition (by L. Bellerus) of Antonius Caucius's (1535–1600) *Grammatica Gallica*.

¹⁶[La langue italienne] est a present tant necessaire scavoir que aultre langue quelconque, a cause que icelle est la plus prochaine du Latin et fort excellente, et en use on fort non pas seulement a la court [...] Mais aussi a la tres fameuse Université de Louvain ou sont Escoliers de toutes regions, etudiants en toutes langues, facultez & sciences: soit aussi en la ville dAnvers ou frequentent marchantz de tous pays” (Acarisio 1555, f. aiir-^v). On (the interest in) learning Italian in the Low Countries during the Renaissance, see Bingen (1992) and Szoc (2013: introduction).

¹⁷For a more comprehensive overview and study of the French grammars published in the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th century, see De Clercq & Swiggers (1995) and Swiggers (2013); for the Spanish grammars, see Swiggers (2006); for the Italian grammars, see Szoc (2013).

¹⁸For the place of these grammars in the history of Romance grammaticography, see Swiggers (2001b; 2007a; 2007b).

⁸See Hoven (1985: 8–19) and Van Rooy (*in press*). Amerotius was probably involved in the 1530, 1532, and 1551 editions of his booklet on the Greek dialects.

⁹It was a Latinized version of Sebastian Münster's translation of Elias Levita's grammatical treatises; see Swiggers (2000: 100).

¹⁰See François (2009: esp. 200–201, 218–221, 237–242) with further references. The manuscript exemplar of this grammar is preserved in Brussels, Royal Library (ms. 416). For the *Biblia Polyglotta*, see, among others, Swiggers & Van Hal (*in press*) with further references.

¹¹See Swiggers (2001a). Only ten copies of the five different editions are extant worldwide. Its lack of success might be related to the rather poor typography.

- French:
1557. Gabriel Meurier, *Grammaire françoise* (Antwerp: Plantin)²¹
1571. Peeter Heyns, *Cort onderwys van de acht deelen der Fransoischer talen* (Antwerp: Plantin).

The anonymous Spanish grammar of 1555 is a trilingual text, presenting a parallel description of Spanish, Latin, and French (thus constituting a case of the combination of horizontal and vertical multilingualism).²² The anonymous Spanish grammar of 1559 offers an innovative account of the principal structures of the Spanish language; its extensive preface informs the reader about the languages spoken on the Iberian peninsula.

The two grammars of French (by Meurier and by Heyns) are closely tied up with the presence, in the Low Countries, of the so-called French schools (*écoles françoises*).²³ The French schools were the institutionalized manifestation of the basic aims of the bourgeois class: on the hand, the symbolic aim of defining a cultural and educational niche for itself, the rising middle class, and on the other hand, the practical aim of preparing their children for a business career. Apart from the abovementioned short grammar of French (*Cort onderwijs van de acht deelen der Fransoischer talen tot nut ende voorderinghe der Nederlandscher Jonckheyt*),²⁴ Peeter Heyns (1537–1598) published a manual for learning to read French (*Instruction de la lecture Françoise*) as well as an exercise book for reading Dutch and French (*ABC boeck*). Gabriel Meurier's (ca. 1513–1598) grammar was part of an all-inclusive didactic publishing program, encompassing a diversity of text types. Meurier produced vocabularies, conversation manuals, didactic and moral stories, grammars, conjugation tables,²⁵ and thematically organized wordlists. Moreover, he did not limit himself to French, but likewise produced a multilingual manual for French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch ("Flemish").²⁶

It is important to realize the cultural function of these language manuals. Within the "moral education" of the bourgeois class, the linguistic component had a well-defined purpose; it was intended to provide the users of the language manuals with direct access to daily communication, and strategies for negotiating and bargaining, in the multilingual environment of commercial centers.

¹⁹Villalón's grammar should perhaps be regarded as an imported product: it was printed in Antwerp by the Jewish-Spanish printer Guillermo Simon (Simón), since Villalón, suspected because of his religious and philosophical ideas, thought it wiser not to publish the work in Spain; see Lliteras & García-Jalón de la Lama (2006).

²⁰On this grammar, see Cruz Casañez & Swiggers (2015).

²¹For a detailed analysis of this grammar, see De Clercq (2000).

²²In the preface to this grammar the necessity of knowing Spanish in the Low Countries is pointed out: "Je ne te fay point de preface Amy Lecteur, pour toy remonstrer combien il est, et doresnavant sera utile, voire necessaire en ce pais de scavoit la langue Castillane, presupposant que de toy mesme tu l'entens assez" (1555, f. Aii^r).

²³On the origin, function, and context of these French schools, see Dodde & Esseboom (2000).

²⁴This grammar was first printed, by Plantin, in 1571; a second edition, now lost, must have been printed in 1597; a third edition, published by Peeter Heyns's son Zacharias appeared in 1605 in Zwolle.

²⁵See his works: *Conjugaisons, regles et instructions pour ceux qui desirent apprendre François, Italien, Espagnol et Flamen* (1558); *Dialogue Contenant les Conjugaisons Flamen-Françoises, par forme de demandes et réponses* (1562); *Conjugaisons Flamen-Françoises* (1562); *Conjugaisons François-Angloises* (1563); *Conjugaciones, arte, y reglas muy proprias, y necessarias para los que quisieren deprender Español y Frances* (1568).

²⁶See *Breve Instruction contenant la maniere de bien prononcer et lire le François, Italien, Espagnol et Flamen* (Dutch title: *Korte Instructie inhoudende de maniere om wel te prononceren ende te lesen Franchois, Italiaansch, Spaensc ende Nederduytsch*) (Antwerp, 1558).

The limited number of (foreign) vernacular language grammars printed in the Southern Low Countries during the period considered here contrasts with the impressive number of bilingual or multilingual dictionaries that came out. Such dictionaries could combine horizontal and vertical multilingualism, as for instance in the "tetraglottic" (Latin–Greek–French–Dutch) dictionary published in 1562 by Plantin.²⁷ Epistolary exchange of the time also provides interesting information on the teaching of vernacular and "sacred" languages in 16th-century Flanders.

3. TEACHING METHODS²⁸

Book-based methods (in the form of lectures) appear to have been most common for the teaching of the "sacred" languages (with most attention being given to the alphabet, morphology, and syntax). In part, the method also depended on the language taught and on the reason why the language was taught. The grammars of Hebrew and Greek produced in Louvain by Clenardus and Amerotius were highly schematized: they contained many synoptic tables, which were intended to facilitate memorization as well as consultation. As to Latin, there were also advocates of an active and direct method which was in the first place usage-based. This relates to the fact that Latin was still perceived as a living language, as it was the tongue of learned and international oral communication. The direct method stands in the tradition of Lorenzo Valla's (ca. 1407–1457) conceptions.²⁹ Amerotius and Clenardus were the most important exponents of this method. Amerotius, for instance, reports in a 1543 letter to his patron Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) how he is practicing a double method: the book-based method for "regular" students and the usage-based method for Antoine's then seven-year-old brother Frédéric (1536–1602), an experiment which proved effective, as Frédéric made a lot of progress "*par se[u]l usage*" [by usage only]. Afterwards he completed and systematized Frédéric's knowledge by showing him the basics of grammar as "briefly and pleasantly" as possible.³⁰ Some years before, a similar method had been described and recommended by Clenardus in a letter to his friend Rutgerus Rescius.³¹ There he relates how he is teaching Latin to a 4-year-old Portuguese boy (he later taught Latin to three African slaves in the same way). His method was direct (no other language was used) and oral. Each day there was a one-hour course, in which he taught his pupil short phrases which he explained by means of gestures.

²⁷It is entitled *Dictionarium tetraglotton seu uoces Latinae omnes et Graecae eis respondentes, cum Gallica et Teutonica (quam passim Flandricam uocant) earum interpretatione*, and was to be of paramount importance for later Dutch dictionaries (see Swiggers & Van Hal in press).

²⁸Autodidactic methods are left out of consideration here.

²⁹Cf. Swiggers (2001a: 164). This usage-based method had an early Flemish representative in the *Restauratio linguae Latinae* of Georgius Haloinus (ca. 1470–1536/37), who dismisses "grammar" as the method for learning correct Latin, in favour of "usage." See Matheeussen (1974).

³⁰See the unedited letter from Amerotius to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, dated July 6, 1543 and preserved in Madrid, Palacio Real, Biblioteca Real, Patrimonio Nacional, ms. II/2317, fos. 187R–188V (esp. 187^{r-v}).

³¹For a discussion of relevant passages, see Swiggers (2001a: 151–153). See also Swiggers (2010: 98).

His method can be characterized as “language immersion” (cf. Swiggers 2001a: 152). Clenardus draws an explicit comparison with merchants (“mercatores in uariis regionibus”) who learn vernaculars by oral practice and usage (“*usu perdiscunt idiomata*”), and not from grammars and language manuals.

As to methods used for teaching vernaculars, there are—unfortunately—very few testimonies. It may well be true that, as Clenardus suggests, the usual way to learn a foreign vernacular language was to actively speak and interact with native speakers. Yet we have an interesting account (1548) of how Amerotius and a colleague of his tried to teach Dutch (“*flamen*” [Flemish]) to the nonnative students living at Amerotius’ boardinghouse in Louvain. They did so by reading stories in Flemish (“*histoires en flamen*”), twice a day: fifteen minutes after dinner and after supper.³² It is interesting to note that members of the French-speaking aristocracy who were destined for a higher political or ecclesiastical career in Habsburg Europe were learning, albeit reluctantly, the politically less important language of their subjects in the Low Countries.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The preceding sections contain a presentation of the authors, tools, and contextual factors involved in the teaching and learning of classical and vernacular languages in Louvain, a university town in the Southern Low Countries (part of the Spanish Habsburg possessions), in the course of the 16th century (more particularly, between 1520 and 1570).

The documentation examined here allows us to formulate a number of conclusions.

(1) The first, most general one, is that in 16th-century Louvain we find an interesting concentration of didactic tools for the teaching and learning of both ancient languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) and various vernaculars (French, Spanish, Italian). This fact, which places Louvain in a select group of cultural and intellectual centers, such as Paris, Salamanca, Cologne, and Basel, must be explained by a conjunction of factors:

(a) The presence of a prestigious university and, from 1517 on, of a Collegium Trilingue.

(b) A flourishing printing industry (also, various Flemish printers established themselves in France and on the Iberian peninsula).

(c) The central position of the Southern Low Countries within (Western) Europe, and within Europe’s cultural life.

(d) The prominent role played by Flanders in international commerce and trade, and in the financing business, which caused the settling of international “colonies” of merchants, commercial agents, bankers, etc. This role, previously assumed by Bruges, was taken over by Antwerp in the course of the 16th century. There is no doubt that Louvain profited from the growth of the Antwerp metropole.

(2) This first conclusion gains in momentum if we take into account the fact that the Louvain production should be considered in a broader perspective so as to include the language-didactic tools produced by scholars who had received their (language) education in Louvain, and who subsequently produced elsewhere (*or: also elsewhere*) works that gained a wide audience throughout Europe, the most remarkable cases being Despauterius and Clenardus. When seen in this light, the Louvain-related production of language tools in the 16th century ends up covering large parts of (Western) Europe.

(3) A third concluding remark we can formulate is that there was also an interesting methodological reflection, albeit limited to the teaching of classical languages (but it should be recalled that well into the 18th century the majority of statements on the methodology of language teaching concern the teaching of *Latin*).³³ The views of Amerotius and Clenardus certainly have their place in a history of language didactics.

(4) A fourth conclusion is related to the manuals for vernacular languages printed in Louvain. The two (anonymous) Spanish grammars of 1555 and 1559 (Louvain) are, together with Villalón’s 1558 grammar (Antwerp), the first grammars of Spanish that appeared after Nebrija’s 1492 grammar. The Louvain bilingual edition of Acarisio’s grammar, although an “imported” product, is one of the earliest grammars of Italian. Taking into account the Louvain reedition of Pillotus’ French grammar, we have three vernacular languages represented in Louvain: Spanish, Italian, and French (these languages also figure, next to Latin, in the Louvain editions of Noël de Berlaimont’s multilingual dictionary and colloquia). Not surprisingly, these are the three vernacular languages that were mainly spoken in territories belonging to the “Spanish” part of the Habsburg empire.

(5) The interesting co-presence, in Louvain, of tools for teaching classical and modern languages brings us to a final concluding remark. Methodological reflection on language teaching in the 16th century principally concerned the study of the classical languages. This is clear, e.g., from the writings of Erasmus, Vives (a native from Valencia, who spent most of his career in Flanders), Melanchthon, and Mosellanus (cf. *his Paedologia*, printed in Antwerp, 1519). One of the more practically minded pedagogical thinkers of our period was Johann Sturm (Johannes Sturm; 1507–1589). In 1538, Sturm opened a gymnasium in Strasburg which became a model in (especially Protestant) Europe. In his gymnasium, Sturm imposed the exclusive use of Latin (taught several hours every day) and he defended this pedagogical position in his *De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis* (1538). But towards the end of his life, Sturm recognized the importance of learning the vernaculars as well. In his preface to Albert Ölinger’s *Unterricht der Hoch Teutschen Sprach* (1574), one of the first grammatical writings on German, Sturm stressed the importance of studying the modern languages in a systematic way. Our study of the Louvain production has shown that such insights had already been put into practice well before 1574 in Louvain, where Sturm had studied in the 1520s (cf. Swiggers 2009), and where he had become acquainted with language teachers such as Clenardus, Amerotius, and Rescius.³⁴

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³²See Van Rooy (*in press*) for an edition and discussion of Amerotius’ letter (January 21, 1548) to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, written from Louvain.

³³Because of space restrictions, methods for teaching Greek and Hebrew have not been discussed in detail.

³⁴Sturm was a business associate of Rescius for a short period in 1529–30.

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