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Dear Colleagues,

When we decided to found this journal, we spent *three months* at the Tribunal of Rome, in the Chamber of Commerce, in civil offices, at the notary's, etc., requesting and obtaining, only some days later, documents, to comply with the law on the press enacted on 8 February 1948. This law -*absit iniuria verbis*- is substantially Fascistic in its inspiration. The main point is that, to edit a journal, the prospective editor must submit an application to the 'Ordine dei Giornalisti', or 'Professional Order of Newspapermen' of Rome, which, at least in theory, could decide that he is unable to edit his own journal. According to this obsolete law, the editor is conceived as a little despot, answerable to the political power: it is an arrangement which would not be out of place in a 'stato di polizia', or police state: as was Fascism, indeed.

The other major point is that a magistrate must sign a decree, giving -or denying- permission to publish the journal. We consider all this as a real offence to the principle of liberty, especially as there are in addition many vexations of bureaucrats, who are always ready to object that a comma is mis-

placed in a document provided by the other bureaucrats: so that, trying to avoid a nervous collapse, you have patiently to go back to the office which released the document, wasting another morning, until the document is at last approved by the zealous censor. This story, as we have said above, lasted a full three months.

In October 2001 we lodged an appeal with the European Parliament, asking that the Italian Government be condemned for this law, which at the very least needs to be modernized, so that its requirements reflect the present needs of our society. The 'Commission for the Petitions', in a letter of 16/07/2004, no. 307854, signed by the President, Hon. Nino Gemelli, replied saying basically that this law does not infringe the 'principio di stabilimento', or 'principle of settlement', since all the citizens of the Community have the same right 'di costituire società alle stesse condizioni che la legislazione del paese di stabilimento impone ai propri cittadini'. Therefore, it does not constitute any discrimination or restriction, since 'non vi è alcuna restrizione in base alla nazionalità'. The letter added that, 'il fatto che uno Stato membro imponga una regolamentazione meno seve-

ra..... *non significa che le regole di quest'ultimo* (i.e., of the Italian State) *siano eccessive e, di conseguenza, incompatibili con il diritto comunitario*.

If the opinion of the 'Commission for the Petitions' is that the rules of the Italian State are not 'excessive', our opinion is precisely the opposite: that they are not only excessive, but morally outrageous. We willingly admit that, from a strictly legal point of view, the answer of the European Commission is accurate, given the text of the Treaty of Rome, art. 43. We expected, nevertheless, at least a few incidental words, expressing the wish that the law, going back 56 years, be updated. From the words of Hon. Gemelli the present Italian Government is instead fully absolved.

None of you, we hope, doubts that we fight in the name of moral principles, which go well beyond the 'strict law'. These are 'hard times' ('mala tempora currunt', as somebody said) for the country in which this journal is based. The political opposition is banned from speaking on TV. No more than a couple of newspapers support the battle of the opposition. The 'man with the bandanna' recently suffered a severe blow with the uncomplimentary removal of his 'al-

ter ego', the Minister of Finances, also known as the 'Super-Minister', Mr Tremonti, on the part of the Government allies. Nevertheless, the same Government allies, who were awakened after a severe defeat at the last local elections, have approved, in the past three years, a number of laws simply in accordance with the wishes of the so called 'premier'. Some of this legislation, indeed, has been approved in no more than a fortnight.

We do not like to be involved in the vulgarity of the world of politics, nor will we number the severe damage that these laws have inflicted upon the little, the very little plc, which owns this journal, and which was established for no other reason than *to publish this little journal*. Our *cabier de doléances* is heavy, very heavy indeed. But what is intolerable to us, what causes in us a deep sense of disgust, is hearing, on TV, politicians telling people exactly the contrary of the truth. For example, when the 'premier' says that this country enjoys abroad, -as a result of his own merit, obviously- a reputation which it did not enjoy in the past. The readers of the European newspapers know how well this corresponds to the truth.

V. M.

Cicero beyond national diversity¹

ABSTRACT

Cicero's counsel to his fellow citizens of Arpino is to adopt views conducive to universa res publica. Europeans share a common destiny in a rapidly changing world. We either turn Europe into a fortress or into an open society, and Europeans have to exert their presence of mind to choose the latter. Culture is Nature's gift that turns man into human beings. We can use that gift in two ways. If we use our common heritage to exclude foreigners, we become xenophobic bigots. If we regard our personal and national achievements as a contribution to humanity we also define the character of Europe. For Europe's strength and contribution to the global community has always been its cultural diversity. Quoting from Cicero's De Senectute the speaker urged the young scholars gathered in Arpino to use culture to acquire an open mind with which they can face the challenge of world affairs and so delight their elders.



ARPINO, THE PIAZZA (PHOTO: P. L. ALBERY)

Dear Friends, *honoratiores* of the province and *la città*, citizens and visitors to this venerable city of Arpinum, that produced at least two great sons, Cicero and Marius, the orator and the general, the republican and the herald of the coming empire, two men far apart in vision if not in reputation:

"... sic enim statuo, perfecti oratoris moderatione et sapientia

non solum ipsius dignitatem sed et privatorum plurimorum et universae rei publicae salutem maxime contineri."

It is my pleasure that I do not have to translate this passage from Cicero's *De Oratore* to the audience of his *patria*, but let me explain why I need it for my talk. Cicero is saying that not only my own *dignitas* but the *salus* of others depends on the

power of persuasion in which eloquence is not just a trick but carries the conviction of truth and aims at the public good. Cicero in this case is not only thinking of the Roman people but of humanity in general, of *universa res publica*.

National Diversity and Humanität

The passage from Cicero is my motto for today, but before I

come to apply it I have first of all to introduce you to the theme of my talk and then to explain how I can get back to

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Cicero. We all will agree that national diversity is a good thing. The European nations have their peculiar products and customs, their artistic and intellectual talents. A long list of distinguished authors, Vico, Hume, Herder and Mazzini among them, have maintained that Europe's heritage is constantly enriched by the noble rivalry of Europe's nations adding to – as Herder put it – *Humanität*. It is an arresting thought that the way we differ as Europeans enriches our lives. Are we not experiencing this enrichment on a daily basis, when we listen to music, visit museums or go to the supermarket in our hometown to buy pesto? Though I must say I much prefer it coming from the kitchen of one my Italian friends.

The question I would like to consider is whether the process of European unification threatens this national diversity. Some critics say that a gray blanket of conformity is descending on Europe. We Europeans, it is said, are disregarding our old traditions, which give us our national distinctiveness. Is this to be the case and what do we mean by threat? My answer will be that on the contrary we need Europe to maintain our national diversity. This is not a new conclusion. David Hume, the 18th century Scot, was convinced that you need the European nations as well as Europe to ensure the progress of civilization. However, occasionally we have to repeat this message and as a Ciceronian orator I hope to be able to convince you that Hume was right. We need to repeat his conclusion, particularly at the moment that a new European Union with a newly written constitution will be established in the near future.

The Common Destiny of Europeans

In the past we needed to affirm our national identity, because we went to war with each other. So like Cicero we had to appeal to the *virtù* of our own people in order to defend our national independence. That part of an answer reveals that national diversity can be a bad thing too. Nationalism has spooked through the world and has been an excuse for murdering foreigners and even citizens within our own national borders. 1914 was the moment that Europeans should have realized that war as a political aim had become obsolete and that they should cooperate and not fight each other. Well, as you know, it took millions of dead people and massive destruction of goods before Europeans came to their senses. Identity is a matter of common destiny and to some extent we as Italians, Dutchmen, Latvians and Poles still share a common destiny as national citizens, but Europe has become much more important as the aim for our common destiny. It is fair to say that we still need a national identity, but Europe is to be our common destiny and so we better learn to be Europeans soon. The problem is that we have a clear sense

of what it means to be an Italian or a Frenchman, but our common destiny as Europeans is still an empty envelope. We know that we should put something in it, but what? We could start with treating European problems on a European level and not as offshoots from our national worries. That will not be enough, but it is a beginning. I have written on this subject in recent issues of Professor Merolle's *European Journal*. I have to sidestep this issue here. The enthusiasts for national culture regard it as the treasury of our national identity. On the one hand it is the style by which we express our aspirations as a nation and on the other hand it is our national code of conduct. The question is whether the concept of national culture warrants this holistic ambition. To answer it we must take a closer look at the concept of culture itself. That is a difficult undertaking and I cannot hope to exhaust the subject. Allow me to discuss three aspects of culture.

Three Aspects of Culture

Culture first of all is the elevation of mind or, to quote the English 19th century poet Matthew Arnold, *Sweetness and Light*. Cicero's art of persuasion is an example of it. The orator appeals to our generosity and devotion to truth. He

wants us to transcend the routine of our daily lives and reach for the universal and eternal. He wants us like Plato's philosopher to climb out of the cave, in which his fellow men sit chained so that they can only see the reflections of the world outside on the wall of the cave. The philosopher is allowed to see the world as it really is. If we think of culture in this sense we refer quite naturally to art, literature and the humanities, so that some of us speak of high culture to distinguish it from low or popular culture. However this is a questionable distinction. If we need discrimination, expertise and cultivation we need it as much to savour a good meal or taste the excellence of a *Greco di Tuffo* as we do when we listen to a good piece of chamber music or perform that music ourselves. Low or informal culture we associate with low pleasures but that association is often unjustified too. Not only official and formal culture is excellent. Informal culture has the strength of spontaneity and sometimes it happens that low culture reaches a classical status. That happened to the Jazz that came out of New Orleans. Spontaneity brings me to the second aspect of culture. Culture is the product of our playful impulse and introduces a wonderful element of irrelevance in our functional world. Malinowski, the great anthropologist, maintained that everything we produce as culture has

a function whether it is magic or economics that defines the function. I am not convinced that this is always the case. But even so the way an archer adorns his bow, an architect puts painted glass in a church window or a designer gives style to a car, appeals to our aesthetic sensibility. It makes us say that we like it, we just like it without feeling the need to justify it in utilitarian terms. We are fond of playing games. They may have a function, but they are totally irrelevant for our serious affairs. That is of course their point. Johan Huizinga, the Dutch historian, wrote in a book called *Homo Ludens* that the playful impulse is the main productive force that produces culture. Now central to playing is, to quote Huizinga, the agnostic principle. We play with a group of men against others. That aspect has its darker side. If we think of the ancient Greeks their Olympic games were a milder version of their internecine wars. Playing means

tion of what they have been taught at school about great writers and great events. Nationals work together and argue about the hot political issues and so develop implicit priorities and informal manners, but these do not regulate the systems of national society. The rules we need to run our economy, the laws to administer justice and the knowledge we need to understand these rules and laws we share with any modern society. National culture cannot qualify for being the system by which we run national society. National culture is an example of how an elite tries to sell its values of a civilized life down the road and their product – national culture – is the outcome of 19th century nationalism or the search to *find* a national identity. A nation is not a natural thing and many scholars have tried to define it by referring to natural frontiers such as the Rhine or the Alps, or language. Manzoni defined it as “una d'arme di lingua d'altare di

memorie di sangue di cor”. Memory and especially of blood and tears is the most important element that defines the nation. Ernest Renan made the wise remark that it is common memory that constitutes a nation. Sometimes it is the memory of a glorious moment such as the unification

of Germany and Italy in 1870 and 1871, but glorious moments soon fade away and it is the painful moments, which are remembered best. It is no exaggeration to say that France became a nation in World War One, since when Frenchmen remember the millions of boys and men slain on the battlefields of France. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that ethnic consciousness in former Yugoslavia is determined by memories of slaughter and rape. 19th century artists and intellectuals made a massive effort to create a nation. Some are innocent examples such as Jeanne d'Arc who from a local heroine became the symbol for France, some are sinister such as Wagner's wonderful music, which carries the terrible message that it will be Germany's doom to be destroyed. Hitler tried to carry out this message to the letter. The effort to sell national culture to their fellow nationals has been only partly successful. For most national formal culture remains a closed book. I know only one country where the national culture has become the popular one and that is the United States. It makes the US into a very special case of a nation state. Nationalism is a very troublesome phenomenon with which we have come to be confronted in the 20th century. It is the assertion of national identity. Benedict Anderson has characterized this effort as the attempt

to turn the national society into “an imagined community”. Society is the product of modernization, but we feel the need for the kind of solidarity, which we experience in a group of face to face relations. Nationalism then is the often very successful attempt to create a kind of irrational solidarity by creating a common enemy. As a national society we become an in-crowd in order to have our outside enemies. Since world war two, that should have learned us otherwise, we have witnessed the terrible products of nationalism, that is genocide, ethnic cleansing and persecution on a large scale. Nationalism can also be understood as the noble appeal to patriotism, but I must confess I have lost my taste for the term altogether.

Modernity and the Threat to Culture

National culture has a cardboard quality, for the industrial revolution is largely responsible for the infrastructure of human skills and communications that we call national society or the nation. Cultural forces have only played a minor role in creating this unity. When we speak of a threat to national culture we should speak of culture without using any adjective and it is true that modernization poses a threat to culture in whatever form. Modernization is an imposing force. To have its benefits we must obey demanding norms. Sometimes it means that we have to give up traditional views and habits, because they are discriminatory or cruel, often our traditions become less and less relevant for our public life. That has been a painful experience as the situation of the Christian churches in all European member states demonstrates. If we regard culture as what we want and modernization as what we can get, modernization dictates what we will get. European unification is a product of modernization, and so poses a threat to culture, but so does national society, for though the supporters of national culture will not see it national society also is a product of modernization.

Freud has written a sharp analysis of the burden of modernization in his *Civilisation and its Discontents* and *The Future of an Illusion*. In any human being the death instinct quarrels with the impulse to love other human beings. We can use culture to destroy or to create bonds of solidarity. Freud wrote his *Civilisation and its Discontents* after he had fled to London as a victim of the Nazis. The Nazis had revolted against modernization and tried to destroy everything and everybody that they associated with modernization, particularly the Jews who became their scapegoats. In our time fundamentalists have renewed the revolt against modernism, but let us not kid ourselves. The rebel lives inside us. We all tend to feel uneasy and disoriented under the impact of modernization and we all, at times, feel the nihilistic impulses to destroy.

Europe: a Fortress or an Open Society?

Is European unification a threat to national diversity? The an-



FRITS L. VAN HOLTHOORN (KLOCKWISE) AND VINCENZO MEROLLE SPEAKING IN THE AULA MAGNA OF THE TULLIANO

that we divide people into Ins and Outs and war is a cultural product seen according to this perspective.

The third aspect of culture I want to discuss has to do with this division between Ins and Outs. Culture is a powerful means for group identification. Language is of course an obvious example of how a group can be defined, but so are our customs and mores, which particularly at the community level makes culture an instrument of social control. If culture under its first aspect makes us citizens of the world, culture under the third aspect can turn us into xenophobic bigots. There was a time in history that anyone entering the territory of a group foreign to him was an outlaw and the group needed a special code of hospitality to protect him. The Australian aborigines took the principle of Ins and Outs to its logical extreme. Everybody who belonged to the family according to their complicated system of kinship was a member of the group, everybody else an enemy. I am sorry that I had to bore you with a scholastic exercise on the definition of culture, but I had to do so in order to be able to deal with national culture in a proper manner.

National Culture

If we take art and literature to be the standard of national culture it is clear that many nations only have a vague recollec-

The Birth of Amerope

A Historical Retrospect from 2050

This experimental piece draws on the manner of writing European history that I advocated in my book The Revision of European History published by Athol Books (Belfast) last year. It is written on the assumption that in the near future North America and the European Union will be seen as a single entity - Amerope - requiring historical treatment; that this will involve an even-handed and coordinated account of American and European history since the 1400s; and that this, in turn, will lead to a common periodisation of these shared histories and a more realistic periodisation of European history than the 'medieval' distortion introduced by reactionary Italian intellectuals in the 1400s.

What we now, in 2050, call Amerope - meaning the geopolitical and cultural entity formed by the USA, Canada, and Europe to the border with Russia - had its origins in the century and a half after 1492; the formative period of the Columbian Age. As that age came to an end in the decades following 1945, when the West rejected the rules of western civilisation and its Age of Chaos began, Amerope was in fact, if not in name, an established reality. All that remained for its territorial completion was its extension into eastern and southeastern Europe under the aegis of the European Union; a completion accomplished in the first twenty years of the present century. The term 'Amerope', become conventional in the last

thirty years, has had the virtue both of describing a new western reality since World War II and of indicating the changed preponderance as between Europe and its former North-American colonies. In adjectival usage, as 'Ameropean', it replaced the previously conventional 'Euro-American'. The event that led ultimately to the emergence and develop-

Consequently, during the 1400s up to 1492, the general circumstances and historical developments in America and Europe were entirely unrelated.

Pre-Columbian America

The American continent in its last Pre-Columbian century was mainly inhabited by tribal societies, some nomadic or semi-sedentary, others settled, most

peoples, they amounted to incipient nations.¹ Only in Mesoamerica, reaching from southern Mexico to Honduras, and on the Pacific or Andean side of South America, did states exist. Here there were cities, some inhabited exclusively by priests, nobles and officials, others also by farmers, merchants and craftsmen. The many nomadic tribes lived

1. For ease of comprehension, I am obliged to use, anachronistically, some names of areas and places which were bestowed later by Europeans.

In the northern part of Mesoamerica, people were conscious of a classic period between 300 and 600 AD. Then the great Olmec city of Teotihuacan had extended its political and cultural influence far and wide. The currently dominant civilisation of the Mexica (or Aztecs), centred on the lake city of Tenochtitlan, was in that tradition. Originally a wandering people from the north, the Mexica had been driven to take refuge on the marshy lake island where they built their city. After having served the nearby Tepanec as mercenaries, in 1428 they formed an alliance with Texcoco on the lakeshore and, led by Izacoatl, overthrew the Tepanec and set about building an empire. Under Moctezuma I (1440-1469) and the two emperors who succeeded him, it reached the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific and Guatemala. Tenochtitlan, which had a substantial merchant class, grew to a population of 200,000. The Mexica innovated in astronomy, agriculture, architecture and picture writing. Their chief gods were Tlaloc (rain) and Huizilpochtli (war). It was a loose empire inasmuch as it left the subject peoples their own religions and festivals; but it was also stern in its requirements of tribute and of warriors, delivered or captured, for sacrifice in the great pyramid temple of Tenochtitlan. These sacrifices, which amounted to thousands annually, were intended to secure the continuance of good order in the heavens and on earth.

Further south, in Yucatan, Guatemala and Honduras, the Maya looked back to a classic past in the fourth to ninth centuries. Living in city-states which were often at war, they had been and remained the most intellectually advanced people in America. In their classic period, their priests and warriors had reached high attainments in architecture, engineering, astronomy, fresco painting and sculpture. They were particularly gifted in mathematics and the measurement of time and used a form of picture writing. Here, too, merchants formed an important class. After the collapse of the older civilisation around 900, many Maya had migrated from Guatemala to the Yucatan peninsula and there, from the twelfth century, a revival occurred. The city-states formed a federation dominated by Mayapan. Then, in 1441, a general rebellion brought the ascendancy of Mayapan to an end and



ment of Amerope was, of course, the discovery of the American continent by Europeans in 1492. From the beginning of history, through Roman times, the Age of Transition and Europe's first or Pre-Columbian age - roughly 1000 to 1492 - America and Europe had existed in ignorance of each other.

of them frequently at war. Politically, the typical unit was the chiefdom comprising a number of tribes. Occasionally, where a number of chiefdoms formed a confederation, such as, in North America, that of the Sioux, or belonged to a common language group, such as the Algonquian or Iroquoian

by hunting, fishing and gathering, occasionally accompanied by slash-and-burn agriculture. The settled and semi-sedentary peoples farmed principally maize, beans and squash, but also, manioc, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tomatoes and chiles. In some places cotton and tobacco were grown. Domesticated animals comprised turkeys, pigs, guinea pigs, occasionally dogs, and in South America, llamas and alpacas. For tools, weapons and art, the materials used were mainly stone, wood, bark, fired clay, feathers, wool and reeds; but some peoples worked copper, gold, silver, and for sharpness used the glassy rocks, obsidian and chalcidony. Bronze was smelted only in the Andes. Because of the absence of the wheel and of horses or other draft animals, burdens were carried by humans only and the fastest communication was by relays of runners.

On the Atlantic coast of North America, southwards from the St. Lawrence estuary to Virginia, the principal tribes were the Micmac, Abenaki, Massachusetts, Wampanoag, Narraganset, Wappinger, Lenape and Powhatan. The arc of islands extending east and south from Florida to Venezuela was inhabited in its northern part - including the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti - by Arawak people of the Lucayan and Taino tribes. On the islands which completed the arc towards the Venezuelan coast were Carib; warlike cannibals who raided the Taino islands in search of women and human meat.

swer depends on whether we obey *thanatos*, the death instinct or *eros*, the impulse to love. If we see modernization only as a threat we will use any cultural argument to turn ourselves into frightened and narrow-minded Europeans. We may turn the nation into a bunker or even the European Union into a fortress, but in this way we are a far cry from Vico's and Herder's legacy. On the other hand we may face the fact that modernization is here to stay. If we accept culture as an invitation to an open society than we can use our national treasures for the benefit of Europe. To face the facts of modernization does not necessarily turn us into technocrats who slavishly obey the commands of the technical order. We should use culture to close the gap between what we want and what we can have. In this way we can even hope to control modernization eventually for the benefit of ourselves as nationals, of Europe and indeed the world.

An Appeal to the Next Generation

Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes

senes delectantur leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adolescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos.

My dear friends, Cato Maior was 83, when Cicero let him speak these words. In a few weeks time I will be seventy. I hope that my sapientia and moderatio has not only pleased you as my audience. This week we celebrate the *Certamen Ciceronianum*, when school children from all over Europe have come together in Arpino to compete for the best translation of a text by Cicero. Let me speak to them as the next generation of Europeans.

I hope that those who are competing for the noble prizes of the *Certamen* will understand Cicero's message and that it will make them willing to serve the *universa res publica*. At this moment in history that means that I ask them to accept Europe as their common destiny. As a modern Cicero I address the young

students in particular. Gaetano Mosca, another great Italian, has written that a democracy needs a governing class. He meant that you need the élite that has the honesty and the wisdom to guide the people. I regard the students, which are gathered in Arpino, as a part of the future European élite. In my active service as a university teacher I used to lecture to international students each year. And I said to them as I say to them now: Use your national backgrounds to become *the aristoi* with an eye for European responsibilities. That is what Cicero would have said to you, I guess.

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¹ Paper delivered in the historic city of Arpino (South Latium), on 7 May 2004, for the XXIVth *Certamen Ciceronianum* Arpinas.

the federation dissolved into separate chiefdoms.

Far to the southwest, in the Andes running parallel to the Pacific coast, the Inca were the currently dominant people. Centred on Cusco in Peru, they were an elite caste of the Quechua tribe which since the 1200s had developed a distinctive military culture. With the accession of their king, Viracocha Inca, in the early 1400s, expansion began and was continued by his son, Pachacuti (1438-71), who founded an empire. His son, Tupa, overcame the Chimú civilisation to the north, founded Quito, and as emperor (1471-93) pushed the Inca frontiers south into northern Chile and Argentina. It was an empire of the centralised and homogenising kind, minutely administered, and with a state religion of a heaven god who was represented by the sun and embodied in the emperor. There was social mobility for outstanding soldiers, an extensive road system, and effective social welfare for the collectivised peasantry. Irrigation and terracing served agriculture; gold, silver, copper and tin were mined, and bronze smelted. Various knotted bunches of string kept accounts and conveyed messages. Inca art work was principally in gold, silver, pottery and woven fabrics.

The Mexica and Inca empires had each a population of around nine million. Their armies, the largest in America, constituted forces roughly equivalent to the Babylonian or Egyptian armies of around 1700 BC.

Pre-Columbian Europe

In the last century of Pre-Columbian Europe, western Europe, including Portugal, Italy and Spain, was a Catholic and predominantly agricultural society, with peasants and artisans living in villages under temporal or ecclesiastical lords. The countryside was punctuated by castles and monasteries. Towns and cities abounded, with four of the latter, Paris, Milan, Venice and Naples, having more than 100,000 inhabitants. Many of the small cities were architectural works of art. While universities grew in number, trade and pilgrimage routes criss-crossed the continent and its adjacent seas. The dominant commercial powers were the Hansa, Venice and Genoa, with Bruges figuring as the main north-south entrepot until that role passed to Antwerp. Banking and credit were largely transacted by the Medici of Florence and their branches, while the four annual fairs at Lyons were used for settling accounts and issuing bills of exchange. In the coastal parts of Spain and Portugal, Genoese merchant-financiers were well established. Among the upper classes in several countries, vernaculars were replacing French. Chivalric literature was in vogue, and the arrival of book-printing spread it widely. European armies, in part equipped with primitive muskets and cannon, would have been more than a match for Roman legions. As Europe moved towards the

end of its first age, signs pointed towards the second. A growing strong desire for mastery of the world in all its aspects characterised the century and expressed itself in multiple innovation. The outstanding innovation, in the second half of the century, was the incipient passage of monarchy from suzerainty to sovereignty, or put differently, the gradual emergence of the absolutist state. In France, England and Spain, the central political aim was to establish a compact nation-state corresponding, respectively, to the ancient Roman unities of Gallia, Britannia and Hispania. In England and France this development was favoured by three factors. In 1453 the Hundred Years War ended with the English evacuation of France except for Calais. On France's eastern side, with the death of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1477, Burgundy ceased to be a troublesome, independent power. France, under Louis XI (1461-83), acquired parts of its territory, while the rest, including the Low Countries, passed by marriage to the Habsburgs of Austria. Finally, in England the twenty-year War of the Roses, which conveniently decimated the old English nobility, ended in 1485 with the accession of the first of the Tudors, Henry VII. Meanwhile, in Spain, movement towards national unity was promoted by the marriage and joint rule of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. They strengthened the royal power as against nobles and bishops and in 1484 established the Inquisition. With Gibraltar taken in 1462, all that remained of Muslim power in Spain was the kingdom of Granada. The crusade launched against it in 1482 strengthened national cohesion; its annexation in 1492 completed the *Reconquista*. In the same year the Spanish Jews were given a choice between conversion and expulsion.

Innovation in other countries took a variety of forms. Portugal, which had entered the century as a compact nation-state but a poor one, struck out into the Atlantic. In 1415 Prince Henry had taken Ceuta, a Muslim port opposite Gibraltar where the caravans from West Africa, carrying gold, ivory and slaves, discharged their wares. It was the start of a Portuguese effort to bypass the middlemen who controlled this trade. In the following decades Portuguese mariners explored the African coast, merchants followed them, and a fortified trading settlement was established in Guinea. Elsewhere in the Atlantic, sugar plantations were established on Madeira, the Cape Verde islands discovered in 1432. That was the furthest point west so far reached by Europeans. Then, in 1488, when Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the prospect of a sea route to India beckoned. If realised, it would circumvent both the middlemen who conducted the caravans of spices and Eastern luxury goods to the coasts of Syria and Egypt and the others who

received and exported these goods. Not only that: it would circumvent the Ottoman Turks who were taking control of the caravan routes.

Flanders, under the Burgundian dukes, innovated mainly in painting and music. Painters practised a new realism and for the first time used oils and canvas. Their work, along with the new music of the Flemish composers, radiated influence through much of Europe.

In Italy some city-states pioneered state absolutism. But national unity, however much desired by Machiavelli and other patriots, was prevented by the absence of a power sufficiently strong to effect it. Instead, a chauvinistic, anti-modern movement of literati and classical scholars aspired to revive *Italia* through a cultural renewal of ancient Rome in a Christian context. Partly influenced by this movement, there was striking innovation, with wide European influence, in sculpture, painting, architecture and statecraft, and in the critical study of classical and Christian texts. In the wake of the Genoese merchant-financiers, some Genoese mariners migrated westwards. The Genoese shared with the Portuguese and Spaniards, an interest in bypassing the middlemen both of Morocco and of the Middle East.

In the southern and eastern German lands, around the middle of the century, European mathematics was founded. Drawing on Arab-Greek mathematics, it went beyond it. It was a mathematics with an astronomical bias and therefore useful for navigation. Simultaneously, there was advance in the precision working of metal for the making of machines and instruments. The invention of book-printing was merely its first important fruit. Nuremberg became the European centre both for the publishing of books on astronomy and mathematics and for the manufacture of instruments used in astronomy and navigation.

In the Church, it was a matter of would-be innovation. The reformist conciliar movement of 1409-42 healed the Great Schism of the previous forty years but failed to achieve the reforms it called for. During part of this period, the Hussites of Bohemia, foreshadowing with their demands the future Protestant rebellions, made war widely until they were brought to heel with some concessions granted. In 1484 Giovanni Battista Cibo, of a Genoese shipping family, became Pope as Innocent VIII. One of the line of art-sponsoring 'Renaissance popes', he encouraged the persecution of witches.

The Beginning of Europe Overseas

Occasionally since ancient times, some had speculated that a voyage westward into the Atlantic would ultimately reach land of some kind. Strabo, whose *Geography* was known in Pre-Columbian Europe, was specific. Given that the earth was round, he wrote, 'if the immensity of the Atlantic ocean did not prevent it, we could sail from Iberia to India along the

same parallel over the remainder of the circle'. That the Atlantic was navigable for quite some distance had been shown by the Portuguese. Advances in ship design and in navigational aids made a more lengthy voyage seem possible. For one thing, Ptolemy's *Geography* published in Latin in 1406 had introduced the notion of latitude and longitude, and by the 1480s the Portuguese had devised a method of calculating latitude from the sun. Now their discovery of what looked like a route to India around Africa spurred thought of besting them by finding a transatlantic route.

The Genoese sea captain, Cristoforo Colombo, made that enterprise his personal project. Having read every relevant book and studied every possibly relevant map, he tried in vain to interest the Portuguese king, failed in an approach to the Spanish monarchs, put out feelers to France and England, and finally, in 1492, won a commission from Ferdinand and Isabella. When his three caravels sailed from Palos on 3 August of the same year, many factors besides the royal commission contributed to the venture: finance from the treasuries of Aragon and Castile and a Florentine businessman; caravels, originally designed by the Portuguese for ocean-going and using the lateen sail borrowed from the Arabs; compasses, a Chinese invention transmitted by the Arabs; hour-glasses from Venice; an improved astrolabe

designed by Martin Boheim of Nuremberg; and an almanac predicting the positions of celestial bodies compiled by the German mathematician Johann Müller (known also as Regiomontanus).

Columbus made his final departure from Gomera island in the Canaries, the land farthest west under Spanish control. If the Azores, far to the north and farther west, had been a Spanish possession, he might well have sailed west from there. He would then have been likely to make landfall among the Wappinger or Lenape, in the vicinity of present-day New York. But the Azores were Portuguese and therefore unavailable to him. Sailing west from the Canaries, the first people he encountered were the Lucayan of Guanahani in the Bahamas. He called their island San Salvador and took formal possession of it in the name of Spain. In the following weeks, on Cuba and Haiti, he encountered the Taino people and heard of the fearsome Carib. Taking possession of Haiti, he called it Española and remained for some time. There, on Christmas Day, shortly before returning to Spain, he founded the first European town in America, La Navidad, and left thirty-nine of his men to people it.

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PARENTS ET ENFANTS

DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE

Ce que les correspondances nous apprennent

Depuis le travail pionnier de Philippe Ariès¹, l'histoire des enfances bourgeoise et aristocratique est un domaine de recherche fort actif dont la bibliographie s'est considérablement enrichie. Parmi les nombreux chantiers ouverts, on retiendra en particulier celui de la formation intellectuelle. Sans doute, faut-il voir dans l'intérêt porté à cet aspect de l'histoire de l'enfance le reflet d'une préoccupation de notre temps qui considère que l'investissement éducatif est la clé essentielle du développement. De nombreux historiens ont tenté de repérer les stratégies éducatives mises en œuvre, en particulier pendant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, à un moment où dans les familles bourgeoises et aristocratiques se manifestent de nouvelles attentes². Les recherches ont emprunté deux directions. Tout d'abord, la mise en évidence de nouvelles structures de formation avec la multiplication des pensionnats annexés aux collèges, l'essor extraordinaire des pensions privées, enfin la modernité des écoles militaires. Les travaux développés dans cette direction ont permis de prendre la mesure des choix collectifs. Aussi, un second chantier a été ouvert pour repérer les choix individuels, décidés au sein des familles, les seuls décisifs en la matière. Plusieurs questions se posent. Dans le cadre de cet article, on en retiendra trois. Comment

Spain, New France, New Netherlands, New Sweden, New England, Nova Scotia and so on would amount to). Of that new reality, the Spanish, Portuguese and French settlements in America formed the largest part. That was the main context in which Amerope was born. The rest of it was the emergence of various kinds of Protestantism in Europe, and in particular in England. The seed of what would become Amerope was sown when in 1607 and 1620, respectively, English Protestants made two settlements on the Atlantic coast of North America. The first was on an island in Powhatan territory in the river the settlers called James. The second was among the Wapanoag at the place where the newcomers founded a town called Plymouth. The first of these settlements developed into the colony of Virginia, the second into Massachusetts. Later, these two colonies played the leading roles in the founding of the United States of America. As this new republic grew, it became for its citizens and for Europeans *America par excellence*, and for Europeans the principal part of the Europe Overseas to which millions of them were migrating. It rose to that status and prominence because more completely than any other part

des parents décident-ils du choix d'un modèle éducatif? Quels investissements matériels sont-ils prêts à consentir pour remplir leurs vœux? Dans le cas où le modèle éducatif choisi est le pensionnat, comment parents et enfants vivent-ils la séparation?

Les sources

L'historien dispose pour renseigner ce questionnaire de trois catégories de sources: les mémoires autobiographiques, les journaux et les correspondances. On connaît bien les limites des mémoires, sans doute riches d'informations, mais d'informations revisitées³. Les journaux tenus au quotidien en restent trop souvent au niveau du constat, voire de la simple nomenclature des naissances. En revanche, les correspondances échangées entre parents et enfants, entre parents et responsables de l'éducation de leur progéniture, livrent des réactions, des décisions souvent prises dans l'urgence, des sentiments parfois exacerbés qui ont disparu des journaux et des mémoires.

Nous avons constitué un corpus composé de 149 lettres échangées entre les parents des pensionnaires du collège de Lille et le principal pendant les années 1763-1770 et 1774-1780⁴, de 150 lettres écrites de 1763 à

1787 par le lillois Carpentier au principal du collège de Courtrai puis de Gand où ses enfants sont pensionnaires⁵, de la correspon-



F. H. DROUAIS (1727-1775) - *Le jeune élève*

dance relative aux enfants d'une famille lilloise, la famille Fruit, soit 154 lettres pour les années 1767-1769 et 1778-1783⁶.

Ces lettres sont produites par une minorité appartenant aux catégories aisées de la société. Les pensionnaires appartiennent à la noblesse, à la haute bourgeoisie, au monde des offices et du négoce. Carpentier est un riche administrateur de biens, accumulant en quelques années une fortune considérable. Le père des enfants Fruit est anobli en 1775. Un certain nombre de lettres proviennent de l'étranger - Pays-Bas Autrichiens, Provinces-Unies, Angleterre, Irlande - qui fournit un fort contingent de pensionnaires au collège de Lille.

Le choix du modèle éducatif et du devenir des enfants

Le choix du modèle éducatif, celui du lieu où il peut être mis en œuvre, enfin celui de ses responsables n'est jamais laissé au hasard. Il est précocement et mûrement réfléchi. Les enfants Fruit ont respectivement six ans, cinq ans et trois ans quand leur père décide de les placer dans un collège parisien «à mesure que l'âge le leur permettra». Les enfants Carpentier n'ont pas encore dix ans quand leur père arrête de les envoyer dans un collège des Pays-Bas autrichiens. Les départs au pensionnat se font une fois la première instruction reçue d'un précepteur ou dans une maison d'éducation lilloise.

Les lettres montrent bien que le choix d'une stratégie scolaire par les parents renvoie à des traditions culturelles et à des projets de carrière. Les pères, anciens élèves d'un collège d'humanités, puis d'une faculté de droit, entendent que leurs fils suivent la même voie. Les lettres mettent ensuite l'accent sur le projet de carrière. Quand Carpentier place ses enfants dans des collèges de la partie flamande des Pays-Bas autrichiens, alors qu'ils disposent

de deux établissements similaires à Lille, c'est bien pour y apprendre, outre les matières propres à ce type d'établissement, le flamand si nécessaire dans la profession qu'il exerce et dont il espère qu'elle sera celle de l'aîné et peut-être de son second fils. Les enfants de négociants et de marchands d'Amsterdam, de Bruges et d'Anvers sont envoyés au pensionnat du collège de Lille pour s'y familiariser avec le français avant d'aller s'initier dans un comptoir aux techniques du commerce.

Les «il doit tâcher de remplir mes vœux sur son bonheur», «il n'appartient qu'à moi de décider» sont significatifs de l'état d'esprit de parents qui estiment devoir décider seuls de l'«état» de leurs enfants.

Un père fait exception quand il écrit à propos de ses deux fils «Je ne suis pas de ces pères

qui la [vocation] font venir de force, ainsi ce sera eux qui en décideront». Et les mères ont-elles leur mot à dire? Un père désireux de placer son fils au collège de Lille écrit au principal: «Je sonderai la maman et vous ferai part de ma réussite ou de ma défaite». La maman l'emporte, et l'enfant reste à Anvers.

Rien n'est laissé au hasard dans le choix d'un précepteur, d'une pension, d'une maison d'éducation. Les parents ne se laissent pas abuser par les prospectus, toujours très séduisants et pleins de promesses⁷. Une enquête minutieuse confiée à un parent, à un ami, à une relation d'affaires précède la décision. Dans le cas des enfants Fruit dont le père recherche le «bon précepteur», quinze mois, et une abondante correspondance, sont nécessaires pour trouver l'oiseau rare qui est retenu non sans, au préalable, avoir exposé sa stratégie pédagogique. Les mères tiennent leur place dans cette recherche. Dans ces enquêtes où les mères se montrent actives tout est passé en revue: les études, leur coût, les conditions d'hébergement, la discipline, l'éducation religieuse, l'éducation au monde.

Les investissements matériels

Le séjour au pensionnat réclame un investissement financier important. Le coût qu'il représente commence à être maintenant bien connu⁸. Aux tarifs de base fixés par les prospectus auxquels il convient d'ajouter les débours pour les frais annexes, tels chambre particulière avec feu, logement du précepteur particulier, leçons de musique et de danse nécessaires à l'entrée dans le monde. Voici quelques cas relevés dans notre corpus de lettres.

Les dépenses consenties pour les enfants Fruit sont un bon exemple de l'importance de l'investissement matériel dans l'éducation. En 1767, Fruit engage un précepteur sur la base d'un contrat qui lui garantit huit cents

livres d'honoraires annuels pendant toute la durée de l'éducation et une rente viagère annuelle de mille deux cents livres une fois l'éducation achevée⁹. Aux honoraires du précepteur s'ajoute le coût de la pension des deux aînés au collège de Navarre sur la base d'un appartement de trois pièces comportant une chambre pour chaque enfant et une chambre pour le précepteur. On ignore le coût de la pension au collège de Navarre. Mais en se fondant sur les chiffres connus pour d'autres collèges, tel le collège de Juilly, on peut estimer que le tout représente une dépense de quatre mille livres par an¹⁰. Il faut y ajouter les dépenses d'habillement, et surtout l'argent de poche pour «les menus plaisirs». Les enfants Fruit fréquentent la comédie, le Concert spirituel... Ajoutons enfin à ces dépenses faites pour les deux garçons, celles occasionnées par l'inscription de leurs deux sœurs dans une maison d'éducation parisienne. On a affaire ici à des cas privilégiés. Bien entendu, tous les pensionnaires ne sont pas logés à la même enseigne. Mais, certaines familles doivent consentir de réels sacrifices.

Si les parents acceptent de ne rien épargner pour que leur progéniture profite de «toutes les lumières qui conviennent à la bonne éducation», ils entendent que leurs enfants en soient conscients. À cet égard, les lettres de Carpentier sont les plus significatives de notre corpus. Sans cesse, il revient sur l'ampleur des «déboursés» consentis pour l'éducation de ses trois fils. Les «faites attention à ce que vous me coûtez», les «je n'ai point d'argent à jeter» reviennent constamment sous sa plume. Excédé devant leurs mauvais résultats, il écrit: «Des pères et des mères ont refusé de fournir aux dépenses qu'occasionnent les études».

La question de l'argent de poche est une question sensible. Tous les parents acceptent d'en donner, mais ils en condamnent le gaspillage. Leurs plaintes sur ce chapitre sont parfois vives. «Ce qui me choque dans mon fils» écrit la veuve Van Ceulen «c'est la dépense qu'il fait. Je suis surprise et je ne peux comprendre à quoi va son argent de poche [...] La jeunesse est toujours portée à la dépense [...] J'ai taxé les menus plaisirs de mon fils et ai prié Monsieur Dembroke [le correspondant] de porter mon fils à l'économie».

Dans cet apprentissage de la gestion de l'argent de poche, les enfants sont souvent appelés à rendre des comptes. L'aîné des enfants Fruit doit ainsi justifier les dépenses engagées lors de son retour d'un séjour dans la maison paternelle. Tout y est noté depuis le prix des repas pris dans deux auberges jusqu'aux dépenses «pour avoir du pain et des pommes pour manger en route, non sans oublier les vingt-quatre sous «pour un fiacre à l'arrivée à

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Eurolinguistic activities in Rome, Mannheim and St. Andrews in 2004

In 2004, the year of the eastern enlargement of the European Union, Eurolinguistischer Arbeitskreis Mannheim, ELAMA, was involved in three different conferences on Eurolinguistics in Rome, Mannheim and St. Andrews, Scotland:

1. In Rome – report on the Eurolinguistics conference at “La Sapienza”

At the conference in Rome, which was organised at “La Sapienza” on March 2, 2004, by the “Facoltà di Scienze Politiche”, “Dipartimento di Lingue per le Politiche Pubbliche”, the aims and research programme of ELAMA were presented to the conference in two lectures which were attended by participants from various Italian universities besides “La Sapienza”: Urbino, Teramo, Naples, Molise, Bologna, Tori-

no, Verona, Bari on the one hand; and on the other, by scholars from abroad: Murcia (Spain), Lille (France), Mannheim (Germany), Louvain (Belgium), New York (USA) and Lima (Chile).

The main topic of the conference was *Euro-linguistics*, which served as a cover term for dealing with multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic aspects of the countries of the European Union, giving full resonance to the variations intrinsically present in all linguistic systems. The necessity of

making multilingualism the basis of the cultural unity of Europe is today accepted as a new starting point. A Europeanisation of linguistic research is now taking place in a number of European research centres and universities, of which the Rome

conference was a good example. Generally speaking, multilingualism is now posited as the norm rather than the exception among Eurolinguists. By overcoming the limitations of nationally oriented linguistics and giving more attention to centuries-old international contacts between languages, the concentration of research on *common linguistic structures* in Europe has been promoted. Various scholarly traditions are now converging, making it possible to give life to a new, truly European type of linguistics, which has as its main object the study

of interference and convergence and the dynamic multilingual processes which are of great interest for all European areas from the beginnings of the appearance of any European language.

Prof. Giuseppe Castorina, Chairman of the “Dipartimento di Lingue per le Politiche Pubbliche”, opened the conference in the morning with a paper on “Uno spazio per l’Eurolinguistica nel dialogo tra ricerca, scienza e società”. Prof. Castorina stressed multiculturalism and vertical multilingualism as being essential for creating a feeling of European identity. Prof. Louis Begioni, Université Charles de Gaulle, Lille 3, then gave a review of new trends in the teaching of European languages “Pour un renouveau de l’enseignement des langues dans l’espace universitaire européen”; Paolo Ridola, Univer-



UNIVERSITY «LA SAPIENZA», ROME

Paris». Et connaissant les leçons d’économie paternelles, il souligne: «J’espère mon cher papa que vous voudrez bien me les rembourser».

Surmonter la séparation

La mise en pension occasionne une séparation pouvant durer parfois plusieurs années, entrecoupées de brefs retours pour les périodes de vacances. Comment est-elle vécue? Les lettres témoignent du désarroi et de la souffrance d’enfants brutalement éloignés de la maison familiale. Le petit Lenglé de Schoebecke a été «triste et indisposé». Cela n’étonne guère son père qui écrit: «il était trop résolu et trop gai pour pouvoir continuer sans interruption». Louis Carpentier, âgé de douze ans quand il quitte la maison familiale pour entrer au collège de Courtrai, «ne cesse de pleurer». À la séparation s’ajoute pour beaucoup d’enfants placés dans les pensionnats des collèges du nord de la France et de la partie flamande des Pays-Bas autrichiens l’obstacle linguistique. Pensionnaire au collège de Lille, le petit Gilliods originaire de Bruges, ne parle que le flamand: «Il cherche toutes les occasions pour se faire entendre et comprendre de ses condisciples, cela lui a paru fort étrange dans les commencements».

Confrontés aux émois de leur progéniture, les parents font preuve de fermeté et ne cèdent pas. «Je lui écrirai» souligne la mère d’un pensionnaire «et lui ferai sentir combien il doit être heureux dans une maison où tant de personnes veulent bien avoir la bonté de s’intéresser à lui».

Cette fermeté n’est pas synonyme d’insensibilité. Les parents sont conscients de l’épreuve qu’endurent leurs enfants. Jean-Baptiste Carpentier écrit à un ami: «L’enfant n’a jamais sorti de chez lui et m’a paru fort triste d’abandonner la maison paternelle». Leurs lettres rendent compte d’une réelle inquiétude

sur les effets d’une séparation. Pour l’atténuer, ils multiplient les conseils auprès de responsables des pensionnats. Carpentier demande au principal du collège de Courtrai où son fils aîné vient d’entrer «de le dissiper pendant quelques jours et de ne lui dire que des choses à rire. C’est de cette manière que je l’ai toujours gouverné». L’inquiétude se dissipe à l’arrivée des premières nouvelles donnant des renseignements sur l’état de santé, sur l’assiduité au travail et sur les premiers résultats. Les «Il me fait grand plaisir d’apprendre», «je suis heureux d’apprendre», «je suis très sensible de ce que vous voulez bien me communiquer», «mon inquiétude est de savoir», «en attendant d’apprendre», reviennent à l’envi dans les lettres.

À peine reçue, la lettre du principal du collège ou du précepteur appelle une réponse. Les parents, et surtout les mères, prennent la plume pour témoigner de leur joie, mais encore de leurs inquiétudes qui appellent d’autres nouvelles. Ils veulent tout savoir. Du 24 octobre 1769 au 4 janvier 1770, la veuve Van Ceulen envoie cinq longues lettres qui appellent des réponses immédiates. Le principal qui oublie d’écrire, faute de temps ou par négligence, est immédiatement rappelé à l’ordre. Sans nouvelles de ses enfants, nous sommes le 3 octobre soit deux jours après la rentrée des classes, Goethals écrit: «Il me serait aussi très agréable d’apprendre comment vont mes deux fils et s’ils sont contents et s’ils s’accoutument avec leurs autres frères».

Si les lettres des responsables de l’éducation sont attendues avec impatience, celles des enfants sont encore plus vivement désirées. Quand elles se font trop attendre, les plaintes se font vives. Devant l’indifférence de son fils qui tarde à lui écrire, et qui de plus obtient de médiocres résultats, Vendroux exprime son mécontentement et sa peine en ces termes: «Mon petit étourdi est

toujours le même puisqu’il a toujours de mauvaises places [...] Cela me déplaît infiniment. Je crois aussi qu’il y a de la paresse dans son fait car il ne se donne seulement pas la peine de m’écrire. Sa sœur m’écrit au moins trois lettres quand lui une».

Tous les moyens sont bons pour écourter la séparation: faire revenir l’enfant avant le début des vacances, lui faire reprendre le chemin du pensionnat après la rentrée des classes, voire l’envoyer chercher pendant l’année scolaire. Pour se justifier, les parents invoquent souvent la longueur du voyage, ses difficultés, la reconstitution de la cellule familiale. Aux vacances de Noël 1776, Decroix garde son fils jusqu’à la fête des Rois «tant par rapport à cette fête qu’à l’arrivée de ses soeurs qui viennent pour passer quelques jours».

Ces absences inopinées semblent avoir été assez fréquentes au point de provoquer l’irritation du principal du collège de Lille. À sa demande, les administrateurs du collège font savoir en 1771 que «pour obvier au dérangement que causent ces sortes de licence par la dissimulation, le dégoût et l’ignorance qu’elles occasionnent, ils ne diminueront rien sur la totalité de la pension annuelle sauf les vacances du mois de septembre». L’avertissement n’eut guère d’effet.

Conclusion

«L’histoire se fait avec des documents écrits, sans doute. Quand il y en a ! [...] Mais elle peut se faire, elle doit se faire [...] avec tout ce que l’ingéniosité de l’historien peut lui permettre d’utiliser pour fabriquer son miel¹¹». Cette belle formule de Lucien Febvre est pour l’historien une incitation à l’élargissement de ses sources qu’il doit interroger en fonction de problématiques liées à notre présent. Indiscutablement, les correspondances constituent une source exceptionnelle mettant en lumière des histoires particulières, des stratégies individuelles, mais aussi l’in-

térêt des parents pour leurs enfants. Au-delà de leur singularité, elles nous introduisent à de nouvelles approches pour illustrer et documenter l’histoire de l’enfance. Elles ouvrent une perspective originale sur ce qui est au cœur du processus éducatif, la famille. Sans doute ne permettent elles pas de tirer des conclusions définitives sur les stratégies éducatives. À tout le moins, elles rendent possible une plus juste appréciation de leur nature.

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Summary

What we know about the history of childrens education in modern reality has profoundly changed in recent decades. Much research remains, however, to be done, to uncover the reality of educational strategies during the 2nd half of the 18th century, a period when parents expectations greatly evolved and when many new educational models emerged. What path to choose? Private tutoring? Boarding school? At what age? What materials and moral investment to opt for? These are the questions parents asked themselves, and they came to many different answers.

In order to explore these issues, this paper concentrates on correspondences of the time.

Philippe Marchand, Maître de conférences honoraire en histoire moderne et contemporaine, directeur de recherche (Université Charles de Gaulle- Lille 3), spécialiste en histoire de l’éducation, est auteur de nombreux articles, dont cette communication présentée au XI^e Congrès International des Lumières, Los Angeles, Août 2003.

¹ Philippe Ariès, *L’enfant et la vie familiale sous l’ancien régime* (Paris, Plon, Civilisations d’hier et d’aujourd’hui, 1960), 500 p.

² Maurice Garden, «Pédagogie et parents d’élèves au collège de la Trinité de Lyon 1765-1792», *Cahiers d’Histoire*, t. XIV, 1969, pp. 371-392; Dominique JULIA, «Je vous ai confié ce que

*j’avais de plus cher...», Le famille degli allievi scrivono alla scuola militare di Tournon», *Quaderni storici*, 57/a, n°3, décembre 1984, pp. 819-956.*

³ Lucien Bély, «L’élève et le monde. Essai sur l’éducation d’après les mémoires autobiographiques du temps», ‘Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine’, t. XXVIII, janvier - mars 1981, pp. 3-35.

⁴ Philippe Marchand, «Depuis les Pays-Bas autrichiens et les Provinces-Unies, des parents écrivent au principal du collège de Lille 1767-1780», *LIAS Sources and documents relating to early modern history*, volume XII/2, 1985, pp. 192-243.

⁵ Philippe Marchand, «Un père et ses enfants au XVIII^e siècle Lettres, 1768-1787, de Jean-Baptiste Carpentier (1731-1788)», *LIAS Sources and documents relating to early modern history*, volume 23/1 et 2, 1996, pp. 99-260.

⁶ A.D. Nord E 2295/116, E 2294/23.

⁷ A titre d’exemple, cf. A.D. Nord Placards 8556, Etat de la pension du collège de Lille pour la rentrée du 1^{er} octobre 1765-A.D. Nord 8351, Nouvel état de la pension du collège de Lille en Flandre confirmé par lettres patentes du Roi enregistrées en Parlement le 9 janvier 1768-A.D. Nord Placards 8556, Conditions de la pension du Collège de Lille, 1771.

⁸ Cf. les indications données dans Marie Madeleine Compère, Dominique Julia, *Les collèges français 16^e-18^e siècles Répertoire 1- France du Midi, Répertoire 2 -France du Nord et de l’Ouest, Répertoire 3-Paris*, Paris, INRP-CNRS, 1984-2002.

⁹ A.D. Nord E 2295/39 Lettre de Vallier à Fruit, reçue à Lille, le 14 mai 1781.

¹⁰ «Jully, académie royale» dans Marie Madeleine Compère, Dominique Julia, *Les collèges français...op. cit., Répertoire 2*, pp. 344-375.

¹¹ Lucien Febvre, «Vers une autre histoire», *Combat pour l’Histoire*.

sità "La Sapienza" continued the exposé of the European view in "Multiculturalismo e identità costituzionale europea", after which Alberto Destro, Università di Bologna, presented his view of European literary language: "La lingua della letteratura in Europa". Some shorter contributions then followed in a discussion session involving Dario Andretta, Università di Torino; Dr Uwe Mohr, Linguistics Section of the Goethe Institut Roma; Cesare Gagliardi, Università di Verona; Alba Graziano, Università della Tuscia and Rita Salvi, Università „La Sapienza“, all of whom spoke on the concept of "interlinguismo" and the role of European aspects in teaching foreign languages.

In the afternoon, Prof. Ureland continued his introduction to Eurolinguistics from the morning by giving a short review of the next publication in the ELAMA series "Studies in Eurolinguistics, Vol. 2", *Integration of European Language Research – Eurolinguistics North and Eurolinguistics South*, edited by Ureland (2004), 630 pp. (Berlin: Logos Verlag).

Prof. Robert Hodgson, Nida Institute for Biblical Scholarship, New York, in his paper "The Bible across Europe" offered the listeners an overview of the original languages in which the Bible was written (Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek) and of the languages which were used for translation in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Greek, Latin, Gothic, Armenian, Coptic, Old Church Slavonic, etc. Then Prof. José María Jiménez Cano, Dean of Universidad de Murcia, suggested in his paper "El papel de viajeros y diplomáticos en la historia de la lingüística europea" a new branch of Eurolinguistics encompassing descriptions and visions from travellers, discoverers and diplomats. Finally, Prof. Fernández Cozman, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, dealt with the avantgarde rôle of Hispano-American literature and with French as an international language: "El vanguardismo literario hispanoamericano y el francés como lengua internacional".

2. In Mannheim - report on the ELAMA workshop, May 7, 2004

As in the year 2003, a workshop was again organized by ELAMA in May 2004 to celebrate the annual "Europa Woche", sponsored by the European Commission every year since 2002. The workshop dealt once again with the eastern enlargement of the EU: "The eastern enlargement of the EU and its linguistic consequences", for which two main speakers had been invited: Prof. Desmond Fennell, Dublin/Rome and Prof. Ioan Ha?egan, Timi?oara, and also a number of other speakers from the University of Mannheim who addressed additional aspects of the enlargement countries.

Prof. Fennell gave the audience a critical view of the standard narrative of European history and culture in his paper "The necessary revision of European history". He discussed the role

of English as the overall language of communication in "the new Amero-European Empire", which emerged after the West's approval of the massacre of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The acceptance of this crime against humanity meant the downfall of Europe as a humanistic idea of civilization.

The concatenation of war, crime and perverted language policy in the 20th century, the bloodiest in history, was dealt with by Medea Blassl, who presented her MA-thesis on language policy and ethnic discrimination in Czechoslovakia up to 1945.

As a contrast to these negative events in European and world history, Prof. Ha?egan and Nicolae Stoia showed in their papers on the Banat that this multicultural and multilingual area on the Danube can serve as a positive example of peaceful cooperation and mutual understanding among peoples of different languages and religions. Dr. Gabriele Birken-Silverman presented another example of such peaceful cultural coexistence and linguistic harmony in the Danube region as evidenced by travel descriptions written by a Hungarian count between 1818-1819. This writer, using a German-Italian-French mixed code in his diaries and letters, reflected the extensive mixed use of European languages among 18th and 19th century multilingual intellectuals.

Finally, how enriching such a fusion of languages and cultures can be in Europe was also demonstrated by Dr. Olga Voronkova, Heidelberg-Mannheim, who discussed the rise during the Middle Ages of the city of Elbing, Poland, with its mixture of Baltic, German and Polish speakers. Dr. Peter Wagener, director of the German dialect archives at the Institute of the German Language (IdS) in Mannheim, gave a detailed description of the rich documentation of German dialects tape-recorded in Romania after the Second World War and now stored and digitalised at the IdS archives. These contain valuable specimens of the language spoken by German settlers in Transylvania, the Banat and Zathmar who lived side by side with Hungarian and Romanian speakers. This corpus provides further evidence of peaceful ethnic cohabitation in this region from the Middle Ages up to the Second World War.

At the opening of the workshop, Dr. Peter Simon, director of the Europe Bureau in Mannheim, on behalf of the Ministry of State (Staatsministerium) in Stuttgart, presented Prof. Ureland with a large pencil decorated with stars in EU colours symbolising the new and old EU-member states.

Prof. Ureland thanked the Staatsministerium for sponsoring the ELAMA-workshop 2004 and expressed the wish that the City of Mannheim might also make additional



MANNHEIM, das Schloß

means available next year for inviting further friends of Europe to a similar workshop in 2005.

(S. U.)

3. In St. Andrews, Scotland, June 11-13, 2004 - report on the 5th Eurolinguistics Symposium

The 5th International Symposium on Eurolinguistics was held between June 11-13, 2004, at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. Its aim was to explore the effects of language contact since 1500 in different areas of Western Europe: Scandinavia, the Low Countries, the British Isles, France, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. Primary focus was on the traditional languages of Europe, but attention was also given to contacts between minority and immigrant languages outside the European continent, the so-called global Eurolinguistic contacts (e.g. Scottish Gaelic in New Zealand and Australia and South Russian in Canada).



ST. ANDREWS, The Old Cathedral

The opening ceremony was performed by Prof. R. Miller, Vice-Principal of the University of St Andrews, Prof. Stefan Pugh, Prof. Anthony Lodge, both organisers of the symposium, and Prof. P. Sture Ureland (Chairman of ELAMA, Mannheim). It was followed by the first plenary presentation by Peter Nelde (Brussels) speaking about "Language Contact and Language Conflict in Western Europe or How to Manage Linguistic Diversity".

The general topics that followed were on contact linguistics (Sture Ureland, Mannheim) and on language policy within the European institutions (Camiel Hamans, European

Parliament). For the rest of the afternoon, participants could choose between the sessions focusing on the Irish Sea or the Mediterranean.

Margaret MacKay (Inverness) and Kenneth MacKinnon (The Black Isle) introduced *The Western Isles Language Plan*. Martina Müller (Mannheim) spoke about her research among bilingual- and monolingual secondary

pupils in the Isle of Skye and compared her results to similar work done in Connemara (Ireland). Ranko Matasović (Zagreb) focused on the classification of Insular Celtic, especially on the role of language contacts between British and Goidelic.

Saturday saw a full schedule of further presentations. The day's programme opened with a plenary session in which Ralph Penny (London) gave an interesting historical review of language contacts in Spain. There followed sessions on the Irish Sea and the Mediterranean. Barbara Bird (Oslo) introduced some of her findings with regard to English in the Western Isles of Scotland; John Skilton (Fribourg) spoke about Scottish Gaelic in New Zealand and Australia; Wendy Anderson gave an overview of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS), a project of the Department of English Language at the University of Glasgow. In the parallel section, Günter Scharschmidt (Victoria, Canada) gave some information on the change of the South Russian dialect of the Doukhobors in Canada; Lelija So?ana? (Zagreb) presented the sea as a medium of language contact through trade and migration by giving the example of the Ragusan Republic (present-day Dubrovnik) and its contacts with Western Europe. Maria-Pilar Rerea from Barcelona then concluded the morning sessions by reflecting on the French influence on the Catalan dialect "Rosselonnès".

After the lunch break, Robert Blackwood (Liverpool) continued the Mediterranean session by informing the audience about attempts to revive the once so strong Corsican language in the shadow of French. While Ronnie Ferguson focused on "the impact of long-term contact of Italian on Venetian", Anthony Lodge, his colleague from the University of St Andrews, considered "the dialectal status of Gallo-Romance before the onset of standardisation" and argued that the language boundaries traditionally postulated are an "ideological fiction". Then Cordula Voigts (Bamberg) spoke about Alpine Occitan and the Mediterranean session was concluded by Alexander Onysko (Innsbruck) reflecting on the problem of linguistic borrowing as illustrated

by indirect borrowings from English to German.

In the afternoon, the Atlantic session started with Astrid Huygens (Maribor) who gave a paper on Galician. The next presentation was by M. Celeste Augusto (Utrecht) about "lexical exchanges between Portuguese and some European languages". The short Atlantic session was then concluded by Andrew Linn from Sheffield, who introduced Norwegian as "the classic example of a planned language" and explained "how and why language planning is collapsing" with regard to Nynorsk. A session on the North Sea/English Channel followed. Tom Rendall (Kirkwall) presented some of the results of a project examining the use of Scottish Standard English and an Orcadian dialect in the Orkney Islands. The afternoon was concluded by Peter Trudgill's (Fribourg) plenary lecture, which gave some entertaining insights into "the hidden influence of Dutch on East Anglian English".

The sessions on Sunday, the last day of the conference, started off with Sture Ureland's plenary lecture on "Integration of Language Research in Europe" and its different facets. In the North Sea section, Arjen Versloot (Ljowert/Leewarden) presented Town-Frisian as a main language in several Frisian cities and described the rise of this mixed language between Modern Frisian and Dutch. Peter Wagener (Mannheim) then summarised some findings of "a research project on real-time changes in spoken Low-German on the North Sea" based mainly on data from the Deutsche Spracharchiv (DSAv), Mannheim. This section concluded with Ludger Kremer (Antwerp) on "Dutch across the border: East Frisian as a Case Study in Language Shifts".

A Baltic Sea session included Olga Voronkova (Mannheim/Heidelberg) speaking about the development of Old-Prussian and Eric De Geer (Uppsala) on "Migrating language groups into the Nordic countries and their distribution after 1945". Erling Wande rounded off this short session off with a presentation of Kven and Meänkieli, two related Finno-Ugric languages spoken in the northern parts of Norway and Sweden.

Lunch on Sunday was the official end of a most interesting and wide-ranged symposium. St. Andrews, its beaches, famous golf courses, sunny weather (!) and the oldest university of Scotland, made this 5th Eurolinguistics symposium an outstanding event for all participants. Another memorable event was the foundation of an umbrella association for Eurolinguistics - *Eurolinguistic Association (ELA)* - which is planned to contain several Eurolinguistics branches in the near future, modeled on the prototype and constitution of ELAMA. Its further development will be one of the main issues at the next Eurolinguistics symposium in Stockholm-Uppsala, May/June 2005.

(M. M.)



P.-G. Boucé, *Jesus College*,
Cambridge, Summer 2002

Paul-Gabriel Boucé, mort le 12 juillet, à l'âge de 68 ans, laisse dans nos cœurs un vide qui ne sera pas facilement comblé. PGB était un homme et un universitaire d'une qualité rare. C'était un grand professeur d'université, fonction dont il s'acquittait avec une conscience et avec un dévouement infaillibles, fier de transmettre les valeurs de ses maîtres à de nombreuses générations d'étudiants. Il mettait son immense érudition et sa compétence souveraine au service de tous ceux qui sollicitaient son aide et ne s'épargnait aucun effort pour remplir cette tâche. On pouvait toujours compter sur lui, sur ses conseils qui ne faisaient jamais défaut. Et toujours l'on constatait qu'il avait dépassé nos espérances.

Ses livres en anglais, publiés par Penguin, Oxford University Press, Longman, Manchester University Press, ainsi que ses ouvrages en français, sur la littérature et sur la civilisation du XVIIIe siècle, ses activités de rédacteur en chef d'*Études Anglaises*, de direction de *The European English Messenger*, les colloques internationaux qu'il organisait en Sorbonne, sont bien connus des universitaires, aussi point n'est besoin d'en dire plus ici.

Quand je fis sa connaissance, à Grenoble, en 1996, il fut évident que, pour la revue à laquelle je songeais, le professeur Boucé était l'homme que je voulais dans le comité, pour le français. Et j'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir avec nous ce maître, bourru bienfaisant – en fait homme plein d'humanité – dont on avait toujours quelque chose à apprendre, et dont les conseils, la vigilance scientifique, le soutien personnel, ont été incomparables.

Lorsqu'il me fit part de certains problèmes de santé, je pris conscience, aux symptômes qu'il me décrivait, de la cruauté du destin.

Sans Paul-Gabriel Boucé, notre revue, notre vie même, se trouvent appauvries. Mais sa leçon n'a pas été vaine. Nous faisons la promesse que nous continuerons notre bataille selon les principes que nous avons appris de lui.

V. M.



Oscar Nuccio, *lecturing*
at *La Sapienza*, Spring 2004

Oscar Nuccio, professor at 'La Sapienza', in Rome, in the 'Faculty of Political Sciences', prematurely died on 24 May 2004, aged 73. The author of, among other books, the multi-volume *Il pensiero economico italiano*, (defined as 'monumental et prodigieux' in the *Revue Économique*), he was, without doubt, the leading Italian historian of his generation. The guide and, for thirty years, the friend and confidant of the editor of this journal, he lived in a period of dramatic decay of the Italian universities: a decay which he was not ready to accept, and which, in some moments, devastated him. An uncompromising man and scholar, *naturaliter* incapable of lobbying anybody, endowed with a fierce spirit of independence, he strongly resented the wrongs he suffered in the academic life. He was denied a full professorship, which used to be an element of distinction, and which nowadays, sad to say, at least in this country, has long stopped to represent the main ambition of many talented scholars.

His works remain as a majestic monument to historical knowledge. His capacity of 'reading' and judging books was impressive. For *Il pensiero economico italiano*, the main product of his immense research work, he read some 600 authors: a record, no doubt, which not many scholars can hope to equal.

He spent his last years in his house in the country, where, indignant soul, he had moved before retirement. He was strongly supportive of this journal, although he did not take part directly.

To the last moments of his life he was busy jotting down his books. He had just given the finishing touch to a volume summarizing his theories, when he suddenly died.

The volume will hopefully appear in English, and will make its author known to a larger public.

V. M.

XXV CERTAMEN CICERONIANUM ARPINAS

(Arpino, 6-7-8 May 2005)



The 'Centro Studi Umanistici Marco Tullio Cicerone' announces the 'Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas', a competition in Latin translation, limited to students in the final year at Italian Classical Lyceums, who passed the exam for entering the fifth form with marks not less than 8/10 in Latin, also to the students of the corresponding European schools where Latin is studied, as well as to students outside Europe.

If in non-Italian schools the dates of the Certamen coincide with exams, students of a previous year are allowed to participate.

It is not permitted to take part in more than one of the annual Certamen competitions. Applicants will translate from Latin a passage from Cicero's works. In a short commentary they must explain their own interpretation of the passages which they consider as

deserving close investigation, from the point of view both of language and of contents. Both in the translation and in the commentary the candidates will use their own mother tongue. The procedures of the exam are the same as those of public competitions.

The Certamen will take place in the premises of the 'Liceo Tulliano' in Arpino, on Friday 6 May 2005, at 8,30 a.m. It will cover five hours, and the candidates will be allowed to use a dictionary. To be admitted to the exam, they must produce an identity card or a passport.

Applicants are to submit applications to the head of their own school. In case of more than one application, the school will select one applicant.

The applications, bearing a covering letter from the head, must be sent in a registered envelope by 15 March 2005 to the 'CENTRO STUDI UMANISTICI M.T. CICERONE', Corso Tulliano, 03033 ARPINO (FR), ITALY. Candidates may apply to the 'Centro' for more information. Applicants from countries outside Europe must send applications through their Consulate or Embassy.

The board of examiners, consisting of university teachers and of teachers of secondary schools where Latin is taught, is appointed by the President of the 'Centro Studi'. In no case will teachers participate from the schools attended by the candidates taking part in the competition. Furthermore the procedures of the board are the same as those in public competitions.

The board will assign ten prizes awarded by the Organizing Committee, and a maximum of three prizes offered by the 'Centro Studi'. It will also award a number of 'honourable mentions'.

The winners will receive their awards at a public ceremony, in the square of Arpino, on Sunday 9 May 2005.¹

¹ The XXIV edition of the Certamen, which is under the Patronage of the President of the Italian Republic and of the European Parliament, took place on 7-9 May 2004. 448 students from 16 European countries-Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Low Countries, Luxemburg, Macedonia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland- attended. The highest mark was obtained by Barbara Schellhaas ('N. Cusanus Gymnasium', of Bergisch Gladsbach, Germany), who received an award of 1,100 euros. Runners-up among the non-Italian students included Carmelin Clop ('S. Bejus', Romania), Cardula Bachiman ('Koupins Kollegium', Berlin), Natalia Jurczko ('I. L. Ogolucz', Krakow, Poland), Marien Lieselot ('Heiling Hartinstitut', Heverlef, Belgium). On Sunday 10 May the winners received their awards in a public ceremony in the square of Arpino

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